ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS FROM NIPPUR

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TO

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

FIRST AND BEST OF TEACHERS
CONTENTS

PREFACE................................................................. 7
INTRODUCTION...................................................... 13

I. SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL
§ 1. The Material in the Museum ......................... 13
§ 2. The Material Hitherto Published and in Other Collections......................... 16
§ 3. Some Notes on the Texts Hitherto Published.. 23

II. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE
§ 4. Introductory................................................. 26
§ 5. The "Rabbinic" Texts.................................. 27
§ 6. The Syriac Texts........................................ 32
§ 7. The Mandaic Texts..................................... 37

III. THE MAGIC OF THE TEXTS
§ 8. The Praxis of the Inscribed Bowls................. 40
§ 9. The Exorcists........................................... 46
§ 10. The Clients............................................. 49
§ 11. The Incantations...................................... 51
§ 12. The Objects of Exorcism; the Demons, etc..... 67
§ 13. Propitious Angels, Deities, etc............... 95

IV. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS
§ 14. Age of the Bowls...................................... 102
§ 15. Relations of the Bowl-Magic.................... 106

(5)
## CONTENTS

### TEXTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos. 1-42.</th>
<th>Transliteration, Translation, Notes</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nos. 1-30.</td>
<td>&quot;Rabbinic&quot; Texts</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. 31-37.</td>
<td>Syriac Texts</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. 38-40.</td>
<td>Mandaic Texts</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### APPENDIX:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. 41.</th>
<th>An Inscribed Skull</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 42.</td>
<td>A Form of the Lilith Legend</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### GLOSSARIES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefatory Note</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Personal Names</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Personal Names and Epithets of Deities, Angels, Demons, etc.</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. General Glossary</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### GENERAL INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### PREFATORY NOTE TO THE PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### REGISTER OF THE BOWLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alphabetical Tables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph of Bowl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

The primary purpose of this publication was to edit, with translation and necessary notes, the incantation texts inscribed on bowls from Nippur, now in the possession of the Museum. But it soon became apparent that full account should be made of all other published texts of like character, both for my own advantage in securing a larger material for collation and also for the convenience of scholars by presenting in one work a survey of a rather remote and scattered field, in which many have labored but none has attempted a treatment of the subject at large. I have accordingly not only given a description of all the earlier material but also collated it as fully as possible both in the Glossaries and in the references of Introduction and Commentary. The Introduction, thus extended beyond the field of the Nippur texts, has grown to still greater dimensions with the enlarging perception of the intimate relations between the bowl-inscriptions and the broad fields of ancient magical literature. Previous editors, working before the present great development of the study of magic, had taken little notice of these connections with a wider world. Analogies with the Talmud and possible connections with the Kabbalistic lore had been pointed out, but the bowls still remained without definite place or links in the general field of ancient magic. Withal the relations of Jewish magic to the larger whole have not yet been ascertained.

But within the last few decades an immense advance has been made in our knowledge of ancient magic and of its prime importance as a study in the history of mankind. The chief
stimulus to this has come, first, from the anthropologists and the students of comparative religion, who have taught us not to ignore the most primitive or most degraded manifestations of the human spirit. Then there have been the rapid strides in the advance of Egyptology and Assyriology, where at every step the student faces the problem of the identities and differences of magic and religion. Further, the classical philologists have at last condescended to examine the vulgar magical records in the Greek and Latin tongues, and have found an interest in them as revealing how the ancient "man of the street," and wiser men as well, actually talked and thought, in modes different from the traditional standards of the classical civilization. Of this large increase in material and understanding I have been fortunately able to avail myself, with the result of the discovery of innumerable clues proving that the bowl-magic is in part the lineal descendant of the old Babylonian sorcery while at the same time—and this is the more important because a less expected discovery—it takes its place in that great field of Hellenistic magic which pervaded the whole of the western world at the beginning of the Christian era. My chief contribution to the study has been in these two directions, the relations with the cuneiform religious texts and the Greek magical papyri. The writer's knowledge of Egyptian magic was wholly at second hand, and in any case that earlier influence was mediated to this special field through Hellenism. The Christian Syrian literature is shown to have its close connections, being thoroughly infused, as was the early Church, with magical ideas. Magic within Judaism has been the subject of capital monographs by competent Jewish scholars, and in that direction I have not been able to do much more than to appropriate their results, except so far as to show the absolute
community of ideas and terms and practice between Jewish and Gentile sorcery. It remains a subject for an interesting investigation to discover just what Judaism gave to, and what it received from, the Hellenistic magic, but probably a hopeless study, for, as someone has remarked, in the history of magic we must pursue not the genealogical but the analogical method. As a result of these comparisons, the conclusion must be drawn, as indicated in § 15 of the Introduction, that the magic of the bowls, and in a general way, all Jewish magic, has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world, which, on account of its dominating civilization, we call Hellenistic; it is not Jewish but eclectic.

However, with this broadening of the scope of the work, it has been the fixed purpose not to attempt any general study of magic; this would have been but to confuse my work and cloud my results. With a single eye, the facts of the texts have been illustrated in as objective a way as possible from the phenomena of locally inherited and contemporaneous magic, with the intent of establishing the immediate bonds of connection. My work would be a contribution from a very small and limited field to the study of magical thought and practice within a definite age and region. At least there has come to the writer the satisfaction of finding a place for the membra disjecta of these out-of-the-way texts in the huge colossus of that system of magic which was once almost the actual religion of our western civilization.

If I appear to have gone into much detail in the treatment of these non-literary texts, I trust that the results will justify my undertaking; the expansion of the work has proceeded naturally and subtly much beyond the editor's desire and convenience. From the philological point of view these vulgar inscriptions are of as much interest to the Semitist as are the
magical papyri to the classicist. Careful study shows that, with the exception of intentionally unintelligible passages, mystic phrases and the like, the words and the syntax of the texts are the autograph representatives of the language of their writers. Three different Aramaic dialects, each with its own script, and one script a peculiar variety of the Edessene, are offered in the bowls from Nippur, and they are of importance as original documents of the dialectic forms of the speech of Babylonia about the eve of the rise of Islam. Other original monuments are well-nigh lacking for this field; we are confined almost entirely to the school-literatures of religious sects, of the Jews, Christian Syrians and Mandaeans, whose books are preserved mostly in late manuscripts. The Jewish magical literature is all documentarily late or uncertain as to age, and our texts have a historical worth as almost the earliest records in that line which can be exactly dated. Further, the obscure and crabbed condition of the texts compelled an exact philological examination in order to test hypotheses of interpretation. And as to matters beyond philology, it will not, I hope, be set down to wilful acriby if I have attempted to work out very small clues. In such work as this there is no immediate compensation on the surface, and it is only by following out the fine tendrils of connection that results worth while can be obtained. The writer's experience in his study is well expressed by some words of Professor Deissmann: "It may be that hundreds of stones, tiresomely repeating the same monotonous formula, have only the value of a single authority, yet in their totality, these epigraphic results furnish us with plenty of material—only one should not expect too much of them, or too little" (Bible Studies, 82).

In regard to the representation of the texts it might have been technically more correct to present them in their several
scripts. But apart from the difficulty of procuring two of these types in American printing houses and compositors who could set them, it must be patent that the general convenience is far better subserved by presenting the texts in the well-known Hebrew character, while those who desire the original scripts can satisfy themselves with the facsimiles published in the second volume. The peculiar Mandaic relative particle is represented, according to convention, by the diacritical .setTagalog; but I have departed from the usual custom of editing Mandaic texts by representing the pronominal suffix in -h by .hex and have used .hex for the radical .hex or .hex, which two sounds fall together in the dialect. In the Glossaries words containing this common character are arranged according to its etymological distinction as .hex or .hex. In the transliterations inferior points indicate doubtful readings, superior points are used for the diacritical marks of the Syriac texts. The numbered lines of the texts represent the spiral lines, taken as beginning from the radius where the inscription begins.

The Prefatory Note to the Plates describes how the facsimiles were made. I have to express my deep obligation to my friend and colleague, the Rev. Dr. R. K. Yerkes, for his careful reading of the volume in proof.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, February 2, 1912.
I. SURVEY OF THE MATERIAL

§ 1. THE MATERIAL IN THE MUSEUM

The University Museum contains a large number of inscribed earthenware bowls found at Nippur belonging to the category of the so-called "Incantation Bowls." These vessels are generally of the size and shape of a modern porridge-bowl, except that in most cases the bowl is somewhat cone-shaped, so that when set down it balances itself in a state of unstable equilibrium. Some few have the boss expanded into a rim, thus giving a flat surface at the bottom of the bowl. The most common size is of about 16 cm. diameter at top, by 5 cm. full depth. There is one large bowl, 28 x 16 cm.¹

The bowls are made of a good clay, and are wheel-turned and kiln-dried; they have no surface, slip or glazing of any kind.² They were a domestic ware, intended for foods, and in no way differ from the simple vessels which to this day are made in the Orient for household use.

The bowls in the Museum were excavated at Nippur, in Babylonia, by the University of Pennsylvania Expedition; so far as I know, they are finds of the first two campaigns, conducted by Professor Peters in the years 1888, 1889. According to Peters' account,³ these bowls were found on the top, or in the first strata of the mounds, in several places. They appear generally to have been discovered in the ruins of houses, amidst what Peters suggests were Jewish settlements; the whole surface of one hill, he says "was covered with a Jewish settlement, the houses of which were built of mud-brick, and in almost every house we found one, or more.

¹ Many such large specimens are in the British Museum and at Constantinople.
² I am indebted to Mr. D. Randall-MacIver, late of the Museum, for the characterization of the pottery.
³ See his Nippur, the Index to which, sub "Jewish incantation bowls" gives the references.
Jewish incantation bowls. " At least in one case bowls were found in connection with a cemetery; "we found ourselves in a graveyard...... It was interesting to find, between one and two metres below the surface, in the immediate neighborhood of slipper-shaped coffins, inscribed Hebrew bowls." As for the chronological light thrown upon these bowls, Cufic coins were found in the houses of these "Jewish" settlements; and one of the most extensive finds of inscribed bowls was in the strata above the "Court of Columns," a Parthian building. Peters holds the seventh century to be the latest date for the Jewish settlements where Cufic coins were found.  

The Museum Catalogue counts over 150 numbers of this class of specimens, but the enumeration includes a large number of fragments. About 30 of the bowls are what I would call "original fakes"; they are inscribed with letters arbitrarily arranged, or with pot-hooks, or even in some cases with mere scrawls, and I judge that these articles were palmed off on the unlearned public as "quite as good" as true incantations. A still larger number of the bowls are so broken and their inscriptions so defaced, that I have not been able to use them. Others again were inscribed by so illiterate scribes that so far as they can be made out, they offer only some magical jargon, which adds nothing to our knowledge. Again there are a few texts which are fairly written and without those self-betraying combinations of letters that suggest a mock inscription, but which nevertheless are not Semitic. They may be in some non-Semitic tongue, whether, for example, in Pahavli, I am not able to say. One of the neatest of the bowls, No. 2954, containing only four circular lines of inscription, interested me as presenting a novel alphabet; but I soon came to the conclusion that this is but another "fake," produced we may suppose by some learned impostor—or wag.

1 ii, 182 f.; cf. p. 194.
2 i, 245.
3 ii, 183. On the following page the writer says that Arabic bowls along with Jewish and Syriac were found; but the Museum contains no Arabic specimens.
4 Hilprecht, Explorations in Bible Lands, p. 447.
5 ii, 153, 183, 186. For further discussion of the date, see § 14.
6 In many cases the inscriptions were written by laymen, who thus saved themselves the exorcist's fee. Schwab notices some forged bowls at Constantinople, PSBA, xiii, 505.
All the relics from Nippur came to the University as the gift of the Sultan of Turkey, and in the matter of these incantation bowls I understand that the best specimens, the largest and fairest, have been retained in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. At all events those in Philadelphia in almost all cases prevent complete decipherment because of mutilation." A large segment of the spherical surface may be missing, or an extensive portion of the interior, a side, or the upper or lower portion of the bowl may have become illegible, probably through the action of water. The inscription being spiral, such mutilations intrude their annoyance into every line. The damaged nature of this collection has added much to the toil of decipherment, for every break in the text and every effacement necessitates speculation as to the missing contents. On the other hand it is cause for remark and gratitude that these fragile vessels have been preserved as intact as they are, and that the scribes used such excellent ink that what they wrote has largely survived in defiance of "the powers of the air," the elements and the corroding chemical agents.

As a result of the investigation of the whole collection I have selected 40 bowls for publication, to which number should be added the one published earlier by Myhrman (accompanying No. 7). The remaining bowls and fragments are on the whole too illegible or too undecipherable to make it worth while to add them to this material. The languages of the inscriptions are three Aramaic dialects:— (1) the language with which we are familiar from the Babylonian Talmud, to which belong Nos. 1-30; (2) a Syriac dialect, Nos. 31-37; the Mandaic, Nos. 38-40. Each of these has its own script. As an appendix, I publish, as No. 41, a human skull inscribed with a magical inscription of like character to those on the bowls, and No. 42 is a text of peculiar magical contents which has come to my hands, but with its original now lacking in the Museum.

With few exceptions, all the bowls I have deciphered have been put together from fragments into which they had fallen, in the Museum.
§ 2. The Material Hitherto Published, and in Other Collections

The first publication of Mesopotamian incantation bowls appeared in Layard's notable volume, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*. In describing his finds at Tell Amran, near Hillah, the great explorer tells of discovering "five cups or bowls of earthenware, and fragments of others, covered on the inner surface with letters written in a kind of ink" (p. 509). He notes that like material had been discovered before. Two from the collection of a Mr. Stewart had been deposited in the British Museum, which had also acquired through Colonel Rawlinson eight specimens obtained at Bagdad, their provenance however being unknown. In a later passage (p. 524) Layard records the discovery of a similar bowl, along with many fragments, at Nippur,—the precursor of the collection in Philadelphia.

Layard committed his bowls to Mr. Thomas Ellis, of the staff of the British Museum, whose results are given in Layard's work, appearing pp. 509-523. Layard himself takes up the discussion p. 523 ff. with criticism of Ellis's results. The latter presented five Judaeo-Aramaic bowls, and one in Syriac, with summaries of fragments of others. Of these only four were given in facsimile, nos. 1, 3, 5, 6. Subsequent scholarly investigation has proved not only that Ellis was wild in his interpretations of the bowls, but also that the facsimiles were unreliable. Hence the latter can only be used with caution or with the aid of later

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1 Stübe, *Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte*, 1895, gives a good review of the literature up to date, although requiring some corrections and additions. See also Wohlstein, in *ZA*, viii (1893), 313 ff.

2 London, 1853. There is a German translation by Zenker, the bowls appearing there in Plate xx.

3 Layard leaves it somewhat indefinite which bowls were treated by Ellis.

4 Ellis's first bowl turns out to be a duplicate of our No. 11, under which I am able to present the restored text of the former. Was this the bowl which Layard reports was found at Nippur?
copies, while the bowls published without facsimiles are absolutely worthless as scientific copy. Layard's publication therefore did little more than attract the attention of scholars to a fresh field of philology and religious lore.

The first scientific treatment of this new material came from M. A. Levy, of Breslau, who devoted a long essay to Ellis's bowl, no. 1, in the Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for 1855 (ix, 465). He was the first to grasp the peculiar lingo of the inscription, and in his commentary drew largely from Judaistic and Mandaic stores of learning. He also gave an elaborate treatment of the palaeography of the bowl, overthrowing the claims that had been advanced for a pre-Christian origin.

Twenty years later J. M. Rodwell published a bowl from Hillah that had been procured by the British Museum, under the title, Remarks upon a Terra-Cotta Vase, with a photographic facsimile. This second English venture at decipherment was no better than the first, its sole merit lying in the fact that the French scholar J. Halévy was induced to take up the same bowl on the basis of the facsimile, and to give it a scholarly transliteration and translation, with commentary, under the title, Observation sur un vase judéo-babylonien du British Muséum. Four of the bowls that had been published were presented by the great Hebrew epigraphist Chwolson in his monumental Corpus inscriptionum hebraicarum. The first (Chwolson's number, 18) is Ellis no. 1, the second (no. 19) is Ellis no. 3, the third (no. 20) is the bowl published by Rodwell and Halévy; and the


5 In TSBA, ii (1873), 114.

1 In Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, series iv, vol. v (for 1877; Paris, 1878), 288. He re-edited his material in his Mélanges de critique et d'histoire, 220.

8 St. Petersbourg, 1882, col. 113 f. The facsimiles are reproduced at the end of the volume. The Russian edition of this work (St. Petersbourg, 1884) publishes five bowls and considerably varies from the German edition (so Wohlstein, ZA, viii, 315). For nos. 19, 21, Chwolson made use of improved transcripts prepared for him by Halévy. In his review of the Corpus in the Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeige for 1883, Landauer comments on these bowls (p. 507).
fourth (no. 21) is Ellis no. 5. Chwolson adopted a skeptical position toward the speculations and guesses of his predecessors, and his commentaries are valuable as a restraint upon their theories. Of special interest is his discussion of the age of the bowls from the palaeographic point of view—a subject which I take up in § 5.

The most extensive editor of the material under discussion has been Moise Schwab, the author of the French translation of the Talmud. In 1882 he published, in collaboration with E. Babelon, a bowl in the possession of the French government, under the title *Un vase judéo-chaldéen de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* along with a facsimile and commentary. In 1885 he published a bowl at the Louvre in an article entitled *Une coupe d'incantation,* without facsimile. He then presented a large series of bowls in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,* for the years 1891 and 1892. He included several bowls already published, with the old facsimiles, but failed to offer photographic copies of the bowls he brought to light. It seems strange that the English scholarly world rested content with the poor facsimiles of the relics in the British Museum, made almost forty years before, and that Schwab did not avail himself of better texts than his predecessors had used. Between the articles appearing in the two volumes of the *PSBA* Dr. Schwab contributed studies of two bowls to the *Revue d'assyriologie,* etc., under the title, "Deux vases judéo-babyloniens." These he numbered F and G so as to align them with those appearing in the other publications. The material thus presented by Schwab is as follows:

A, in *PSBA,* xii = Ellis, no. 1; Levy; Chwolson, no. 18.
B, in *PSBA,* xii = Ellis, no. 3; Chwolson, no. 19.
C, in *PSBA,* xii = Rodwell; Halévy; Chwolson, no. 20.
D, in *PSBA,* xii = Ellis, no. 5; Chwolson, no. 21.

* In *Revue de l'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale,* i (1886), 117.
* In vol. xii, 292: *Les coupes magiques et l'hydromancie dans l'antiquité orientale,* with introductory remarks, and, p. 296, a description of the 22 bowls then in the British Museum; in vol. xiii, 583: *Coupes à inscriptions magiques.* This material was first presented to the French Academy of Inscriptions in the years 1883, 1885, 1891. At the end of the first article is a glossary to the bowls published therein.
* ii (1892), 136.
E, in PSBA, xii; a bowl in the National Library at Paris, also in REJ, iv, (without note in the Proceedings that he had published it before).

F, G, in Rev. d'ass., ii; bowls in the Louvre. The exterior inscription on G is given under G in PSBA (p. 327).

H, in PSBA, xii; a bowl in the British Museum.

I, in PSBA, xii; a bowl in the Louvre, also in Rev. d'ass., i (without note that he had published it before).

L, in PSBA, xiii; a bowl in the Lycklama Museum at Cannes (other than that published by Hyvernat).

M, in PSBA, xiii; a bowl in the Louvre, acquired by Heuzey.

N, O, P, in PSBA, xiii; three bowls in the collection Dieulafoy from Susiana.

Q, in PSBA, xiii; a bowl in the Musée de Winterthur.

R, in PSBA, xiii; a bowl in the coin department of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Meanwhile there had appeared, in 1885, a study of a bowl in a provincial French museum by H. Hyvernat (now professor in the Catholic University, Washington): Sur un vase judéo-babylonien du musée Lycklama de Cannes (Provence). Unfortunately the accompanying photographic facsimiles are barely legible as published; however there is little doubt as to the text and its meaning. Schwab also refers to a bowl published by B. Markaug in the Zapiski of the Imperial Russian Society of Archaeology, iv, 83, which I have not been able to procure.

A few years later the collection of incantation bowls at the Royal Museum in Berlin was made the subject of study by two young scholars, working contemporaneously but independently. J. Wohlstein published, under the title, Ueber einige aramäische Inschriften auf Thongefässen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin, five bowls, with introduction to the general subject and commentary. And R. Stübe published a Berlin bowl in his

18 In Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung, ii (1885), 113.

19 This publication received criticism from M. Grünbaum on a subsequent page of the same journal (p. 217), especially for its dependence upon Kohut's notions of Jewish angelology; and on p. 295 Nöldeke expressed some comments on the text, especially animadverting on its age.

20 Rev. d. Assyriologie, ii, 137.

21 ZA, viii (1893), 313, and ix (1894), 11. In vol. viii appears no. 2422; in vol. ix, nos. 2416, 2426, 2414, 2417.
Jüdisch-babylonische Zaubertexte." The text he published, the longest yet edited, is the same as the second given by Wohlstein; his treatment is fuller than that of his contemporary, to whom he is able to refer in his printed notes. Stübe gives a description of nineteen bowls in the British Museum. Unfortunately neither publication is enriched with facsimiles. Subsequently S. Fraenkel contributed some notes to Wohlstein's bowls in the same journal, in part on the basis of his own transcription."

Pognon, French consul at Bagdad, broke the ground of a fresh dialect of bowl-inscriptions with the study of a Mandaic bowl—Une incantation contre les génies malfaisants en mandaite, appearing in 1892." The bowl was purchased from Arabs at Bismaya. In 1898 the same scholar published an elaborate work upon bowls found at Khuabir 55 km. NW of Musseyib, on the right bank of the Euphrates; he visited the locality but was unable to reach the site where the bowls were found. His work, entitled Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khouabir, contains some valuable appendices, of wider interest than the title suggests, and is furnished like the earlier monograph with full apparatus. Five more Mandaic bowls were published by Lidzbarski in his Ephemeris, i, 89. "Mandäische Zaubertexte." The fifth of these texts is a duplicate of my No. 11 and is given there in parallelism. Three of the texts are in the Berlin Museum, and two in the Louvre.

Professor Gottheil contributed to Peters' Nippur (ii, 182) a translation of one of the bowls at Pennsylvania (= No. 12 below). Dr. Myhrman, of Uppsala, published from the same collection no. 16081, with commentary; his monograph appeared in Le monde orientale, Uppsala, 1907-8, and with revision as a contribution to the Hilprecht Anniversary Volume under

11 Halle, 1895.
12 ZA, ix, 308.
13 In the Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique (Paris), viii, 193, and in separate print.
14 Paris, 1898, with facsimiles and full glossary; reviewed by Nöldeke, WZKM, xii, 141; Lidzbarski, TLZ, 1899, col. 171; Schwally, OLZ, ii, 7, iii, 458; Chabot, Revue critique, xlvi, 43, xlix, 484. Pognon also saw some bowls in the square character, some in Estrangelo, and some which he presumed might be in Pahlavi (p. 1). In my citations to Pognon, I cite his two books as A and B respectively.
15 Leipzig, 1909; p. 342.
the title *An Aramaic Incantation Text*; this text is given below in parallel with No. 7.

It is in place here to notice the location of incantation bowls in the various museums. Despite a query addressed over a year ago I have not received any information from the authorities as to the number and character of the bowl-texts at the Imperial Museum in Constantinople; its collection from what I hear must be large and fine, and has been particularly enriched from Nippur.

Dr. L. W. King has kindly informed me that the British Museum contains 61 bowls of our class, exhibited in the Babylonian Room. Some of the specimens, I also learn, are of very large size. The texts are in the square script, Syriac, Mandaic and Arabic.

Schwab thus sums up, for the year 1906, the bowl-texts in the French museums:² 2 in the National Library, 7 in the Louvre, 2 in the Museum Lycklama, Cannes; also one in private hands.

Through Professor Ranke's kindness I learn that in the Berlin Museum there are 69 bowls with "Hebrew" (i. e. Aramaic?) inscriptions, 9 with Syriac (presumably inclusive of Mandaic). Stübe gives a description of 19 of these. In the same museum there are two inscribed skulls, similar doubtless to the one published below as No. 41.

At the National Museum in Washington are found five bowls, four in square script, one in Estrangalo; but from photographs kindly lent me by Dr. Casanowicz, two of the former are to be designated as "fakes" in the sense used above. These bowls are said to have been found at Hillah. The German Orient-Gesellschaft has recently announced the discovery of three bowls at Asshur,³ and Koldewey, *Tempel von Babylon u. Borsippa*, 58, speaks of numerous Aramaic bowls found at Borsippa.

Of bowls in private hands, I note one unpublished Syriac text in the possession of Professor Hyvernat, of the Catholic University, Washington; and three which Mr. Wm. T. Ellis purchased at Nippur in 1911, one of them containing a Syriac text similar to those published in this volume; this text I have prepared for publication in the Journal of the American

² *Journal asiatique*, X, vii, 8.
³ *Mittheilungen*, no. 43, p. 13.
Oriental Society, where it will shortly appear. A few citations of this text are given in the glossaries under the abbreviation "Montg." \(^1\)

The provenance of this material is thus confined to a small region, extending from Nippur and Bismaya on the south to Asshur on the north, and lying on both sides of the Euphrates.

\(^1\) The "Roman bowl from Bagdad" described by O. S. Tonks in the *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, 1911, 310, on which he found some magical syllables, has been proved by A. T. Olmstead (*ib.*, 1912, 83) to be a late Arabic forgery. A Pahlavi bowl inscription reported by A. V. W. Jackson, *JAOS*, xxviii, 345, does not belong to our category.
§ 3. Some Notes on the Texts Hitherto Published

I offer in this section some critical notes on the texts described in the last section. The texts would in many cases have been simplified if the editors had recognized that there is no distinction in the script between נ and ר, and most often none between ר and א. The glossary will indicate emendations of simple words, but here I present corrections necessary for the construction.

Ellis 1 has been recovered, as remarked above, through a duplicate in the Pennsylvania collection; see to No. 11. No facsimile is given for Ellis 2.

In Ellis 3 the opening lines should read: ריווח נ פחכרי י סני ומחכרי 1 הלמה אפור (2) כלאת ש מתחתר בר תווה ... כ נתחכרי רבר ואיפסדה. (3) נמקתה אווס כל בינ אינשה אפשת כל מתחתר בר תווה ניווירה. הלמה ו' The discovery of the proper names, Mehperoz 2 son of Hindû (see Glossary B), clears up these lines. איסרちら = איסרירה? but see Glossary C under latter word. After the first word the scribe intended to write ייר; inadvertently he broke into the word with פ, and then leaving the error uncorrected (as is the rule of these scribes) continued with the first word.—Read in l. 4. This reading is certain in 1. 8. (23)

1 The numbers in the text represent the spiral lines.

2 This reading is certain in l. 8.
be the Assyrian *kēwān* (biblical כֵּשָׁנ), used in the general sense of planet. אַשָּׁרָן, are used in the sense of *derisio*, etc. (see Payne-Smith, *Thes.*, col. 4249 f.). —What follows is to be read thus: "The curse of father and mother, of daughter and daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is loosed (כָּשָׂר), what is far and what is near, what is found in country or city—what is found in the country is loosed, and what curses (?) in the city is loosed, and what falls by the way."

In Ellis 5, 1. 2, read אֲבוֹת (for אֲבֹת) and the following word possibly מִשְׁפֹּת, and translate—"a house, whatever its name (i.e. whoever owns it), let them read and depart from it (לֹא לֶאֱלֹהָיו אֲפִלָּקֵל יְיהוָה), even all who dwell in it—(i.e.) any vows," etc.; that is, the evil spirits are to read the *kamea* and depart. The jussive with ב is exceptional.

For the bowl edited by Rodwell, Halévy, Chwolson and Schwab, I give the following transliteration: בְּכַל הָרֶשֶׁת בִּיסֵרִים חָקִים לְאֶחָדָם מֶנְוִי אֶלֶּה יַאֲשְׁרֵיהֶם מָלַטָּהוּ וַחֲקָיוֹת וֹקִבִּיָּו, וַתֵּשְׁמוֹ כְּשָׂר וַתֵּשְׁמוּ יַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה לָהֶם לְעֵינָי. יַחְוִיהָן לְאָשֶׁרִים בְּדָרֶלֶתָם מִי כַּן עַד עַל חֵローン הַיָּדֵּי אֱלֵיִי שַמֶּשֶׂת מְנוֹנִיָּו וְוַיֵּשְׁמוּ אֶלֶּה יַאֲשְׁרֵיהֶם מָלַטָּהוּ וַחֲקָיוֹת וֹקִבִּיָּו מָרְשַׁהוּ הוֹרֵחְקָו וּרְבָרָהוּי עִמְכֶּה (רֶבֶרֶיִי) וֹדַעֶה (דְּבָרָהוּי) וֹדַעֶה (דְּבָרָהוּי) אָלַחֲוָהוּ. So much is clear.—Then follows an apostrophe to a certain star, which appears also in Schwab E. With this parallel to our aid I read: אַיָּ הָכָוָה אָלֵה יַעֵּשּׁה יַאֲשְׁרֵיהֶם מָלַטָּהוּ וַחֲקָיוֹת וֹקִבִּיָּו: י. א. "Oh (or, woe), the star on which rides salvation (healing), the one which teaches arts to witches;" that is, some star potent in medicine and black arts, which may be invoked for good or evil.—Towards the end is to be read: בִּירָמִית בִּרְסָא אַשָּׁרָן נִזְטָא לַמַּא הָרֶשֶׁת וְלָשׁוֹת. "in the name of Bar Mesôsiâ (a master-conjurer evidently), the great Ineffable Name."

For Schwab E, see notes on the bowl just discussed.—In the middle of the inscription for הָרֶשֶׁת read וְחָרִים כֶּפֶתִּית.
A new collation might contribute much to the understanding of Schwab F. In l. 1, יִשְׁרָיָּא ("strong one") is an epithet of the "evil spirit." Read תַּשָּׁבְעָה at end of line.—L. 2, read מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, "like oil they (the spirits) are dipped into the vessel of his heart," i.e., the man’s inwards are suffused with diseases as with oil.—L. 9 again for זָרָה for זָרָה. —L. 10, read מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, "like oil they (the spirits) are dipped into the vessel of his heart," i.e., the man’s inwards are suffused with diseases as with oil.—L. 11, read מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, "(ye angels go forth from him) until the consummation of time and that time is known,"—with reference to the day of judgment.

In Schwab G, l. 9, מִלְפָּה שֶׁשֶּׁמֶת מִי = "wherefore have I heard a voice? I have heard the voice of a man, Mešarsiā," etc.

Schwab I, l. 1, read מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, "sorcery I exorcise."—L. 12, read מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, "inscribed is the name whereby heaven and earth are bound."

The transliteration of Schwab M is almost untranslatable. As the first word read מְדִיבְּרָא, "I adjure," which disposes of one of Schwab’s proofs that these bowls were used in hydromancy.

In Berlin Museum no. 2416, l. 4 (Stübe = Wohlstein, l. 5) and repeatedly below, מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה = "whom I have cursed." In l. 20, etc. the demons are bidden to depart from the sorcerer’s client and transfer themselves to any persons he has cursed.—For מְדִיבְּרָא, l. 6 (W. 8), see below, to 2:2, and for מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה = "of Yahwe," l. 15 (W. 22), see 13:7 and 26:4.—עַל, l. 22 (W. 31) = "on ground of, in the name of the Mystery."

In Wohlstein, no. 2422, l. 16, מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה is plural of the Targumic מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, "false deity;" the same plural is meant in מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, no. 2426, l. 5.—In no. 2417, l. 3, 6, for מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה read מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה, "my grandmother," and מְדִיבְּרָא אַנְשָׁה = "the great goddess."

* Stübe’s text is much the better.
II. SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

§ 4. INTRODUCTORY

In the following notes I shall confine myself almost entirely to the bowls at Pennsylvania. The absence of facsimiles or of good ones in a large number of the published texts prevents a proper control over those texts. Moreover there is some advantage in confining the study to a single collection of texts whose age and provenance can be exactly fixed as in the case of the bowls from Nippur. At the same time what is true of these texts is found to hold good for other published inscriptions.

Our material may be divided epigraphically and dialectically into three classes: (1) Of the "Rabbinic" dialect in the square character; (2) of a Syriac dialect, in a novel form of Estrangelo script; (3) of the Mandaic dialect in its peculiar alphabet. Bowl inscriptions of the first and third classes have been published; but so far no Syriac text has appeared with the exception of one essay noted p. 16 and in § 6.

Some apology may be necessary for the term "Rabbinic" dialect. As used here, it does not imply that the rabbis or the Jews in Babylonia had a special dialect,—they spoke the native dialects; nor that there is any unity in the language of the Talmud, which is alive with dialectic varieties. But the Talmud is practically our only source for a certain family of Aramaic dialects in Babylonia, easily distinguished from the two other literary dialects, the Syriac (Edessene) and Mandaic. The name chosen is a convenient handle.

1 Our texts themselves, as the discussion will show, are frequently of non-Jewish origin.

2 "Babylonian" or the old-fashioned "Chaldaic," might be used, but each is equally indefinite and the former would be most confusing.
§ 5. The Rabbinic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

Ellis, who made the first attempt at decipherment of bowls in the square character, was inclined to find in them a very primitive script, antedating the Christian era. Levy proceeded in a scholarly fashion and analyzed each character—to be sure, with rather scanty epigraphical resources; he came to the conclusion that the bowl he was treating was to be assigned to the seventh century. Chwolson severely criticized Levy's method, and on the basis of the palaeographical material in his Corpus assigned the bowls of Ellis to various early dates (col. 118). Ellis he assigned to the first Christian century; for three others he gave a graduated chronology, placing them in the second, third and fourth centuries respectively. But Chwolson's own method is somewhat of a reductio ad absurdum. It is hazardous to assign a date for these bowls on palaeographical grounds; it is impossible to relate the various variations of script to each other by a chronological scale. For instance the contemporaneous character of many bowls at Nippur is shown by the recurrence of the same persons and families in the texts; indeed the same persons appear in texts of different dialects, yet these inscriptions differ greatly in script. But there is no reason, at least in the Nippur bowls, to assign them to different ages; from the interrelations between them, personal and phraseological, I am inclined to assign them to the same period. Indeed they might all have been written in the same year, so far as palaeography may say anything. The differences are chirographical, not palaeographical. Some of the scribes wrote a neat, even a beautiful hand; but many were written by careless scribes, and many by illiterate ones, probably often by

1 In Layard, op. cit., 510; so Layard himself for no. 1, p. 525.
2 ZDMG, ix, 474.
3 See Hyvernat, p. 140, on Levy and Chwolson's arguments.
laymen, who affected to write their own prescriptions. The comparative plate of characters presented by Levy offers a large number of variations in the forms of many letters: for א and ת eleven each, for פ eight, for כ and פ six, etc. Now when one short text offers so many varieties in forms, it is impossible for palaeography to give any nice chronological estimate. In fact the ruder the letters are, the more archaic they appear; yet they may be mere degenerations of the standard type or survivals of an elder one persisting in obscure quarters.

One need but take a glance at Euting's alphabetic tables at the end of Chwolson's Corpus to recognize that the Hebrew square character has remained essentially the same since near the beginning of the era. The earlier evidence is drawn from monuments, the later from manuscripts, while in the long centuries of scribal reproduction the Jews have developed as it were a conventional ductus, whereas earlier there was far more room for variation when this family of the alphabet was not confined as a vehicle of a school of religious scribes. Thus א is one of the most Protean of forms, but apparently all varieties are found in almost every century of the first millennium, according to Euting's showing.

In the palaeographical table attached to this work I give specimen alphabets drawn from the bowls. But a fine analysis for chronological results would be unprofitable. For a round date the bowls might be placed on palaeographical grounds at about 500 A.C., but this date might be carried further back or further down according as other evidence might be adduced.

The sinial letters are used, but with few instances of sinial ר. A phenomenon that presents some difficulty is the practical identification of א and ר and of ח and ז. In the case of the former pair, they are often distinguished, the א being then represented by a short stroke or sometimes by a small angle, the ר by a long stroke; but there is no consistency in this differentiation, and the א is easily prolonged into a stroke like ר; within the same text or line or even word, the א may be written both ways. This confusion has led to the barbarous appearance of many of the edited texts, on which Nöldeke has animadverted. The confusion throws doubts on certain vocalizations,—e.g. is it אָי or אָי? and it is of grammatical

moment in the verbal endings י and י, where, because of the recession of the stroke of the י, the vowel letters are not at all distinguished.

There is no distinction between מ and ו in the Nippur bowls, and the same is true of the other published bowls, so far as I can observe. The מ includes ו. It is the same phenomenon that appears in the Mandaic, where מ has been retained only as a pronominal suffix. This identification is the representation of actual speech, in which our scribes no longer distinguished between the two gutturals, even as in the Mandaic. As the Babylonian Talmud distinguished between them in its text, we may surmise that the better educated preserved the difference at least in spelling.5

The final a-vowel is expressed by א, less frequently by ע. Some texts use the latter consistently, and there is hardly a text which does not give an instance of this spelling. It is used regularly for certain common words, e. g. אָלֶל; and especially when the word contains an א, e. g. עָאָה, עֶה. This is a primitive type of Aramaic orthoepy, but the Samaritan dialect has preserved it, and an early Palestinian amulet, published by me elsewhere, shows the same features.6 The phenomenon is unique in late Eastern Aramaic.

The vowel letters י and י are used abundantly, always in terminal syllables and for long vowels, and very commonly for short vowels. Yet there is variation in this respect, even in the same text. On the whole א is sparingly used as a vowel letter, preferably to indicate the feminine plural, e. g. עָאָה, yet indistinguishable עָה is as frequent.

It goes without saying that there are no vowel points. In one bowl (No. 13) a kind of pothook has been used to separate words, and here and there a point has been used, but this is the extent of the punctuation. Sometimes a scoring is found between the lines of script and by means of vertical lines phrases are blocked off; these are generally magical combinations. In No. 22 one word is written in a clumsy Syriac script and in one of Ellis's bowls a Syriac מ is once used. Quite a peculiar script is found in No. 30, and א has a unique form in No. 22.

5 In the elder type of מ, the left leg was attached to the upper bar, hence the confusion with מ was easier. The Rabbis preferred this form; see Men. 20b. The close assimilation of the two letters appears in the Assouan papyri of the fifth century B. C.

6 JAOS, 1911, 272.
B. The Language

The grammatical phenomena in the bowls from Nippur can for the most part be exemplified from the Babylonian Talmud, and like the latter they present various dialectic types. On the one hand they have close connections with Mandaic and on the other they show some Syriac idioms.

As in the Mandaic orthoepy the seva is frequently designated by ו, a circumstance which throws light upon the minor vocalizations. I may notice הביתות, איזהה, "their mother, house," etc.; אאלה הנמיסות, pl., אאלה; with prefixes: וביתות, "their left hand," and with ו, ממקות, "and daughters," ידוות, אאלה הבתות (a punctuation appearing also in Targum Onkelos, see to 3: 3).

In the consonants there is the yielding of the harder sounds, e. g. אספנדנורה, אספנדנורה, varying with אספנדנורה; indeed ו has become a very rare character. In general the gutturals are preserved, though ו and א are no longer distinguished. In one bowl, No. 6, which has other Mandaizing characteristics, are found אאלה = אאלה, ת usbh, ו, נבר ת usbh, ו, נבר. The same bowl offers ת usbh ת usbh, with the intrusion of a new vowel, as is particularly characteristic of Mandaic. 1

For the pronouns I may refer to the lists at end of Glossary C. For their suffixal forms may be noted לבנ, 2: 4, and even ה, 11: 9 (etc), "his sons," ה = חל in duplicate texts (see to 11: 9), as common in Mandaic, and appearing also in the Talmud. For the 2nd per. pl. fem. וב- is used for וב- (see to 7: 3).

The masculine plural is in ו and פ indifferently, even in close association. איבים 8: 6 and the nouns in 13: 1 ending in ו are probably Mandaic forms of spelling, א.

As for the verb, along with ו as dominant prefix in the impf., ו takes its place in Nos. 6, 13 (along with two cases in ו), 19, 25, 28. A Nifal with Aramaic ending appears in 25: 2, נשתה, along with the ppl. ונשימים. In 28: 1 appears a Syriac Ethpia'al. ונשימים. The ו of the reflexive is rarely lost, yet e. g. ונשימים, ונשימים.

The 1st pers. sing. appears as ועשת or עשת, for a verb of i-stem we have עשת. There is found a perfect plural, עשתות, as in Syriac.

Second feminine plurals, which are lacking in the Talmud, are found; unfortunately as the notes show, it is not always possible to decide whether a form is singular or plural, and there is the awkward confusion of "ן- and "ן-. In 6:9 תִּתְנָבֶסָה is certainly plural, and doubtless the masculine plural termination (as in Hebrew) is to be understood in preference to -ין, which would be the singular. It is uncertain whether שְׁוֵי, 11:8, 26:6, is fem. singular or plural; in the duplicate text to No. 11, the plural is evident.

For the few cases of the quiescence of י in verbal forms, see above. In מ' roots we have, e.g., והלאים, והלאים. Unique is the final loss of the ה of בה in the participal form בהים. 6:6. For forms of איה we have תֶּה, ויהי (both in the same text), spelt elsewhere בֶּהיה, התיה. The masc. plural of the participle appears as קֶה, זֵה; cf. מְהָה, מְהָה, מְהָה, מְהָה, מְהָה, מְהָה.

As to the prepositions there is the interchange of ה and לו, as in Mandaic. Also observe the occurrence in the same line of קְרַמְתָּה and קְרַמְתָּה, 3:7.

There is almost nothing peculiar in the syntax. I note the occurrence of an old-Aramaic idiom in בְּהַלְהָה, "their house," 1:6; also the unique idiom, if the text is correct,— יַעֲשֶׂה, "and also," 1:3 (cf. Latin, simul ac).

* See Levias, Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom Contained in the Bab. Talmud, § 188.
§ 6. The Syriac Texts

In our collection appear seven bowls of Syriac script and language,—the first of this category to be published with the exception of the poor facsimile of a probably similar bowl, accompanied with an unintelligible transliteration, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 521 f.¹

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script reveals itself as belonging to the Palmyrene-Syriac type, and that we are dealing not with a mere autographic "sport" is clear from the fact that two or three hands have written our seven texts. It agrees with the Palmyrene and Edessene in pointing Ʌ, and with the former in not distinguishing Ʌ. The Seyâmê or double points are used; this mark is generally written on the last letter, but occasionally, generally for reasons of space, on an earlier character. Once the two points are written vertically, 33:5; they may include the points of Ʌ, and in 34:6 Ʌ appears to have the two points one above and one below. The script provides the pronominal fem. suffix Ʌ with an upper point, an ancient distinction in literary Syriac.² But there is marked distinction from the Edessene type in the absence of ligature; letters may touch one another, but they are not purposely written together.

In examining the individual characters (see my Alphabetic Tables) we find that Ʌ, Ʌ, Ʌ, Ʌ agree with the types of the Estrangello alphabet, and Ʌ and Ʌ approximate the latter; but evidently our novel alphabet has had a history independent of Estrangello.

¹ Chwolson thinks that the script of this bowl is of older type than that of the Edessene MS. of 411 (*CIH*, col. 116).
² In 34:4 אֲנִי, "Moses," is written with a point over ץ—to represent the ē sound?

(32)
It reveals a family likeness with the types found in early Edessene inscriptions\(^4\) (where the characters are independent and no points used). But the genealogy for the peculiarities of our script is to be found in the cursive Palmyrene script, with which the Estrangelo is also to be connected. See Euting's alphabetic tables, cols. 17-28, in Chwolson CIH; his tables in Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*; the atlas to Lidzbarski's *Handbuch z. nordsem. Epigraphik*, and for the history of the cursive Edessene script, the latter work, p. 193.

This relationship appears in Ƨ (n. b. the curving stroke of the head); in ŉ (the type in No. 36 is identical with the Palmyrene); in きれ (with the head at almost a right angle); in ｭ (our character is practically identical with the Estrangelo, but the origin of the type is to be found in Palmyrene, and a type in No. 32 is the replica of the angular form presented by Euting, col. 26); in �₽; in 🐛 reduced to a small stroke or coarse round mark on the line; in 习近 (with parallels in Euting's table only in cursive Palmyrene, see cols. 24-28); in مفاوض, which tends to a closed figure, and ₊; in  ---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------- (a small half-oval figure, primitive, in form, corresponding most closely to the cursive Palmyrene); in ₆; in 亚运会 (preserving the ancient type against the Edessene development). 𩛞 is not found.

Of the remaining letters, 𠮫 is distinguished from 𠮫 by the diacritical point as in Palmyrene, but the figure of both characters faces to the right, a unique phenomenon. The character Ƨ is unique, with its long curve extending far to the left, so that this feature becomes the characteristic and the head degenerates to a point;\(^5\) but here again the Palmyrene type may be compared. The letter Ꮥ is *sui generis*, the medial character may be related to the Palmyrene; the finial with its long stroke recalls the Estrangelo finial ₊, but terminates in a fork. 𠮫 also stands by itself. There is a general resemblance between it and the Syriac types presented by Euting, in Nöldeke, cols. viii-xiii, representing the fifth to the seventh century. But those Syriac forms have arisen from the tendency to ligature, whereas our 𠮫 is innocent of any such purpose. I am inclined to think

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\(^4\) E. g. Sachau, "Edessenische Inschriften," *ZDMG*, 1882, 142; n. b. no. 8.

\(^5\) The nearest approach to this type appears in a similar character with a long tail in the Syriac MS. from Turkestan published by Sachau in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1905, 964.
that it is to be related to a rather primitive form of \( n \) which consisted of a downward stroke to the left with a crosspiece near the top. Our type has simply reversed this, making the stroke downwards to the right, while the crosspiece comes at the bottom.

This analysis of the script presented in our Syriac bowls exhibits accordingly an older type than the literary Estrangelo and the Edessene inscriptions; its most pronounced relationships are with the cursive Palmyrene, and it is to be regarded as an independent sister of the Edessene script. Withal no character shows a distinctly late type.

Epigraphically then this script is of much interest, as exhibiting an early local form of Aramaic alphabet, of Palmyrene type, existing in Babylonia. It may have been a commercial script which spread from the metropolis Palmyra.\(^8\) In \( \S \) 14 the age of the bowls will be discussed; the script itself does not stand in the way of an early age, perhaps the fourth century, though other evidence may induce us to date the texts some centuries later.

Since the above paragraphs were finished and regarded as closed, my attention has chanced upon the Turkish Manichaean fragments from Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, and I find a striking resemblance in many characters of the alphabet there used (which is an offshoot of the Syriac script) to those of the Syriac type before us. I may refer here to the discussion of the script by F. W. K. Müller in the Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy, 1904, 348 ff., and the facsimiles published in subsequent volumes of the same journal, e. g. that facing p. 1077, in the volume for 1905. In my Alphabetic Tables at the end of this work I shall present the correspondence in parallelism. The Turkish script is very much younger than ours, but has steadfastly preserved the type inherited from Babylonia. Mani came from Babylon, a few miles distant from Nippur, and we must suppose that our script was the local use of that region, which came to be adopted by Mani and his sect as the vehicle of their literature.

\(^8\) It may be worth while to suggest that we possess in this peculiar script the script of the Harranian pagans, vulgarly known as the Sabians. As Chwolson has shown in his monumental work, \textit{Die Sabier und der Sabismus}, these heathens spoke a pure Syriac (i, 258 f.), although the peculiar alphabets assigned to them by Arabic writers are fictitious or kabbalistic (ii, 845).
The history of our script is thereby carried back to the third century, by which time it was well established. What was thus a local script came to be perpetuated as the literary instrument of the Manichaean sect,—a fate which has so often happened to various forms of the Aramaic alphabet. I have given further discussion of this matter in articles now in press for the Museum Journal and the Journal of the American Oriental Society. It may be added that there are no Manichaean traces in the bowls.

In the matter of orthoepy, while the forms without matres lectionis abundantly appear (e.g. ṣawal, plural; masmot, etc.), plene writings are also frequent, e.g. ṣawat, asmorat, ḫen, ḫim, ṭim, etc. There also occurs at times the confusion of ṧ and ṣ, characteristic in the square Aramaic texts and in the Mandaic: ṣ for ṧ in 31:5, 38:3, and ṧ for ṣ in 31:5; ṫam in 36:5, 38:3, and ṣam in 36:1. The same sorcerer or family appears to have written bowls in both the Rabbinic and Syriac dialects (see Nos. 33-35), and hence the natural contamination of the one by the other.

The extensive use of the Seyâmê in all plurals is to be noted: in the pronoun ṣaḥ 31:5, the plural of the verb e.g. ṣawat 31:6, the participle ṣawat 37:8, etc.

B. The Language

The dialect belongs to the Edessene type; this is evident from the forms of pronouns and verbs. But there is extensive corruption from the type of dialect which has been literarily preserved in the Mandaic. This appears, as we have seen, in the Mandaic confusion of ṧ and ṣ. The 3rd sing. masc. or fem. suffix to a plural appears as ṧ; e.g. ṣawat, “his sons,” 33:13 (with Seyâmê), the same for “her sons” (with single point over ṧ), ṣawat (with Seyâmê), 37:8, etc. We have observed the same phenomenon in the Rabbinic texts.

For other similar Mandaism we may note: the equivalence of ṣ and ṣaw, 34:10; the verbal form ṣawat (from ḥal), 34:10 (see my comment); the pronoun ṣawat, 37:8; ṣawati for ṣawati, 34:8, cf. ṣawati for ṣawati; ṣawat for ṣawat, 34:10; the construct ṣawat, e.g. 34:6. There are also some peculiar
forms, e. g. מִשְׁמַשְׁתָּנוּ תָחַי 34: 1, מִשְׁמַשְׁתָּנוּ 34: 2, מִשְׁמַשְׁתָּנוּ 35: 4; and a few rare or unknown words: דְרִימָא, מַדְאָסְבִיָא (דָּאָסְבָּא). The numeral with the suffix מֵרִים 34: 4. is not classical, but is found in Targumic, Palmyrene, and Neo-Syriac. In 33: 10 is Afel infinitive of אָסֵקָה.
§ 7. The Mandaic Texts

A. Script and Orthoepy

The script of the Mandaic bowls is exactly similar to that of those published in facsimile by Pognon. The peculiarities of certain characters distinguishing them from those in the MSS. of the fifteenth and following centuries, as noted by that scholar (Une incantation, 12 f.), appear likewise in these bowls.

The ؅ is a large letter dropping its shaft obliquely below the line and recovering itself by an up-stroke at an acute angle. ؤ is a zigzag figure, or has an open, round flourish at the top. Following the traditions of the early alphabet ؙ and ؖ are similar, often indistinguishable; the former tends to a smaller head and a square angle at the top, the latter to a curving form like the end of a loop. ؘ is ligated at the top with the preceding letter. ؚ has, in Nos. 39, 40, a long leg to the right. ؗ appears in angular form, and also in a balloon-shaped figure. ؔ is a large letter rising well above and dropping below the line, sometimes in a free curve. Except that the drop is vertical, it is similar to ؒ; we may compare the like similarity in the Palmyrene. In No. 39 ؔ has the primitive form of two strokes at an angle, but leaning backward, and so allowing of ligature to the left by the foot. The left foot of ؙ projects itself obliquely in a straight line, and the extended stroke at the top distinguishes the character from ؚ. In No. 39, ؑ has the later form, similar to the Arabic ؒ; with others, the body is fuller, approximating the ؔ. ؐ is generally an angle lying upon the line, but in No. 39 it drops below the line, in two rough curving lines. ؑ has a large head, but does not drop below the line. ؑ is not found in these

¹ Compare now the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the de Vogüé Memorial Volume, p. 349, and the editor's notes, p. 350. His facsimiles are too indistinct to permit satisfactory comparison.
bowls. The symbol appears as a closed figure, like a roundish Estrangelo ρ, with the left stroke failing to reach the upper line and curving back—probably for distinction from δ. The ψ consists of two rough loops, which lie on top, or below, or on opposite sides. The ⟨⟩ has often the simple form of the Hebrew נ.

The suffixal נ (which I represent by the same character in my transliteration) occurs at the beginning of No. 38, and is then dropped by the scribe; it may perhaps be intended in one or two other cases in these bowls. Otherwise it cannot be distinguished from נ; however, following the general practice I have always indicated the suffix by נ. A similar uncertainty of distinction appears in Lidzbarski’s amulet; in Pognon’s bowls the distinction is generally preserved.

The peculiar sign for the relative, ו, has the shape known from the MSS., except that the vertical stroke at the left hand is often written without attachment to the first part. It always appears as a separate word, as is the case in Codex B of Petermann’s edition of the Ginza, and apparently in Lidzbarski’s bowls. I have followed the common editorial use of attaching it, like the Aramaic relative in general, to the following word. See the arguments of Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., 92, for regarding the sign as a peculiar development of ו, not as a ligature of ו. But it must be asked why such a special sign should have been used. It appears to be a survival of the older Aramaic ו, and I would argue that the pronunciation di had survived until the formation of the Mandaic script. In these texts, as in the MSS., the relative when internal (e. g. after ו) is expressed by ו; but this does not prove that ו = ו, only that with the support of a preceding vowel the vowel of the relative was rejected.

The characters are spaced unevenly and in the case of unligated characters it is often difficult to ascertain with which word they are to be combined. The ligation is haphazard, there is no consistent attempt at consecutive chirography as in the later texts.

Apart from the bowl-inscriptions and Lidzbarski’s amulets, all the Mandaic texts are preserved in late texts; the former are therefore important as the earliest monuments of the script. In § 14 I give evidence to prove that the Nippur texts are to be dated circa 600; at that period then the Mandaeans had elaborated their own alphabet with its peculiarities.
Investigations, which I may not expatiate on here, have led me to the belief that for the most part the Mandaic alphabet represents an early type of the “Syriae” alphabets; it is indeed often closely connected with the Palmyrene and Nabataean scripts. The sect itself must have arisen in the age when Gnosticism was rife in the Orient and before the domination of Christianity, and we have to suppose that it early developed its own peculiar calligraphy, after the wont of the various oriental sects of that age. Compare the remarks on the Manichaean alphabet, § 6.

As Pognon says of his text from Bismaya, the language of the bowls is identical with that of the Ginza and Kulastra. The only difference is formal, in the sparse or varying use of the *matres lectionis*. I may cite: "םל"תא 'מע, 'מע; ש"תא; ש"תא, ש"תא, ש"תא, where later ש"תא was used in the first or second syllable or both; we actually find ש"תא, ש"תא, ש"תא. *4*

B. The Language

We may note the following syntactical peculiarity: the apparent use of the anticipatory pronominal suffix ַ without the following relative particle ב, the suffix itself creating a kind of construct case-ending, the regimen being in apposition to the suffix. E. g. 40: 3: מִלְלְתָא הַפָּה הַב "the word of B’s granddaughter." A similar construction occurs throughout Nos. 21, 22, 23 (q. v.); also a parallel instance in the Palestinian amulet published by the writer in *JAOS*, 1911, see note there, p. 278. In 40: 24 such a “construct” form in ב is used before a plural noun: בְּנִיתוֹ הַאוֹתָנָה. Was it in the way of becoming a stereotyped case?

Apart from the references to “Life,” these bowls are not specifically Mandaic in religion. Pognon’s bowls are much more colored with Mandaeism. Under No. 11 it is to be observed that the Mandaic text there compared is secondary to the Rabbinic texts; probably in the Nippur community the Mandaeans got their magic from the peoples of other dialects. In Pognon’s texts the spirit of the ancient Babylonian magic appears more strongly than in any other of the bowl-inscriptions.

*3 Une incantation, 13.
4 Which Pognon strangely enough regards as “errors.”
4 Nöldeke’s expert judgment, in his review of Pognon, p. 143, that the language of the bowls is later than that of the Mandaic classics, may be noted here.
III. THE MAGIC OF THE TEXTS

§ 8. The Purpose of the Inscribed Bowls

The incantation bowls belong, with few exceptions, to one very specialized form of magic. They spontaneously suggest the art of "bowl magic," which, in various forms, is spread over the world, and which has a straight genealogy from Joseph's drinking cup to the spinster's teacup of our own day. Ellis, the first commentator on the bowls, advanced the theory that, following an ancient and widespread therapeutic device, they were filled with a liquid which was drunk off by the patient who thus absorbed the virtue of the written charm. This explanation has been generally given up. Layard objected that then the inscriptions would have been effaced by the liquid,—which argument, though repeated by subsequent scholars, is not conclusive, for the magic vessel may have been preserved as itself a permanent prophylactic. Layard himself thought that they were used in places of sepulture and were charms for the dead, apparently relating them to the utensils placed in primitive graves. A number of Pognon's bowls are in fact endorsed with "for the cemetery," and Wohlstein's no. 2417 appears to be directed against the ghosts of the dead. But the bowls at Nippur were found in ruined houses, and in no case is a bowl intended for the service of the dead.

Schwab argued for the hydromantic use of the bowls. He makes reference to Babylonian hydromancy, and proceeds to quote a number of

1 Rodwell expatiates on this kind of magic, TSBA, ii, 114.
2 Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, 511. Cf. R. C. Thompson, Semitic Magic, pp. lv, lxi.
4 Inscriptions mandaïtes, nos. 5, 7, etc., and p. 3.
5 PSBA, xii, 292 f.
Talmudic passages referring to Joseph's cup, magical beverages, etc., but he shows no connection between his numerous inscriptions and the method and purpose of hydromancy, which affects to give an oracle to men by the movements of oil or other floating objects in the liquid contained in the cup.

Wöhlstein attempted another explanation in the line of a kabbalistic dictum that no work of magic can be effected without the aid of a vessel ("מגスター"). It was Hyvernat however who first, from the field of Jewish demonology, obtained the clue to the right interpretation of the practice we are considering. He refers to the Jewish legends of Solomon's magical ability to confine demons in vases, etc., and the parallel fables in Arabian lore of bottled up jinns, etc. As we shall immediately see, this is the correct explanation.

Pognon did not himself see in situ the large collection of bowls which he published in his Inscriptions manaites, but he learnt from a native that such bowls were found buried just below the surface of the earth, and, generally, reversed, the bottom of the bowl uppermost, while at times bowls were found superimposed upon one another, the mouth of the one fitted to the mouth of the other (p. 1 ff.). Pognon does not guarantee the truths of these statements, but suggests in accordance with them the theory that the inverted bowls were prisons for the demons, who were confined by the virtue of the magical praxis. The expeditions of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur have corroborated this theory by ocular evidence. Referring to the find of bowls above the Parthian temple, Hilprecht reports that "most of the one hundred bowls excavated while I was on the scene were found upside down in the ground," and he gives a photograph showing some of the bowls in this position. He draws the same conclusion as Pognon concerning the magical use of the vessels.

Finally, one of the Pennsylvania texts demonstrates that this was the conscious purpose of the bowl magic. No. 4 opens thus:

For the correction of his hydromantic interpretation of "מששות מים", see above § 3.

* ZA, viii, 325, quoting from the book Raziel, 32.
* Sur une vase judéo-babylonien, 137 f.
* Comparing Thousand and One Nights, ed. Bulak, i, 15 (= Burton's tr. i, 38).
* Explorations, 447.
"covers to hold in sacred (accursed) angels and evil spirits," etc. The same inscription announces to the demons that they are "bound and sealed in each one of the four corners of the house." This magical method in fact gives a special name to the bowls; it is called אבס, which literally means a "press." The same term appears in No. 6, which opens as follows: a press which is pressed down upon demons," etc. The theme is continued throughout the text: "This press I press down upon them" (l. 4); "who ever transgresses against this press" (l. 11), etc. In a word we have to do with a species of sympathetic magic, the inverted bowls symbolizing and effecting the repression and suppression of the evil spirits."

The quadruple use of the bowls also explains the frequent recurrence of identical inscriptions. e. g. Nos. 21, 22, 23, all made out for the same client. The four charms thus placed at equidistant points, which as cornerstones represented the security of the house, formed a circle of magical influence about the dwelling.

In the Babylonian magic we find a similar use of phylacteries buried under the pavement of the house. Botta, Layard and George Smith discovered under the pavement of buildings small receptacles in which were placed magical figurettes, of composite human and animal form. The use of the circular lip of the bowl is also in line with the magic circle which appears to have been practised by sprinkling a circle of lime, flour, etc. around a group of small images of the gods.

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12 See the commentary to the text.
13 The binding at the four corners of the house appears also in Pognon, B, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 24.
14 If my interpretation of the introduction of Nos. 9 and 14 be correct, we have also a reference to the formal depositing of the bowls.
15 Cf. the cylinder and prism texts deposited at the four corners of great buildings in ancient Mesopotamia.
16 Botta, Monument de Ninive, v, 168 f.; Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, ii, 37; Smith, Assyrian Discoveries, 78. See Fossey, La magie assyrienne, 114 f. For a like Jewish and Christian use, see Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 30.
17 Zimmern, Beiträge z. Kenntniss d. bab. Religion, 160, no. 54, and cf. Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. liii, translating uṣuritu "circle" (Zimmerm, "Gebilde"). Cf. the charm with a circle made by a ring presented in the Papyrus Anastasi, Wessely, Vienna Denkschriften, hist.-phil. Classe, xxxvi, 2, p. 34, and further PSBA, xiii, 165. The circle of the magical seal possessed the same efficacy.
But there is proof that the praxis of bowl magic existed in ancient Babylonia. In a passage of the magical Uтukki series presented by Thompson, we read a ban on an evil spirit: (a demon) “which roameth loose in an upper chamber, with a bason (kakkultu) without opening may they cover it.” The editor in his note has recognized the form of magic indicated, without comparing it to the later bowls.

The bowl is then primarily a domestic phylactery, to be classed with the abundant forms of this species of magic, e. g. the Jewish Mezuzoth. An exorcism given by Wessely from the papyri recalls much of the very wording of our texts: that evil spirits may not injure the wearer of these exorcisms, hide not “in the earth.” nor under the bed nor under the door nor under the gate nor under the beams nor under vessels nor under holes. The lurking of devils in the house (e. g. 1: 6), in the beams and on the thresholds (e.g.6:4), frequently appears in our texts, as also in the Talmud. Especially is the threshold named as guarded against the intrusions of evil spirits (e. g. 37: 2). The means of entrance are extravagantly detailed in a Babylonian text: by gate, door, bolt, etc., lintels, hinges, etc.; and door and bolt and threshold are exorcised. The bedchamber is the special object of care, and the endorsement on No. 12, “of the room of the hall,” may refer to a bowl which was deposited in that apartment.

A different application of the same magic is found in the bowls published by Pignon, which were found in a cemetery, many of them being inscribed “for the cemetery” (רבים קבורים). This is the worldwide practice of laying the graveyard ghosts. I am inclined to think that duplicate inscriptions were made out, some for the house and some for the

19 Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, ii, 124.
18 I must leave it open whether the phrase in B. Meş. 29b (= Hull, 84b), אֲנָשָׁה הַרְחִיקוּ נִמְסָרִים (the last word is variously spelt), is a reference to our magical art; it could be translated “the cup of the sorcerers and not the cup of those who break sorcery,” i.e. of bowls used for malicious (cf. § 12) or for preventive magic. Tanḥuma makes the second cup mean an ill-prepared brew which is ground for divorce; see Levy, Hwb., iv, 151a.
20 Denkschriften, xlii, 2, p. 66.
21 Was there a duplicate buried in the house?
22 Jastrow, Religion Babylonien u. Assyriens, i, 377, where the full translation is given.
23 E. g. Tallquist, Maqlu, p. 93, l. 10; Thompson, Devils, ii, 123.
graveyard; this would explain the reference to the four corners of the house in Pognon, nos. 1, 2, etc. None of the Nippur bowls are so marked. Wohlstein's bowl no. 2417 is a detailed exorcism of ghosts.

But Nos. 13 and 28 pass from prophylactic to aggressive magic; they are love charms such as we meet in an early age only in the Greek world. I leave their consideration to the commentary, and only note here that a love charm is as much a κατάθεσις or defixio, to use the words of classical magic, as a ban of evil spirits. It is interesting to note that the Greek charms for defixing a rival in the circus or a lover were often buried in cemeteries, for the powers of evil were in any case invoked.24

The bowl itself is called simply, αμωτζ or μωτζ, also occasionally ἄμιστον amulet = ἀφθαρσίαν, applied secondarily to a phylactery that is not suspended or worn (יִשָּׁבֶת).25 For other terms applied to it as a magical instrument, see § 11.

The tradition of this species of bowl-magic has lasted down into Islam, to fairly modern times. In his Monumens arabes, persans et turcs, Paris, 1828, Reinaud has given (ii, 337 ff.) a careful description of several Arabic magical bowls of brass and glass, contained at his day in private French collections and at the Vatican. They are talismans (to quote one of the bowls) against snakes, scorpions and dogs, against fever, pangs of childbirth and maladies of nursing, enteric diseases, sorcery and dysentery.26 They are introduced "in the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. the similar formula in our texts, e. g. 3: 1 and note), and are elaborately provided with quotations from the Koran and with references to holy legend and the power of God (cf. § 11). One reference indicates that they were inscribed at the propitious astrological moment, cf. below, § 11.

This is the only literary reference to bowls of this character I have been able to discover. In the possession of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia is a small, finely engraved brass bowl, with Koran quotations in Nashki. The text has been translated by Dr. B. B. Charles, Fellow of

24 E. g. the Cypriote charms published by Miss L. Macdonald, PSBA, xiii, 159, and the Hadrumetum tablet, discussed in No. 28.
25 See Blau, Das altjüdische Zaubereisen, 87, and "Amulet" in Jewish Encyc.
26 So in Schwab L and Q charms against dog-bites, and a reference to scorpions is found in Pognon B: see Glossary C, s. v. בְּרִית.
the University, who has kindly allowed me to present his rendering, as follows:

"This blessed bowl wards off all poisons, and in it are assembled tried virtues; and it is for the sting of the serpent and the scorpion, for fever, for dysentery (?), for indigestion, for the mad dog, for stomachache and colic, for headache and throbbing, for fever of the liver and spleen, for facial contortions, for lack of blood (insufficient blood supply), for annulling magic, and for the eye and the sight, and for use in giving to drink of water or oil, or for harm to enemies and for poison in the conclave of (two) lands, when the imāms of the religion and the orthodox caliphs are thereon agreed for the advantage of the Muslims."

Probably many such phylacteries are to be found in oriental households. Evidently the peculiar practice of the inversion of the bowl has disappeared; the vessel itself with its magical inscription has become "blessed," an efficient phylactery. But the use of the bowl is doubtless a survival of the magic we are discussing.
§ 9. The Exorcists

The exorcist is in general anonymous; his personality is lost in his professional possession of occult powers which range far above personal limitations. By the age of our texts he had long been differentiated from the temple priest, or maintained connection with a cult only in out-of-the-way shrines or in the new theosophic circles that sprang up in the Hellenistic age.¹ A few points however may be noted.

Several of the Nippur texts² contain magical formulas worked in the name of Rabbi Joshua ben Perahia (Syriac, Rab Jesus bar P.), who is none other than one of the early Zugoth or Pairs who handed down the Tradition from the Great Synagogue to later ages (see to No. 32). Whether this magical tradition concerning the venerable Joshua be authentic may be dubious;³ but the case is illustrative of the tendency in magic to appeal to ancient great masters of sorcery, and to use their names as though their full powers were possessed. We may compare the many references in the magical papyri to such ancient masters, whose spells have become the stock in trade of their successors.⁴ The assumption of these quacks is well illustrated by a Jewish mortuary charm in which the magician thus introduces himself: “With the wand of Moses and the plate of Aaron and the seal of Solomon and the shield of David and the mitre

¹ For the Babylonian ăşi pu and mašmašu, see Zimmern, Beiträge, 91; Thompson, Semitic Magic, 21.
² Nos. 8, 9, 17, 32, 33, 34.
³ For the Talmudic doctors and others who practised “legitimate” magic, see Blau, Das altjüdische, Zauberwesen, 23. In 34: 2 the sorcerer claims to be a “cousin” of Joshua and there is reference to his “house,” i.e. school in 8: 11. Compare the inherited magical powers of Choni the Circle-maker, Taan., 19b, 23.
⁴ See the list of such magical authorities in Wessely, Vienna Denkschriften, xxxvi, 2, p. 37; cf. xlii, 2, p. 10 (I shall hereafter refer to these volumes simply as xxxvi and xlii). Also Apuleius gives a similar list, including Moses, xc, 100, l. 10 (ed. Helm), see Abt, “Die Apologie des Apuleius,” 244, in Dieterich and Wünsch, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche v. Vorarbeiten, iv, 2.
of the chief priest" (I perform this spell); ⁴ and this Palestinian charm has its parallel in our text No. 2: "I Pabak come, clad in iron and fire, vested with garments of Hermes the Logos, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth." In 7: 12 the authority of Prangin bar Prangin is exercised—some sorcerer of the hazy past, if not a figment of the imagination. 'The great Abbahu' in l. 9 is to be explained in the same way, if it is not a misunderstanding of a Gnostic term, and so too Bar-meštael in l. 13, literally the 'son of the oracle-giver.' In some cases, e. g. the latter two and instances in No. 19, it is difficult to decide whether we have to do with men or divinities; the line was not drawn between the sorcerer and the deity, as in the Hermetic identification of Moses with Hermes ⁵ and in the lively incident in Acts 14, where the people of Lystra deify Barnabas and Paul.

In one case, the pagan text No. 36, the exorcist presents his commission from the deities: 'The lord Shamash has sent me against thee, Sina (the moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me.... NIRIG has given me power." This is the survival of well known Babylonian formulas, e. g. the MAKLU series, i, l. 52 ff.: "Anu and Antu have commissioned me, .... I am ordered, I go, I am sent, I speak, Against the might of my sorcerers Marduk the lord of incantation has sent me."

I am inclined to think that some of the texts, especially the more illiterate ones, were written by lay people. The "word of power" had become the essential element (see § 11), and like a physician's prescription might be copied by anyone, or even invented—for along with the belief in sorcery always goes a subconsciousness of its locus-pocus. For instance, No. 2 is a mutual charm in which two men, in the respective halves of the text, exercise each his powers for the other. Are they

⁴ Montgomery, JAOS, 1911, 272. For the identification with Moses cf. the Hermetic phrase, ἵψις αὐτῷ Μωσῆς, Wessely, xxxvi, 120, l. 109 ff.; also see Dieterich, Abraxas, 68, and Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 279. For the Egyptian use, cf. the Harris papyrus, "I am Amon," Brugsch, Religion u. Mythologie d. alt. Aegypter, 725. Or the sorcerer may identify himself with some mighty demon; e. g. Gitt., 69a, "I am Papi Shila son of Sumka," cf. Blau, op. cit. 83. Also cf. 27: 9 with 2: 6.

⁵ Dieterich, l. c.

professional magicians or not rather laymen who felt they could make a stronger defence against the powers of evil by standing shoulder to shoulder? The texts are often indited in the first person, e. g. Pognon 24; in No. 27 the clients of No. 7 appear as making the charm, and use the form of No. 2. But in general there is a breaking down of the distinction between personalities in magic; compare the Babylonian rituals, in which priest and suppliant appear to fuse in one another.

In one place Wohlstein calls attention to what appears to be an attestation of the incantation, inserted into the middle of the text. The obscure passage is: קִמָא דָּהָא נַחֵי לֵא אָנֵי הָאָה יָדַעְתִי אָנֵה. It may be translated: "It is correct for it has been written for me (or כי = חמתי?), we recognize it here." Cf. the attestations of the scribe in the Babylonian magical texts, e. g. the Maklu series.

* Z.A, ix, 36.
§ 10. The Clients

Most of the inscriptions are of domestic character, being made out for a married couple, their children, their house, and their property, cattle, etc. Frequently it is the wife and mother who procures the charm, with or without reference to the husband. In many of the inscriptions there is special intention against the evils that disturb the domestic sexual life. And so No. 36 gives an exorcism for the bridal-chamber, No. 24 is a charm for the safe delivery of a pregnant woman. The bed-chamber is often specified (ביה טיטובא). There is frequent reference to the demons that slay the unborn babes (e.g. Nos. 36, 37), the charm is often made out for the children that shall be, as well as for those that are. It would seem that where women are concerned, the greater part of magic has to do with the mysteries and maladies of the sexual life. The Lilis and Liliths which predominate in the categories of demons are personifications of sexual abnormalities.

At times the idea of the family is extended to a wider scope, so as to include a large household; No. 29 is a good example; from the long list of male names enumerated, some of them of foreigners, it appears that the woman who procured the charm was landlady of a lodging house. On the other hand sometimes a single individual feels that a whole bowl is necessary for his own maladies; so in the case of the invalid who is the client of Schwab’s bowl F.

As the individuals must be exactly specified we have a rich list of names, which is enlarged by the required naming of the mother, more rarely the father of the client.¹ In the Rabbinic texts we find the Aramaic names

¹ Shabb. 66b: "all repetitive incantations are in name of the mother." The "sacred" name of a person includes that of his mother with the Mandaeans (Brandt, Mand. Religion, 116). The same rule appears in the Greek magic; see Wünsch Antike Fluchtafeln (Lietzmann’s Kleine Texte, no. 20), p. 9 for examples and literary references. The practice is now attributed to the original
familiar in the Talmud, etc., Persian names, probably more frequent than
the former, and but few typical Jewish names. In the Syriac and Mandaic
texts the names are by a large majority Persian. My texts contain one
evidently Greek name, Ἀστροβας, Martyrofilia; the former is paralleled in a text of Lidzbarski's by נימאתיות, Timotheos, the latter by לְוָי, 'His-hope-in-Jesus' in a text of
Pognon's. Some of the names of obscure etymology may be of Indian
origin; cf. the frequent name Hinduitha.

The large proportion of Persian names even in the Rabbinic texts
might lead us to think that the clients were non-Jewish. The argument
is somewhat fallacious as the Jews by no means stickled for their native
names, in fact seem to have adopted foreign names with great avidity. And
so in one family of nine souls the names are Persian, and only one son bears
a Jewish name (No. 12). But as we shall have reason to conclude (§ 15),
the magic of our bowls is so eclectic that even a "Jewish"-Aramaic text
does not imply a Jewish exorcist, nor Jewish clients. We have to think
of a clientèle partly Jewish, partly non-Jewish, to which the religious
affinities of the magic were indifferent.

But the power of the charms is also extended beyond the actual house
and its inmates so as to include the whole property of the client. Not only
are house and mansion detailed, but also the cattle and possessions in
general (כּוֹנֶה). In like manner Greek phylacteries provide a general
property insurance, e. g. that the demons "shall not injure or approach
N. or M. or his house or his vineyards or lands or cattle."

matriarchal condition of society rather than to the elder principle, pater incertus,
mater certa. Naming of the father probably occurs where the mother is unknown;
for instances see to 10: 1.

* See Glossary B; also Pognon, B, p. 97.
* Reitzenstein, Poinandres, 294; such charms are frequent in the Graeco-Italian
exorcisms published by Pradel, in Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten,
iii, no. 3. For amulets worn by cattle, see Blau, Das altjüdische Zaubewesen, 86.
II. The Incantations.

I have discussed in § 8 the particular praxis of our magic—the inversion of the inscribed bowl. There remain for consideration many details, for elaborateness is characteristic of magic and even in our comparatively simple field there are many phenomena which are suggestive links binding it with more complicated magical science.

Magic consists of two elements: the physical operation or praxis, and the incantation, or to use the Egyptian term, "the word of power." They are distinguished in the Babylonian as the epešu "work" (also kikittu*), and the šiptu, words which appear rubrically in the magical texts. In the Greek the terms for the practice are πράξεα, πράξεις, χρησις; for the incantation (λέγεις) λόγος.* So in Latin facere is the word for the operation, and it has had an interesting history through factura, fattura, feitigo (Portuguese), into fetich.

The same distinction and similar terms are found in our magic. The root עבד, "work, serve" (late Hebrew נבש (cf. 14: 1), מָכַשְׁ (Persian) is used of the practice. It is the common root also for the service, the worship of the gods in West-Semitic, and this fact illustrates the parity, often equivalence of religion and magic. Hence the technical terms עבד (’ābādā), עבורה

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*Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, 26 f.

* E. g. in the Labartu texts, Myhrman, ZA, xvi, 141.

* For the first two words see indexes in Wessely's two volumes in the *Denkschriften*; for χρησις, Dieterich *Abraxas*, pp. 136, 160. All three words occur close together in Dieterich's text p. 204 f. For ἀλέθη (Dieterich, p. 136) = the ἀληθή of our texts, see § 12.

* Cf. Latin, *colo*, *cultus*. This Hebrew-Aramaic root is more religious than epešu, etc., with its idea of service. N. b. Arabic *umrā*, used of the cult at Mecca, Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iii, 165.

* A magical connotation of this root may exist in *Is. 28: 2*: לְכַדְּבֵא עַנְדָּה נְקָרָה, where the divine operation is contrasted to the magic arts of the necromancers.
(’ubbâdâ), הבוא (ma’bâdâ), occurring frequently in the bowls, and in such expressions as הבוא והות (9: 2), and הבוא והות (9: 2).

The spoken Word is represented by מִלְּחַת, מִלְּחַת, “words,” etc., also technically by מִלְּחַת, once מִלְּחַת 16: 10, = the Greek ἅρπαγμα (also κιθαρικά) used both in magic arts and also in the Christian liturgy (in baptism, eucharist, exorcisms), though as we shall see, most of these words came to be regarded as part of black magic and were avoided by our exorcists. The incantation as written is called a כְּלָיַת and by the unique word destabira, and also a כְּלָיַת, “mystery,” 3: 1.

A very large number of terms is used to express different practices and nuances of magic, but most of them only in the lists of dreaded black magic (see § 12), and hence they are avoided by our exorcists. The exorcist gives himself none of the technical names, e. g. from the roots כְּסֵת, כְּסֵת, he speaks of his הבוא, but הבוא is avoided. His adjuration is a כְּסֵת, כְּסֵת, the Babylonian mamitu, “ban,” and he employs the corresponding verb כְּסֵת, a more frequent equivalent is הבוא, Affel. Once he uses the root כְּסֵת, כְּסֵת, 2: 3. But his favorite terminology for his own practice is derived from כְּסֵת, “bind,” exactly equivalent to the Greek καταδρίν, Latin defigere; the charm is an כְּסֵת, כְּסֵת. Also the synonymous roots are used less frequently: הבוא, הבוא, הבוא, הבוא, הבוא, הבוא, הבוא. The last root is used of magical practices in this sense in the Old Testament, where also the obscure הבוא, Eze. 13: 18, is probably from a Babylonian root of like import. In the Babylonian the “binding” power of magic is as prominent as in the western magic; I cite such passages as

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8 For הבוא and the Syriac use see Nöeldeke, Z. f. d. Keils.-forsch., iii, 296, and Frankel, ZA, ix, 308. A frequent attributive is הבוא.

6 After summing up the various terms used for exorcism Heitmüller concludes, in his “Im Namen Jesu,” p. 212: “Der Ausdruck קארא אִצְוָה ist ἡπαλακταις τῷ διόμα. Our word קארא is the liturgical equivalent in the Syriac for epiklesis.

7 See 32: 4, and Kent's discussion in JAOS, 1911, 359.

8 The original use of this word ( = תֶּרֶטֶס) appears in its designation of black arts; see § 12.

9 Cf. the modern fine distinctions between magic, sorcery, witchcraft, etc.

30 See Davies, Magic Divination and Demonology, 55, as against W. R. Smith's view in Journ. of Philology, xiv, 123.

11 Frieder. Delitzsch, in Baer and Delitzsch' text, p. xiii.
the \textit{Maklu}-series iv, l. 9; vii, 66, in which this idea is expressed by several synonymous verbs.

The roots בָּל ב. Pa., "annul," רָצו, "prohibit," הָרוּת, "be in taboo," "lay under ban,"\footnote{Stöbe explains the equivalent סְלָע in his text as denominative from the horn of excommunication.} frequently appear. Also בָּתָם, Peal and Pael, is frequent with the sense of sealing the demons with the magic word or device engraved on a seal—often with explicit mention of Solomon's Seal; hence the reference to the 70 seals of Solomon (Hyv.), or the seal of the house of Enoch, 19: 17, the seals of the angels of the Most High (Hyv.).\footnote{For sealing as equivalent to placing the magical name on the object, see Heitmuller. \textit{op. cit.}, 143, 249, etc.} Our magicians will work only white magic, and their whole effort is for the אָתָב, "salts of their clients." The great magician Joshua b. Peraḥia is an אָתָב אַמָּסָא, "great healer," 17: 12 = 34: 2. In this prophylactic nature of the magic, our texts differ favorably from the western \textit{kαράδεσμου} and \textit{defixiones}. The incantations largely consist in the monotonous repetitions of these equivalent roots.

As to the praxis of our magic we have little information additional to that presented in § 8.\footnote{The charm itself is called an אָתָב.—Cf. the New Testament \textit{άφωνος, αφωνία} is used in the papyri, e. g. Wessely, xlil, 31, l. 341.} From Pognon's texts we learn that the bowl was a new one (B. no. 24) and that the sorcerer sat upon an uncleft rock, a survival of primitive religion.\footnote{This includes their defence, אָתָב, and supernatural arming אָתָב (cf. "the panoply of God," Eph. 6: 13), and involves the breaking of counter charms and wiles of the devils: רָעוֹן, אָתָב, אֵלָה, רַמָּת, רָעָם, רָעָה, רַמָּא, etc.: בַּפִּסָא, "lay a spirit"; בַּפִּסָא, etc. In the Talmud יַפִּסָא is the technical opposite to רַמָּא: Blau, \textit{op. cit.}, 157.}

The rude figures and designs which can hardly be said to adorn the bowls are part of the praxis. They come down from the earlier and more realistic age when gods and demons were represented by simulacra and in this wise were manipulated so as to do the sorcerer's will.\footnote{In No. 12 is a bit of rubric for forming a figure of an angel; see the commentary. And probably at end of No. 13 occurs an aphrodisiac recipe.} Most of the

\footnote{In No. 12 is a bit of rubric for forming a figure of an angel; see the commentary. And probably at end of No. 13 occurs an aphrodisiac recipe.}
figures represent the demons, generally as bound and hobbled—i. e. בִּינָר, רִבָּא, etc., to use the words of the incantation. Especially the liliths are so represented, e. g. No. 8, but also there are masculine figures like the military-looking demon, in Persian style, of No. 3. Some of the gruesome caterpillar-like designs are intended to "raise the hair" as did the demons of elder Babylonia.

In one specimen, No. 15, the figure is the design of the serpent with its tail in its mouth. This is surely of Egyptian origin, doubtless through a Hellenistic medium. Such a figure is described in the "Book of Apep," of Ptolemaic compilation, and prescriptions for drawing this magical figure are found in the Greek papyri. Very common—in the Syriac bowls—is a circle with a cross in it; or the circle is divided into segments with a cross in each. These signs probably represent the magical seal. There also occur rough rectangular figures divided into compartments, representing the walls of protection which magic casts about the client. Wessely gives a facsimile of such a magical design: a square within a square, the former being divided into three compartments; I suppose after the plan of a double-walled and many-chambered castle, indicating the protective character of the charm.

In one case, no. 8835, a cross-shaped figure may represent a dagger, and so indicate one of the magical forms of defixio or fastening down of the evil spirits.

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1 Cf. the operation performed on the figure of the Labartu, Myhrman, op. cit., 150. For Palestine, see the figurettes found in the Seleucid debris of Tell Sandahannah, in Bliss and Macalister, Excavations in Palestine, 154. For Egyptian usage, e. g. Budge, op. cit., 83.
2 See the description in Myhrman, p. 148; also the seven evil Utukki, Thompson, Devils, tablet 16, and ii, p. 149.
3 Budge, op. cit., 79, 83.
4 Wessely, xlii, 39 f., 69. The like design appears in a bowl depicted by Hilprecht, Explorations, opposite p. 447. Within the circle so formed are a number of magical figures, the most elaborate that appear in the bowls. The specimen is presumably at Constantinople.
5 For similar sympathetic magic in old Babylonia, see Jastrow, op. cit., i, 303.
6 Ibid. 64.
In No. 4 it is evidently the sorcerer who is depicted, waving in his hand a magic bough. This is the use we find in Babylonian magic, in which a branch of the datepalm or tamarisk was held aloft to repel the demons.  

One detail of universal magic appears in the praxis of our bowls: the assumption of a suitable season for the exorcism. So 6: 5: "this day out of all months, this year out of all years"; cf. the mutilated (and probably misunderstood) form of this formula in 17: 1. In Wohlstein 2422 a day is given: "If you come on the first of Nisan, go away," etc. Nisan 1 was an auspicious day for expelling demons; this was probably due to the belief that the great turning points of the year, the solstices and equinoxes were times of supernatural determinations of human fate, when responsive action on the part of man was especially effective; in the Babylonian calendar Nisan 1 was the day of Destinies, the Jewish New Year's day in Tishri has the same character, and compare the magic time of midsummer night and the Christmas season in more modern superstition. In old Babylonia certain days were propitious for exorcism, and they are listed, as personified, in a Surpu text, among them the 7th, 15th, 19th, 20th, 25th, 30th, of the month. We have fuller information of this notion from Egypt; papyri are preserved giving all the days in the year according to their character as propitious or unpropitious for magical rites. The same use of seasons appears in the Hellenistic papyri, those continuators of Egyptian magic. Among the numerous passages I note the following: ἐναυτὸς ἐς ἐναυτῶν, μήνας ἐς μηνών, ἡμέρας ἐς ἡμερῶν, ὀρας ἐς ὀρῶν, ἥριζω πάντας τοὺς

24 Thompson, Devils, p. xlix, and instances pp. 23, 111, 197. Compare the religious use of the barečma, a bunch of datepalm, pomegranate or tamarisk, in the Persian religion; Spiegel, Eranische Alterthümer, iii, 571. Thompson in his note draws attention to our design.

25 Wohlstein, p. 399, with references.

26 See Carl Schmidt, Aberglaube des Mittelalters, 1884, 205 ff. (on Die Tagewöhlerei).

27 Zimmern, tablet viii, 24 ff. Cf. the exorcism of a demon at full moon, in Lucian, Philopseudes, 16.

28 Budge, op. cit., 224 ff.; Gods of the Egyptians, ii, c. xix, for lists of the deities of times and seasons. The earliest appearance of this system among the Jews is the angelic calendar system in Enoch, 82.
This is exactly the equivalent of the passage cited above, 6: 5, and there can be no reasonable doubt that we have here the reminiscence of the Hellenistic formula. So again in the papyri: ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ ἁρτή ἡμέρᾳ. At least the later magical calendar is connected with astrology; one Greek exorcism adjures "by the God who has the power of the hour." These references to an appropriate magical time are in our texts however quite conventional; we may judge that no horoscopes were cast by our sorcerers.

But the praxis is a minor part of the bowl-magic. In this it differs from the Babylonian in which the praxis was primary, the texts being illuminative of the action. The reasons for this shifting of the center of gravity I shall touch upon in § 15. In the bowls the incantation, the spell, is almost the all in all. It consisted in the utterance or writing of certain phrases, words, syllables, which possessed in themselves a magic power to bind equally the favorable powers and the demons. This use of spells has gone so far that magic appears to have divorced itself from religion; the inversion of the bowl and the monotonously repeated declaration that the demons are "bound, sealed, countersealed, exorcised, hobbled, silenced," etc., e. g. Nos. 2, 4, is in itself sufficient, without invocation of, or reference to, the divine powers.

Generally however appears the formal adjuration of Deity or of deities and other favorable genii, the invocation of their name securing their assistance. This may be specifically the Jewish deity, e. g. No. 14,
“in thy name Yhwh”; or it may be quite indefinite as in the recurrent introductory formula, “In thy name, O Lord of healings, great Healer of love”; the same form also appears in the pagan text No. 19. I discuss under No. 3 the origin of the phrase.

There is nothing new in the adjuration of many angels or deities along with the appeal to some one Name; the former is the Jewish phase of polytheism, while even with polytheistic adjurations there may be recognition of “God,” as in the pagan text No. 19 with its reference to “the one true God,” 1. 17. Noticeable is the easy passage from the invocation of celestial beings into that of mere names or words; but this illustrates the arrant nominalism into which magic had fallen, losing the religious phase of divine personality. So Abraxas is invoked—though probably here we have a very ancient divine name, inherited from Egypt. Of this “the holy Agrabisi” may be a perversion, 14: 2. In 7: 9, as noted in § 9, “the Great Abbahui” may be a magically deified sorcerer. Many of the odd names which are invoked may be kabbalistic (gematriac, etc.) names of angels or gods (see § 13). They may soon have worn down into unintelligible words—just as אַבָּהוּ = 365 becomes סֶבֶר (and other forms) without reminiscence of the numerical value of the letters. We have the

has been established in late years by a series of discussions from scholars working in various fields. I name: K. Nyrop, Navnets magt (“the power of the name”), 1887; noted and analyzed by Giesebrrecht (see below): F. v. Andrian in Correspondensblatt d. deutsch. Gesellschaft f.Anthropologie, Ethnologie u. Urgeschichte, xxvii (1896), 109-127; F. Giesebrrecht, Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens u. ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage, Königsberg, 1901; W. Heitmüller, ‘In Namen Jesu,’ Göttingen, 1903 (especially Part II). Cf. also, on the use of the name, Jacob, “Im Namen Gottes,” Vierteljahrsschrift f. Bibelkunde, i (1903), Heft 1 seq. (which I have not seen in full); J. Bochmer, Das biblische ‘Im Namen,’ Giessen, 1898. (on the philological origins of the baptism formula); and an essay by W. Brandt, “Ωνομα en de doopsformule in het nieuwe testament,” Theol. Tijdschrift, 1891.

For the adjuration of angels in Judaism, see Heitmüller, op. cit., 176 ff.

See § 13.

According to Budge, Egyptian Magic, 180, originally the name of a form of the sungod; according to Wiedemann, Magie u. Zauberwi (D. Alte Orient, vii, 4), p. 23, the Egyptians from of old worshipped as god “the Magical Formula.”

Cf. the early and frequent use of the name Jesus in the papyri magic; and cf. Acts 19: 13. For Jesus as a sorcerer in the Talmud, see Blau. op. cit. 29.

See Pognon, Inscr. mand., 107. In 34: 19 he is “mighty lord.”
same unintelligent invocation of names in the magical papyri, e.g. the exorcism "in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Chrestos, Holy Spirit." This is not Jewish magic, any more than we can say that the erotic charm from Hadrumetum is Jewish in its present form with its barbarous spellings for the patriarchs: Ἀβραάμ, Ἰακώβ, Ἰσαὰγ. These are specimens of eclectic magic with pagan and Jewish elements, overlaid with Christian. It is in this eclectic character of our texts, as in all so-called Jewish magic, that they part company from the old Babylonian magic and relate themselves to occidental conjuration.

The invocation of angelic names in Jewish magic may be regarded as in part the parallel to the pagan invocation of many deities, and in part as invocation of the infinite (personified) phases and energies of the one God. Both Jewish and pagan magic agreed in requiring the accumulation of as many names of the deity or demon as possible, for fear lest no one name exhaust the potentiality of the spiritual being conjured. The aggregation of divine epithets in the Old Testament, as also in the Christian liturgy, goes back to the root-idea of the efficiency of a knowledge of all the names if possible; the fifty names of Marduk, the hundred names of Allah, are similar cases. In the Babylonian magic and also in the Egyptian this practice was established. For Hellenic magic may be cited the many names of Hekate, the ἑλεκτρική. In this accumulation

41 Wessely, xxxvi, 75, l. 1227. Cf. the list of invocations in a "Christian" amulet: Adonai, Thodonacl (= Toth + Adonael), Sabaath, Emanuel, the holy angels, etc. (Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 293).

42 For the text and literature see to No. 28.

43 I suppose the formula read originally: "in the name of the God of Abraham," etc. See Heitmüller, op. cit., p. 180 for the invocation of the patriarchs, etc. Origen (c. Celts, iv, 35) appears to admit its efficacy.

44 Cf. the Gaonic maxim that there are many things in which the angels are independent of God. Blau, op. cit., 92: with which contrast the notion of the ephemeral existence of the angels who proceed from the Dinaur of God: Weber, Jüd. Theologie, 166. Eisenmenger, Entdecktes Judenthum, ii, 371—all but Michael and Gabriel according to a dictum of Bereshith R. (Lueken, Michael, 39). For the equivalent efficiency of divine and angelic names see the magical text, The Sword of Moses, published by Gaster, 1896.

45 Jastrow, Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens, i, 291.

46 Budge, op. cit., 171.

47 Wünsch, Ant. Fluchtafeln, 6.
of divine names there lurks the uncertainty whether they are names of one being, or, as so many potencies, names of as many beings. This confusion appears in the parallel texts under No. 11, where the second (Myhrman's text) turns the three names of the Jewish God in the first into a polytheistic trinity. But except in the case of accumulated magical syllables, the "barbarous names" of Greek magic, the Deity is not in our texts given many names; this is due to the fact that the reference to the Deity is not much more than a passing compliment. However the names of the demons must be exactly known, and especially is it the Lilith who receives an extravagant accumulation of designations; she is akin to Hekate and the "Hekatian names" are showered upon her. For the demoniac names I refer to § 12.

The use of so-called kabbalistic names—letters, syllables, phrases—as potent charms, may next claim our attention. The roots of this usage are many, and the origin or etymology of specific cases mostly defy explanation. The practice is rare in Babylonian magic, but is common in the sorcery of ancient Egypt and in its lineal descendant the Hellenistic magic, and hence it was reflected to the Jewish sorcery, the Talmud abundantly illustrating the use of these barbarica onomata. One primitive source of this usage is the mystery which is thrown about magic rites; "the wizards that squeak and gibber" (Is. 8: 19) are universal; the Babylonian priest generally whispered his formulas (cf. the title mašmašu); the solemn parts of Christian rites have likewise tended to inaudible pronunciation. There exists a tendency toward intentional obscuration of the formulae, which by psychological necessity would tend to even greater corruption. But magic is in its purpose a scientific exercise, and we must suppose that in general something intelligible was once expressed by the now unintelli-

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"For the mysticism connected with letters see Dieterich’s interesting discussion, Rhein. Mus., lvi, 77, “ABC—Denkmäler.”

a A case in Myhrman, ZA, xvi, 188 (cf. Jastrow, i, 339), for the text of which see 15: 4.

b Budge, op. cit., c. 5, e. g. p. 172.

c See Heitmüller, op. cit. 197 ff.; Abt, Apuleius, 152. For the Ephesia grammata, see Kuhnert, in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. (the papers of Weleker in his Kleine Schriften, iii, and of Wessely in Program of the Franz Joseph Gymn., Vienna, 1886, I have not seen).

d Blau, op. cit., 61 f.; Grünbaum, ZDMG, xxxi, 269 f.
ble term. Much of the later nonsense was the survival of phrases of the lost tongue in which the charms had their rise.\[8\] Such a part may have been played by Sumerian phrases in later Babylonia, and the great western sorcerer Apuleius recognizes the origins of his magical lingo as *magica nomina Aegyptio vel Babylonico ritu,*\[9\] and the Hellenistic sorcerer is said to *aiguptiâçeuw.*

Some of the phrases are still intelligible, such as שַׁחַ, "quick" (off with you), with abundant parallels in the Babylonian and the Greek magic (the repeated ταχύ),\[8\] also brief imperatives, as τή, η, or ἓ, from ἐπ, etc., "fly away." But the great majority of the forms are unintelligible. It is to be observed that raucous sounds, e. g. קכ (kas) and especially sibilants are very frequent; in Pognon’s texts ש (sh) is often inserted between words.\[9\] May we compare the hissing implied by the ancient Hebrew sorcery terms, שִׁחַ and שָׁחַ?

Many such syllables or letters are surrogates for the divine name יהוה, which especially lent itself to this treatment.\[9\] So we find the changes rung on this word: הָיוֹ, הָיָ, הָי, הָיָה, etc. Or abbreviations are used like the repeated א = אָלָמָר אֲלָמָר;\[9\] in 20: 2 it is extravagantly repeated six times, in 31: 8 eight times. In the Hebrew, 31: 6, we have a play on the three vowels as in Greek magic.

Then there enters in the use of the principle of *Athbash,* in all its various forms, e. g. למאס (Stübe, l. 66) = יהוה. Such *prima facie* unintelligible forms themselves became corrupted in course of time; perhaps MS MS, PS PS, 14: 2, are from the former theme. Probably too the

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8 See Deissmann’s remarks on the distinction between hocus-pocus and survivals of Egyptian and Babylonian magic in the vocabulary of the papyri; *Bibelstudien,* 1 ff.


10 See to 14: 4.


12 For extensive magical formulas based on the Name, see Nos. 3, 6, 31, 35. I give a list of these terms at the end of Glossary A.

13 Cf. the introduction to Schwab’s *Dictionnaire d’angéiologie*; Blau, *op. cit.,* 117-146. Against Jewish orthodox use, our texts do not hesitate to write יהוה; cf. the Samaritan usage. In one case it is vocalized in a proper name, יִשָּׁבַת, 36: 4, q. v. The reminiscence of the ancient pronunciation survived in the lower classes and certain sects, e. g. among the Samaritans, and in magic, cf. the forms *Iaβε,* etc.
principle of (mathematical) gematria may be supposed, but also found in the theosophy and current use of the Greeks. The passage in 9: 5 f. which speaks of "letter out of letters, name out of names, interpretation out of interpretation," doubtless refers to the abstraction of such hidden meanings and values out of words.

In one case, 15: 4 f., occurs a rhyming "nonsense" couplet used with magical intention. For this as noticed to the passage there is one example in the Assyrian magic. Assonance of succeeding words is found, e. g. 35: 5. Both assonance and rhyme are found in the western magic; e. g. *adam alam betur alam botum,* and

ορθω βασιλι ναιρε κολυρε
δισηρε σινε συνε πανκιστη δωδεκακιστη.*

Rhyme appears in the lines:

tαιτο γράφε : ειος Θυραν,
Μιχαήλ, Γαζινή, Οερμή,
Μοσαήλ, Ἱφρανή, Ἰσσαφή.**

I do not find much proof of intentional misspelling; most of the apparent cases are cleared up on inspection of the text. In fact a good deal of care is exercised in this regard (n. b. a case in 4: 4), and erroneous letters or words are often erased or repeated correctly; in form most of the texts compare favorably with the magical papyri.

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68 Schwab, I; a case in No. 42.
70 Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, 275; Wünsch, op. cit., 23.
71 The Talmudic shabri briri riri ri is different in character; the gradual peeling off of the word finally destroys the demon.
72 See Wessely, xlii, 13, from Marcellus, xxvii, 72.
73 Wessely, xlii, 45, l. 747, = l. 964.
74 This identification of the angels recalls the assimilation of the gods in the famous Babylonian passage; "Ninib the Marduk of strength, Nergal the Marduk of battles," and similar astrological identifications; see A. Jeremias, Monotheistische Strömungen, 29.
75 Wessely, xxxvi, 90, l. 1814 ff. For assonance and rhyme in Greek magic, see Heim, in Fleckeißen's Jahrbücher f. classische Philologie, Supplementband xix (1903), 544 ff.; M. C. Sutphen, "Magic in Theokritos and Vergil," in the Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve (Baltimore, 1902), 318; Abt, Apologie d. Apuleius, 154. For similar cases in our texts see 19: 18, 25: 5, 35: 5.
An important part of the Word of Power in developed magic is the use of sacred scriptures, the epics, legends of the people, and the citation of appropriate precedents. Babylonian, Egyptian, Jew, Greek, each had his thesaurus of sacred legend, which age had consecrated as veritable words of Deity and hence in themselves potent. These are "the ancient runes," of 32: 9.

Early house amulets have been found in Assyria inscribed with quotations from the legend of Ura the pest-god, and there are other traces of the use of epic myth in the Babylonian magic. In the same way that portion of the Book of the Dead known as "The Chapters of the Coming Forth of the Day," largely consisting of myth, and the Legend of Ra and Isis, were used in Egypt as magical texts. In the Greek magic we have the prophylactic and divinatory use of the Homeric verses. Nor were the Jews behind their neighbors, with their fast fixed canon of sacred scripture. The book of Deuteronomy ordered or at least suggested the use of the weightiest "word" in the scriptures, the Shemá, as a phylactery to be inscribed on the hands and between the eyes (in place of totemistic tattoo-marks) and on the sideposts and gates of the house (where earlier prophylactic amulets like the Babylonian had hung). Or certain passages appeared palpably appropriate, just as the Ura-legend was used as a prophylactic; so Ps. 91, especially v. 5 f.; or the divine scolding of the evil spirit, "YHWH rebuke thee, Satan," in Zech. 3: 2. A few of the bowls published by Schwab, G (exterior), H, K, O, are mostly or largely

62

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM. BABYLONIAN SECTION.

Cf. Is. 55: 11.

For "πολεμιστής" carmina, incantamenta, etc. of occidental magic. Cf. the use of the same root in Arabic; "πολεμίστης" in Ju. 5: 12 has this sense.

King, ZA, xi, 50; Fossey, op. cit., 105; Jastrow, op. cit. i, 285; Thompson, Sem. Magic, 83.

Jastrow, op. cit., i, 363.

Budge, op. cit. 125, 137, and p. 141 for remarks on this magic.

See Heim, "Incantamenta magica graeca latina," in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, as in n. 66 and Wessely, xlii, 2 ff.

Cf. Exe. 9: 4, Is. 44: 5, Gal. 6: 17, Rev. 13: 16 f., etc. The practice was continued into Talmudic times, Sabb. 120b, etc.; see Blau, op. cit., 119.

PSBA, xii, 327.
composed of scripture verses." We find in them the Aaronic blessing, Num. 6: 24 ff., Is. 44: 25, Cant. 3: 7; K contains the whole of Ps. 121, Ex. 22: 18, Cant. 3: 7 f., Ps. 16: 1, 17: 8, 32: 7. O is an amalgam of Dt. 6: 4 and Ps. 91, with the first word of the former followed by the first of the latter, etc. G reads Dt. 29: 22 and then reverses the order of the words." But these genuinely Jewish effusions are exceptional, and may be comparatively late. The Nippur bowls are marked by their lack of scriptural quotation and reference. Very frequent is "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan." at the end of the inscription. No. 26 opens with the first words of the Shemá, followed by Num. 9: 23 and Zech. 3: 2. Num. 9: 23 is of value as containing the root יְשָׁנ, a frequent and potent theme in Jewish magic. Biblical and of good magical tradition is the use of Amen (generally twice or thrice repeated), Selah," Halleluia. These are also used in Talmudic charms, e.g. Yoma 84a: "kanti, kanti, kaloros, Yah, Yah, YHWH, Sabaoth, Amen, Amen, Selah." The magical Halleluia recalls the probable use of Hallel-like forms in incantations." These Jewish terms are not found in the Mandaic texts, in which the sectarian doxology, "Life is victorious" replaces them. In the Greek papyri ὁμον and ἀλληλουία are frequent," and we have a case of syncretism such as this: φασθήνετα τὸ ἀμέν καὶ τὸ ἀλληλούια καὶ τὸ εἰναγγέλων."

But this use of scripture is not such as we should expect to find from any Jew even moderately versed in the Old Testament. The spelling is

18 For biblical verses of prophylactic power approved by the Talmud, see Blau, op. cit., 70 f., 93 f., and his article "Amulets," in Jewish Encyc.; also Kayser, "Gebrauch von Psalmen zu Zauberer," ZDMG, xlii, 456, presenting a Syriac MS. containing the Psalm verses useful in magic and divination. For the use of Psalms (especially Ps. 91) in the late Italian magic, see Pradel, Griechische u. süditalienische Gebete, 69.

19 On this practice in Jewish magic, called ψεφίσμα, see Blau, op. cit., 85; the practice reversed the hostile charm. With the attempt at disguising the plain meaning, cf. the intentional confusion of lines in a Greek defixio, published in Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafeln, no. 4.

20 A formula recommended in the Talmud, Berak. 5a.

21 This magical use of Selah is not, I think, noticed in the several modern studies of the word. It appears also as סָלוּא on an Abraxas gem, Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne, i, 144.


23 E. g., both together, Wessely, xlii, 28, l. 279.

24 Ib. 66, l. 31.
not Massoretic, the quotations are not exact. There are but two references to the supreme history of the Exodus, 14: 2, 34: 4, and the latter is confused. In the Greek papyri there is far more citation of the sacred history; cf. the "Jewish" text of the Great Magical Papyrus at Paris, published most recently by Deissmann. This contains a brief summary of God's great acts for Israel, although the crossing of the Jordan precedes the passage of the Red Sea. The "Judaism" of our bowls is often less than that of the papyri.

There are several references to ancient myth and apocrypha, especially in the citation of great spells. So 2: 4, "the spell of the sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan"; 1: 6, "the curse, etc., which fell on Mt. Hermon, Leviathan, Sodom, Gomorrah"; 4: 4, "the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Seven Signs"; 10: 3, 5, "the seal with which the First Adam sealed his son Seth," or "with which Noah sealed the ark"; also see 34: 4 f.

All sacred and legendary history is a series of spells, just as the Babylonian epic literature is magically used, Ea or Marduk appearing as the high priest of exorcism. So also in Egypt the epic of the gods gives assurance of present magical help. "My two hands lie upon this child, the two hands of Isis lie upon him, even as Isis laid her two hands upon her son Horus." "O Isis, save me .... even as thou didst save thy son Horus." And so in the Greek papyri the adjuration is often by the wonderful works of the God of Israel, which are regarded as spells; see the great Magical Papyrus.

I cannot agree with Blau, p. 110, that this paraphrasing and variation in scriptural quotation was intentional; magic which perpetuated the pronunciation of the Great Name would not have hesitated at using the exact words of scripture. The quotations have often come through eclectic mediums.

Cf. the Talmudic charm against the toothache, Sabb, 67a, in which portions of the pericope of the Bush were recited; Blau, op. cit., 69.

"Man kann den Aberglauben der Kaiserzeit nicht in die verschiedenen Kategorien heidnisch jüdisch und christlich einteilen....Der Aberglaube ist seiner Natur nach synkretistisch"; Deissmann, Bibelstudien, 25.

Cf. "the seal which Solomon laid on the tongue of Jeremia," in the great Magical Papyrus, l. 3039, Deissmann, Light, p. 257; which has its parallel in the charm with which Enoch's brothers charmed him, 3: 4.

Wiedemann, Magic u. Zauberel bei den alten Aegyptern, 1905, 22, 26.
In this connection may be noted a few passages which appear to be derived from apocryphal or kabbalistic literature, fragments snatched to decorate the lean skeleton of incantation. E. g. 8: 13: "holy angels, hosts of light in the spheres, the chariots of El-Panim before Him standing, the beasts worshipping in the fire of His throne and in the water, the cohorts of I-am-that-I-am"; 14: 3: "I adjure you by Him who lodged His Shekina in the temple of light and hail"; or the poetic description of the angels in 12: 7: "They are filled with glory who endure and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet are not seen in the dances by the world, and they sit and stand in their place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning."—beneficent Annumaki! These passages, reminiscent both of the Apocalypse and the later kabbalistic literature, are recited with magical intent. An important part of magic was the epic of the god and the praise of his glory; compare the insertion of the Hermetic Κομμόνια in the Leyden magical papyrus, and the epic of the attack of the rebel spirits against the gods in the 16th tablet of the Utukku series. The story of the god's power or the praise of his glory were "words of power" against the fiends.

There is a dreary monotony in these texts, yet much variation of details. After possibly an invocation, comes the name of the client and family, and then the categories of detested demons and ills. Then follow the various Names in which the spells are invoked. Noticeable is the frequent repetition of the same form, even three or more times (e. g. No. 3). This insipid use has its parallel in the κατάδεσμος; cf. the examples in Wünsch, op. cit., nos. 3, 4, 5, where with slight changes the exorcism is repeated at least three times. Multiplication increased the efficiency of the charm; it is the βαττολογία of the Gentiles (Mt. 6: 7). But the relig-

8 Compare the amulet in Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 294, where the ranks of the celestial hierarchy are enumerated as standing by the great and lofty Deity.

9 Cf. Dieterich, Abraxas, 182. Herodotus notices the use of a theogony or divine history in the incantation of a magus (i, 132); see in general Conybeare, JRQ ix, 93 f.

ious imaginativeness and poetic invention of the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian magic has disappeared. The spell, the ἱερὸς ἱποτ has suffered its reducito ad absurdum, personality human and divine is thrown out of doors.
§ 12. THE OBJECTS OF EXORCISM; THE DEMONS, ETC.

The magic of the bowls is of too late an age to require here a dissertation on the rise and spread of the belief in evil spirits. Our sorcery is fin de siècle. When the old-world religions began to decay, and the gods that once were near to men disappeared in the political convulsions which marked the passing of ancient tribe or city and the domination of a world-empire, or suffered under the strokes of philosophy and skepticism, the spirits of ill were not banished, and the superstition that feeds on the fears of men, came to occupy the center of the stage of the spiritual drama. Nor did the rise of the great spiritual religions counteract the tremendous development of the superstition concerning the powers of evil, for they did not deny them, but recognized their existence, often regarded themselves in the negative light of prophylactics and antidotes against the great outstanding fact of evil agencies. The Persian faith was boldly dualistic and magical in its rites for overcoming the powers of ill. Jewish monotheism was too tense, and the cardinal doctrine of the one God was saved by that unfortunate, though possibly necessary, salvage from antique polytheism, in the shape of angels and devils who were nearer and more real to man than distant Deity. The Christian Church followed the tuition of her mother and her pagan converts brought along with them the superstitions of the Graeco-Roman world; the doctrine of the Incarnation seemed to entail the foil of embodied demons, and diabolology entered into the formal Christian theology to an extent unknown in official Judaism.


2 For the diabolology of the Hellenistic world, see the works of Heitmüller, Reitzenstein, Abt, Tambornino, cited in the previous section; also in general P. Wendland, Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum u. Christentum, 1907; for Jewish and Christian demonology, see n. 35 for literature.
Our magic is a degenerate survival of the religious and magical developments of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, of the Hellenistic world, of Judaism, and in the study of its demonology, we are dealing with a mass of time-worn and banal demons, which do not promise much for fresh investigation. Nevertheless the analysis of the different kinds of demons may produce here and there a note of interest.

I have noticed above the magical efficacy ascribed to naming the names of deities and demons (§ 11).¹ Personal names for demons, it is true, are not very common; they are generally epithets or generic terms, e. g. "the Killer, the Demon, the Satan," etc. One class of demons however seems always to have enjoyed the privilege of a long list of names which it was the sorcerer's duty to know and to conjure. This is the female demon represented in the old Babylonian texts by the Labartu, in the Jewish by the Lilith, in the Greek by the Gello or Baskania. Our text No. 42 is an exorcism of the evil Lilith and its virtue consists in the knowledge it gives of her many names; I refer to that text for comparative details. Likewise the Labartu has her six (seven?) names, which are to be carefully pronounced.² We may also compare the accumulation of epithets attached to demons in 2: 2 f., 8: 2, 24: 13, etc., and recall a like process in the names of Satan in Rev. 9: 11, 12: 9, while Egyptian magic similarly amassed the names of the demon Apep.³ Also for further identification of the demons the names of their parents, or even granddams are given,⁴ for every specification enhances the power of the name. Also the personal description is efficacious, for this indicates that the sorcerer knows exactly whom he is exorcising. Such magical descriptions sometimes rise to almost epic tones, as in the delineation of the Seven Spirits in the Babylonian Utukki-series.⁵ A reminiscence of these hair-raising pictures appears in the Mandaic bowls published by Pognon and Lidzbarski, in which

¹ Cf. also Origen, C. Celsum, i, 24 f., v, 45 f., and the summary of his argument given by Conybeare, JQR, ix, 65 f.
² See the opening of the Labartu texts as published by Myhrman, ZA, xvi, 154; cf. a similar text on an amulet published by Weissbach, Bab. Miscellen, 44.
³ Budge, Egyptian Magic, 171.
⁴ See below under (1)b.
⁵ Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, i, 51.
the hurling, scolding, fighting of the Lilith-witches is depicted in uncanny terms. But in general our texts do not extend much beyond the mere registration of categories; this decadent sorcery made up for the lack of poetical imagination by a mathematical tabulation. Superstition in order to be comprehensive encyclopaedically accumulated all the terms of evil; not only the inherited demoniac categories, but all which new races and faiths had to offer were gladly accepted. Hence in our texts the naming of the devils and ills results in the registration of an indefinite number of species.

An analysis of our general category may start from a threefold division, namely: (1) evil spirits, in the strict sense of the term, as personal beings; (2) evil agencies, especially the species of black magic, which have been potentized into almost personal existence; (3) natural evils, especially physical maladies, but also such mental and moral affections as loss, shame, etc.—which are regarded as instigated by demons, or as themselves evils with personality, although often the demoniac element is vague.

This is the order we find generally in our present texts. And it is antique. It appears in the Babylonian, e. g. in a text where the several evil spirits are named (Utukki, etc.), then “the enchantments, sorceries, witchcrafts,” then “sickness.” All the three categories do not so often appear in the Babylonian magic, more frequently those under (2) and (3) are paired, but here again we find the same order—the bans (mamitu) and then the various human ills. This order appears also on the whole in the Byzantine charms published by Vassiliev: τά ἁκάθαρτα πτέρνας, ἡ βασκανία ἡ φορμαλία ἡ φοθερμική ἡ φόβικὴ ἡ περιτής ἡ ἑπιζωءον ἡ συνάντημα σοηρῶν ἡ νοσηρῶν ἡ κωρὸν ἡ τυφῶν,—and so on with a list of diseases. Compare a papyrus list, in which are all celestial and terrestrial spirits, sins, dreams, bans, witchcraft.

This is the natural order of the evolution of magic: first the animistic fear of demons, then the opposition to mortals who have bound the evil spirits to their malicious purpose, finally the more exact diagnosis of the maladies which are specified in secular terms. At the end of the develop-
ment this last category may alone remain, as in the Babylonian medical texts or the modern Jewish and Arabic charms. It may here be remarked that the never-ending enlargement of categories of evil spirits, apart from eclectic causes, may be due to Persian influence, although hardly any of the details can be traced to that source.

(I)

(a) The most honorable place in the first division is to be assigned to the ancient gods and the spirits still haunting their temples, which the development of religion and especially the monotheistic trend had depotentized and turned into demons. The religion of yesterday becomes the superstition of to-day. Polytheism died hard. Even with the triumph of the One God in the Old Testament, there survived the belief in the many deities who appear as lieutenants of Yahwe, the שֶׁמֶת נִינָי (Job, 1), as capable of disobedience and subject to divine wrath (Gen. 6: 1 ff., Ps. 82), as the planetary spirits (Dt. 32: 8 [Greek], Is. 24: 21 ff.), as angels,—a more thoroughgoing assimilation with monotheism, though the angels at first have an independence and sovereignty recalling the Sons of God (e. g. Dan. 10: 13, 21, and Satan), or finally as evil spirits. The supreme declaration of Second Isaiah that the gods are naught and nothing, unfortunately was not sustained, and even onetime beneficent gods, when banished, returned as demons to vex the faithful. A classic expression of this demonology is found in Paul: “the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons (daimonion,) and not to God” (I Cor. 10: 20)." The fullest development of this theory is found in Mandaism, where the ancient spirits of the planets have become the chief devils. So also Mohammed reduced the pagan gods to Jinns.

These discarded deities may therefore head the list of evil potencies, and so we find in 38: 8: “Charmed be all gods (ἀστήρας)" and temple-spirits and shrine-spirits and idol-spirits and goddesses (Ἀστήρας).” The old proper name of the goddess Istar had already in the Assyrian become a common

\[\text{So שֶׁמֶת נִינָי had become דאומון in the Septuagint, and cf. Baruch 4: 7: προσανεν τὰ δαμόνα καὶ τὰ εἰδώλα (also Rev. 9: 20).}\]

\[\text{Cf. the Babylonian ḫānī limnūti.}\]
name of goddesses in general (ištartāti)." In the heathen text No. 19 we learn of the sixty gods and the eighty goddesses (l. 8); the former figure is a survival of the ancient sacred number for the fulness of deity, hence the number of Anu;18 the "eighty" is merely cumulative." Once the rare feminine ʼĕnāmā (in the Syriac, Pesh., etc.) is found, used of a female spirit (Wohlstein, 2417: 5)."

Probably it is under Mandaic influence that we find the planets regarded as baneful spirits; n. b. the old myth of their fall cited in 4: 6 and the charms against sun, moon, stars, planets, 34: 6. For other demons of Mandaic origin" see Pognon's list, Inscriptions Mandaites, 93; to these may be added from Ellis 1: 3 ʼištartāti, the Mandaic form of Nergal = the unlucky planet Mars, and ʼāl-Lāt,19 who here is transformed into an evil genius."

Under this head there is one interesting species, that of demons which are the spirits of the pagan shrines and simulacra, and so are regarded as haunting them.20 Again the forceful protest of Second Isaiah, of Ps. 115,
the satire of Bel and the Dragon, had failed; there was a virtue in the
cults and sanctuaries of the old religions. So the ēkurē appear in our
bowls, as in the Mandaic books, as established deities. The word ekurru,
once the name for a temple had already in the Assyrian become applied to
deities, ekurratī. The temples themselves were personified and practically
defied; later superstition retained the idea by regarding the ēkurē as the
gods of the temples, and so as gods in general; e.g. Lidz., iv: דְּמַשֶּם
אֵלְאָהָא = אִנָּהָא, where as the number 60 shows, אֵלְאָהָא = אִנָּהָא (cf.
19: 8). Of like character are the מעוי or מטיר, = מטיר (once, in
Schwab Q: 5 מטיר), properly “images, idols,” but used at large of gods
in general; e.g. we read of “invocations of the gods, א, and the goddesses.”
There are א of the upper, lower and middle regions. In some of the lists
they appear rather far down; e.g. 5: 2, מטיר אוי אוסר אוי אובריו; cf.
the Mandaic passage, quoted from the Ginza, in Pognon B, p. 75, where
they occur after the demons, devils, spirits, amulets, liliths, being thus
much reduced in grade. Levy translates the word by Gespenster, in
the eclectic magic of the time the word may have come to be identified with
etelōn, = both phantasm or ghost, and idol. There is the distinction

in the Talmud the reality of oracles at those shrines is admitted, although explained
apologetically; see the argument in Aboda Z. 55a, cited by Joel, Der Aberglaube,
i, p. 86. Cf. I Cor. 10: 28.

21 Brandt, Mand. Schriften, 81.


23 Reisner, Sum.-bab. Hymnen, iv, 1. 165; Jastrow, op. cit., i, 282. Beth-el
appears in the same use in West Semitic: the god Bait-ilē, KAT, 437 i, the name
Bethel-shar-ezer, Zech. 7: 21 and now the many similar names in the new Elephantine
papyri published by Sachau.

24 The word also survived in its original sense, e.g. Pognon, B, no. 13.

25 For the form, see Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., § 25.

26 Pogn. B, no. 25, erd.

27 ZDMG, ix, 497, n. 5.

28 The Persian word was early introduced into the occident. According to one
MS. and Symmachus’s testimony (margin of Cod. Marchalianus) παραξῆνα (+ etelōn
as gloss) translates the וְזֵן of Is. 8: 21, where the unintelligible παραξῆνα is generally
found. See Nestle in Transactions of the IXth International Congress of Orientalists,
(1892), ii, 38.
between male and female "false deities" (Schwab I)."

I am inclined to associate with these patkāras the Assyrian šeriymu of 38:8 and 40:19, where they are listed between the spirits and the gods, or the Babylonian šeriymu and the 'false gods' (cf. Ass. parakku). The word would then mean "shrine-spirits" (Syriac prakkā, Assyrian parakku). The change of the first vowel (a to i) is possible. But another etymology may be proposed—from the Persian pairikā = Pahlavi parik (the modern Persian Peri). These creatures are described as beautiful seductive witches, are connected with comets, and also according to de Harlez are companions of certain genii invoked by magicians. Philologically, this would be the most fitting etymology for our word; but its precedence in the lists indicates a higher rank than that assigned to the little known (so Spiegel) and insignificant Pairikas.

For the false gods also appears אֱלֹהִים, נִשְׁתָּא (sing. נִשְׁתֶּה), = "error,"—used like בִּלְתָּא, etc. in the Old Testament.

(b) I pass now to those groups of demons which immemorially had stood as the evil spirits par excellence. Like the utukki of the Babylonian religion they mostly appear in tribal groups, without personal distinction. Most constant among these classes are the יִרְי and שִׁרְי, which may be expressed by "devils and demons," with as much or as little of a definite idea as these English words convey to us. The most frequent occur in the Old Testament, the word having an obscure history in connection with the Assyrian šedu; in function the šedu is the Babylonian šedu limmu, "evil šedu." In the later Jewish demonology the יִרְי are the hobgoblins, the

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88 With 'a = a deity or demon, cf. the use of σῶμα, "tomb," as grave-demon; so in a Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 203, and see his note 2. Also in the Syriac artifex, "shrine" comes to mean a god, a false god, and in Peshitto of I Sa. 7:3 translates מִדָּהָא. In Islam the false gods were called ʼəzām, "idols."

89 Cf. Nöldeke, Gram. d. neu-zyr. Sprache, § 6, or Mand. Gram., § 20; cf. פְּרָקִי. Or an assimilation to פֶּרֶכֶן?

90 See Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde, ii, 138; A. V. W. Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, Grundrisse d. iranischen Philologie, iii, p. 665; C. de Harlez, Manuel du Pehlevi, 1880), s. v. in Glossary.

91 See, for the Babylonian demons, Fossey, La magie assyrienne, c. 2; Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., i, c. xvi; Thompson, Semitic Magic, 43 ff.

92 See, inter al., Baudissin, Studien z. sem. Religionsgeschichte, ii, 131, and his art. "Feldgeister," in Hauck's RE; H. Duhm, Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament,
prevailing class of demons; they are the δαίμονες of the Greek, for which the Peshitto returns to the Jewish term. 

As Judaism has its feminine דְּשִׁין, so once we find reference to the דְּשִׁ“Sheinah, which is found in 19: 10 as name of an evil deity (רְדֵק בביתא), while the plural in the same text, ll. 6, 13, has evidently the meaning demons or deities. In a broken text (Pogon B. no. 24, l. 19), a form דַלָּה רֶשֶׁי is occurs. In 29: 9 the שֶדִּים are described as בָּנֵי מַלָּה, “sons of shadow,” cf. the מַלֹּה of the Targum.

The רָשִׁים inherited a good name from the old Aryan theology (= gods), were depotentized in the Persian system, and came into Semitic currency through the Mandaic and Syriac. (The word does not occur in Targums and Talmud.) In the Peshitto use of the term it appears to apply to the demons of mental and moral disorders, thus indicating something distinct from the שֶדִּים.

The “spirits” or “evil spirits” (רהים בִּשָּׁת, דְּשִׁים בִּשָּׁת, דַּלָּה רֶשֶׁי, רַעְיָה) form a triad with the preceding species. Levy 49, 20; Thompson, Semitic Magic, 43; and the discussions by the students of Assyriological magic, Zimmern (Beiträge und KAT), Tallquist, Jastrow, Fossey. Fossey, p. 50, quotes IVR 6a, 26, to the effect that the שדוע is the demon of the evil eye—another proof that demons and their functions were interchangeable.


Cf. δαίμονες δαίμονοσου, of the Leyden Papyrus, Dieterich, Abraxas, 194, l. 10.

Also simply the king, אֶשֶי, Eisenmenger, op. cit., ii, 422 (a tradition of the “Molek” of the Old Testament?).

According to Levy, not found in Jewish literature, op. cit., 488.

Acc. to Baudissin, op. cit., 131, the Harclean version replaces מָשָּׁים of the Peshitto w. משי.

Cf. Ellis 5: 4, רָשִׁים בִּשָּׁת.
and Blau regard them as ghosts," but without warrant, as the Rabbinic, Syriac and Mandaeic use of the word shows. They are the πνεύματα πονηρά, or ἀσάδαρα of the New Testament, the equivalent of the Babylonian utukki limnūti. This development of רע we may trace in the Old Testament where "a spirit of evil," "the evil spirit," appears as an agent of Jahwe; like the Satan such potencies easily passed into malicious demons.

The Mazziḳin which are prominent in Jewish lore, where they are the general category for all demons,4 appear but seldom.

These devils, demons and evil spirits in their juxtaposition recall the several species so frequently enumerated in Babylonian demonology; e. g. as listed more than once in the Māḳlu-series, the utukku, ṣēdu, rābīṣu, ekimmu, labartu, labaṣu, ahḥasu, followed by the liliths.4 But beyond the registration of several categories there is no equivalence in name (with one exception), in definite character.4 A certain amount of distinction can be drawn in the Babylonian field, but in our texts no differentiation exists. Indeed the three species are rather tokens of the several sources of our particular magic, the Hebrew (רו), Babylonian (.setResult), Persian (مشاهد). The only reference to the "seven spirits" of Babylonian magic is in connection with the סלכלה (see below).

But it is the Liliths which enjoy the greatest individual vogue in our demonology. Many of the charms culminate in that objective; the other evil spirits are most often merely general, anonymous, to whom the general compliment of a spell must be paid, but the Liliths are definite terrors, whose malice is specific and whose traits and names are fully known.

4 Opp. cit., p. 482, p. 14. The view that demons were ghosts of the dead indeed existed; see Justin Martyr, Apol., i, c. 18 and for later Judaism, Eisenmenger, ii, 427. They may have been specialized as the spirits of demoniac possession and moral temptation (see Blau). For the relation of בושם and πνεύματα, see Baudissin in Hauck's RE, vi, 12 f.

4 So Weber, Blau.


4 For the distinctions between the Babylonian spirits, see Jastrow, op. cit., i, 278; Thompson, Devils, i, xxiv, Semitic Magic, i, Fossey, op. cit., c. 2.
The genus appears in the Babylonian incantations, as masculine and feminine, \textit{lilu} and \textit{lilit}, along with an \textit{ardat lili}. The two former words survived in Jewish demonology and both occur abundantly in our bowls, though the \textit{Lilin} are only pendants to the Liliths. The origin of the word, whether Semitic from \textit{ḥālī} = “nightmare, nightthag,” etc., with Schrader, Halévy, \textit{et al.}, or from the Sumerian \textit{li}, “storm,” with Sayce,\texttextquote{ Zimmern,}\texttextquote{ R. C. Thompson}, lies beyond my present scope. Probably as others have suggested, the resemblance of Sumerian \textit{liš} to \textit{ḥāl}, “night,” may have had its part in shaping the phantom of Lilith and her troop among Semitic-speaking peoples; but I would suggest that the prime connection is not etymological but semantic: \textit{liš} = \textit{ḥāl} = \textit{ḥālī} = spirit;\texttextquote{ Lilis and Liliths are specialized forms of \textit{ḥālī}.}\texttextquote{ In the Babylonian the Lilith (\textit{ardat lili}) is the ghostly paramour of men, and her realm is the sexual sphere; hence women in their periods and at childbirth, maidens, children, are the special objects of her malice.\texttextquote{ Hence in the bowl inscriptions, made out for the protection of homes and the peace of family life, most often in the name of the women concerned, it is an amulet against these noxious spirits that is particularly desired. We may say that the Lilis and Liliths are the demons of the family life.\texttextquote{ Texts Nos. 1, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, may be referred to especially for the Liliths. They haunt the house, 1:6, lurk in the arches and thresholds, 6:4, one dwells in the house concerned, 11:5. So in the Talmud they dwell in the beams and crevices, the cesspools, etc., even as in Greek magic demons.}\texttextquote{ Acc. to Zimmern, \textit{KAT}, 459 = paramour of \textit{lilu}. Better Thompson. (\textit{Devils}, etc., i, p. xxxvi, \textit{Semitic Magic}, 65), who regards the \textit{ardat lili} as the more specialized (e.g. marriageable) \textit{lilith}, hence the original of the Jewish Lilith.\texttextquote{ Hibbert Lectures, 145.\texttextquote{ \textit{KAT}, 460, n. 7.\texttextquote{ \textit{Semitic Magic}, 66: if Semitic, from root \textit{ḥālī}, “be abundant, lascivious.”\texttextquote{ Cf. \textit{ḥālī} in \textit{Job} 4:15; the wind-draught easily passes into a ghost.\texttextquote{ The single appearance of Lilith in the Old Testament, \textit{Is.} 34:14, represents a more primitive stage of the fable than the Babylonian Liliths. She is just one of the spirits haunting waste ruins.\texttextquote{ See Thompson, \textit{I. c. et seq.}, who discusses the demonology of marriages with Jinns, etc.\texttextquote{ \textit{Jewish Encyc.}, iv, 516b.—In 29:6 f. (cf. 1. 9) occurs \textit{ḥālālān ב RECORDS בパソコン}, “the evil and the decent \textit{lilith}”; this recalls the good demons of Jewish lore, \textit{אמר האל�}, etc.
are given the like habitat. In No. 1 they are described as generating offspring with human folks, appearing as phantom men and women to women and men by night. Hence the interesting phenomenon of the magic \textit{get}, divorce-writ, by which the sorcerer, like a Jewish rabbi, separates these obscene beings from their prey. Especially do they vent their rage on little children as the detested offspring of human wedlock; they plague them, throttle and devour them, suck their blood (e.g. 11: 8, 18: 6, 36: 9, Litz. 5). The name for one of these demons, in No. 36, is "Murderess daughter of Murderess," and "strangler." In the Jewish demonology the Liliths have the like fiendish character; \textit{Bemidbar Rabba} 16 affirms that they kill children. In No. 11 the Lilith is associated with the personifications of barrenness and abortion. The figure on No. 8 gives the picture of a typical obscene Lilith; she is depicted with loose tresses, one of the characteristics of the species, cf. 8: 33; cf. \textit{Nidda} 24b, \textit{Erub}. 100b. The later Lilith thus partakes of the nature of the elder \textit{lilit} and of the Labartu, the enemy of children.

The Liliths are intimately known, their own and their parents', even the granddam's names are given, e.g. Nos. 8, 11. At the beginning of \textit{Wohlestein's text} 2416 (= St"ube) a whole brood of demons is named. Especially in the case of this species most exact descriptions are given of their foul ways and apparitions, for the Liliths were the most developed products of the morbid imagination—of the barren or neurotic woman, Eisenmenger, ii, 431 ff., and the good and bad \textit{šedu} of the Babylonian—also so the \textit{ultukku}, Fossey, \textit{op. cit.}, 449.

\textsuperscript{15} Wessely, xlii, 66, 1, 19: they are bidden "not to hide in this earth nor under the bed or gate or beams or vessels or holes."

\textsuperscript{16} See to 8: 7. The separation had to be legally effected, for the Lilith had her nuptial rights or powers. Cf. the tales of the female Jinns in Arabic folklore.


\textsuperscript{18} See Myhrman, \textit{ZA}, xvi, 147 ff.

\textsuperscript{19} See Wohlestein's note; the mother's name \textit{מעַשָּׁה}, "little mother," throws light on a passage in \textit{Pesah}, 112a. In general these names are epithetical; cf. the demon Ahriman har Lilit, \textit{B. Bath.} 73a.

\textsuperscript{20} See above.
the mother in the time of maternity, of the sleepless child." Somewhat of the elder and biblical notion of the Lilith as denizen of the desert appears in the expressions לילית וכר, הנא וכר א, 17: 3, 27: 7.

A further development of the Lilith is her assimilation with the witch; the descriptions of the species in the Mandaic bowls recall the uncanny scenes of the witches' nights which are the theme of still existent folklore. The Lilith is the Baskania, (i. e. witchery) of the Greek charms. The epithets "cursing," and "undoing," e. g. 34: 13, belong to this phase of the Lilith-idea.

Very interesting is the similarity of the Semitic Lilith, and in course of time her assimilation to the psychological horrors which haunted men elsewhere, especially to the identical forms in the Graeco-Roman demonology. I refer to the Lamia, the Empusa, the Gello, the Marmolyke and Gorgons, and the incubi and succubae. In connection with the text No. 42 which presents the legend of the Lilith-witch, I take occasion to present the parallel forms of this conception as found in the western world. This developed myth is a later accretion to the ancient inchoate ideas of these monsters.

For the psychological basis and subjective fact of these apparitions, see Roscher, "Ephialtes" c. 1, in Abhandlungen of the Saxon Academy of Sciences, vol. xx (1900).

Cf. ekinmu harbi, Mašlu-series iv, l. 22 (Tallquist, p. 66), and the exorcism, "evil spirit to thy desert," Thompson, Devils, i, 152, ii, 26; cf. i, 167, 191 ff. The banning of the demons into the desert and mountains (cf. Mt. 12: 43) is frequent in the magical papyri, e. g. in an amulet published by Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 294: ἵνα ἀπείξατε ἐν ἀγροῖς ἐρημία καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐγκαταστάσατε. Cf. Wohlstein 2422 (l. 28), "go and fall on the mountains and heights and the unclean beasts." As Wohlstein notes, the latter clause is a most interesting commentary on the anecdote of the Gadarene devils which asked the liberty to enter the swine, Mt. 8: 28, etc.

See at length under No. 42. Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire, s. v.

Pauly-Wissowa, RE, s. v.

For Gello as a lilith-name and as probably equal to Ass. galiu, see notes to No. 42.

For the incubi see Roscher, Ephialtes, 60. The special demon which is the subject of this classic treatise corresponds to the male Lili of our texts, but his vogue is far more extended. He is in form goat, satyr, faun, etc., a rural as well as a domestic terror.
A long list of species of demons still remains to be considered, most of which are not much more than names. One of the most frequent and evidently most dreaded is the class of the פל佶ל or.absolute or. Once they are spoken of as the “seven צ of night and day,” 16:7, recalling the Seven Spirits of Babylonian mythology.” Stübe (p. 59) suggests derivation from לול, “bind,” and Myhrmann (p. 350) compares Assyrian קבָּלוּ used in incantations. I venture to suggest metaplasis with the Syriac רְבָּה, “hold, seize,” i.e. “take demoniac possession of,” so that we may compare this species with the Babylonian עַהְזַע. Cf. הקֶלֶן בַּשְׁגָּיו, Mk. 9:18, and the terms הקֶלֶן מקֶלֶן and קָטָקָה, indicative of supernatural possession.”

There are the evil angels, who are called סְכַרֶּים = sacri, in 4:1; the “angels of wrath and the angels of the house of assembly.” We read of the אַסָּסְאַל אָסָא, 37:8, rites in which angels were bound to hellish operations. The word is used of pagan deities in 36:5 (cf. 19:13), even as λυγελον appears in the papyri. The angel of death who shudders at the Great Name appears in 3:6. Schwab F.

“The Satan” appears and also “the Satans,” as in Enoch (40:7) and Rabbinic and Arabic lore. There is no amplification of the doctrine of

66 Cf. Thompson, Semitic Magic, 47.
67 Ibid., p. 43, etc.
68 See Tambornino, De antiquo daemonismo, 56.
69 Cf. Mt. 25:41, Rev. 12:7, “the devil and his angels,” and the absolute use of the word in this sense in I Cor. 11:10, with reference to the myth in Gen. 6. Blau notes, without citation, an evil spirit בָּרָךְ הָוה, p. 10, n. 2. For evil angels, see Volz, Jüdische Eschatologie, § 23.
70 Wohlstein 2422. The editor makes no comment on this or the parallel phrase in l. 7: פָּלַח יִשְׁרֵי, evidently equals מְלָכֶנֶי יִשְׁרֵי (see below, note 112). The “house of assembly” recalls the ancient Semitic idea of the אֲרוֹן הָעָדָה, Is. 14:13, the assembly of the gods on the Semitic Olympus—Walhalla having become a convention of demons! (Demons are located in the north by Jewish legend, Pirke R. Eliezer, iii, and other refs. in Eisenmeuger, op. cit., ii, 438.) Or יְבָּש = συνεκγύγη, ἐκκλησία, may refer to the convention of a magical cult (cf. “the synagogue of Satan,” Rev. 2:9). But the phrase is probably to be interpreted from a passage in a “Christian” amulet published by Reitzenstein, op. cit., 295, top: ὁ δὲ ἔρις τὰ ἐν ἐκκλησία ἐξήχουσ συνήματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ σωμάτων.
71 E. g. Dieterich, Abraxas, 192, 1:10; so also in the LXX, e.g. Ps. 96:7, and an inscription cited by Cumont Oriental Religions, n. 38, p. 266: δίς αγγελίς.
the individual Satan. Once with the Satans (35: 4) are associated the סֵדְוֹר, the former a class of seducing spirits (metaplasm of ג' אס אס). the latter the almost unique Semitic transliteration of בָּבָּלָם. In 2: 3 are mentioned the ג' כככככ, the Fiends and Foes.

The בְּכֵי appear in association with the בְּכֵי. The Rabbinic and Syriac אַרְיָא is a meteor, blast of wind, etc.; in the Mandaic it has the more general sense of a plague. The Mandaic has inherited an old Babylonian idea of the סָכִיקו, “blast,” as a demon, and then death-demon. The Satyrs, עֲשֶׂרִים, appear once, 5: 4, a reminiscence, as the form shows, of the Old Testament. The שְׁרוֹת of Schwab G are black devils; cf. the title of Satan בַּמַּלֵּך, in Epistle of Barnabas, 4: 9.

In Hyvernat's text occurs the phrase הַנִּנְנָּא עַרְיַגְלִּית, which Grünbaum most plausibly translates “the Jinn of Solomon.” The word would then be one of a few terms in our texts which suggest Arabic connections (see שְׂקָעָה, below). But the reserve is to be made that, as Nöldeke maintained, the root is common-Semitic, and the spread of the word may well have antedated the Muslim Conquest. We may compare the god Gennaios cited by Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1174. The סָכִיקו of 37: 6 is to be explained from the Mandaic מְוֹדֶלֶה (Syriac מְוֹדֶלֶה Arabic jund), “troop”; devils molest their victims in bands, cf. the name “Legion” assumed by the demoniac in the Gospel, and the “tribes” (أمְּרָה) of demons in 38: 6; also cf. 13: 1.

15 Cf. 1 Tim. 4, 1, “seducing spirits and doctrines of devils.”

16 So probably read for עֲפֶר in Hyvernat, l. 4; in 19: 13, עֲפֶר.

17 Norberg, Lexicon, 55.

18 Muss-Arnolt, Dict., ad voc., cf. the בֶּסֶק הָיִּיתו, “roaming windblast,” Thompson, Devils, ii, 4, 1. 27. For the simile of demons to storms, see ibid., i, 89, and compare the etymology of לִיתִית (see above). For the word see 12: 8.

19 But the idea of the hairy goatlike demon which obsesses its victim with mischievous or obscene purpose is universal. Cf. the Arabic ifrit, azabb, with the same root-meaning; Wellhausen, Reste des arabischen Heidentums, 135; Baudissin, Studien, i, 136. The same phenomenon is abundantly vouched for in the Greek demonology; see Roscher, Ephialtes, 29 f., for the goatlike form of the Ephialtes, and p. 62 for its epithet πίλας; and compare Pan and the Fauns. See Roscher, note 285b, for similar representations in the superstition of India. In 5: 4 the satyrs are represented as haunting a particular stretch of road.

20 Probably to be read in 37: 10.
In 15: 6 and Myhrman I. 2 are found the variants "ostrich," but doubtless the former is the correct spelling; the root is onomatopoetic (cf. 'lôn, and English "howl" and "roar"), connoting a howling creature and was applied to the ostrich—so the Tosefta (see Jastrow); but in the Targums it generally translates the Hebrew לַיְלִי, the uncanny creatures typical of desolation. In the Syriac, however, is jackal, translating הטב, the uncanny creatures typical of desolation. But the Rabbinic references indicate that it was rather a fabulous than a zoological species, akin to the liliths, satyrs and vampires that haunt ruins, and this connotation appears in the Syro-hexaplar to Is. 34: 17, translating לַיְלִי by הירח, while Symmachus gives רעה. This equation gives the key to our present word. The Babylonians represented their demons in uncouth shapes of birds and animals.

Besides the use of certain generic terms, such as "oppressors," there remain several rare or obscure species: the לַאֲכָא, also probably metaplastic for בַּתּלָה, "undoer"; the לַאָמָא (alongside מַאֲמָא) No. 20, probably from root לַא "curse," or a form of the Targumic סָלָנָא, "shade-demon." The קִסְפִּי in Hyvernat. l. 3, for which Grünbaum (p. 221) cites the Arabic sifṭ, species daemonis, is probably to be read קִסְפִּי, "plagues" (see p. 80). For the קִסְפִּי, possibly "familiar spirits," see to 6: 2.

There are also names of individual demons. Some can be identified: the מַאָמָא, corresponding to the Arabic ْةْيَلُح (see to 8: 2); מַאָמָא a depotentized deity." Some are recognizable epithets: מַטְרוּהוּ, אֲבָא 3: 2. Others defy etymology: מַטְרוּהוּ אֲבָא Pogn. B. 34: 10 (q. v. for a possible interpretation). מַטְרוּהוּ אֲבָא Schw. G. Long lists of such obscure names are found in Schwab F and G; these are probably on a

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19 According to Jastrow, Lagarde’s editions of the Targums have everywhere this form; לַאֲכָא appears as a variant in one place.

20 See Field’s Hexapla. N. B. the interpretations of the uncanny creatures in this passage as demons by both the Greek and the Targum.

21 This word is to be distinguished from יָרֵי, an eye-disease (see below); because of the uncertainty of the spelling of the two words the יָרֵי at end of Schw. G may be the one or the other word.

22 Cf. the Syriac סָלָנָא.

23 Stübe, l. 4. See Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques, 82; Clay, Amurr, 162.
par with the mystical names of the angels (see § 13)." Finally we may note the blanket-formulas for demons who are named and who are not named, and which have their parallel in the Babylonian," and in the Greek magic."

There are comparatively few certain references to ghosts; the הרוח, etc., as spirits of the dead, may include them." One case in point is found in No. 39: "charmed the lilith that appears to her .... [in some shape]; charmed the lilith that appears to her in .... [the shape of ?] Tātā her niece; charmed all the defiling ghosts, דומאים, that have entered, which appear to her in dreams of nights and visions of day." Here a definite ghostly apparition is really a diabolic delusion. Also Nos. 20, 25 contain general charms against ghosts. One technical term for ghost possibly appears, שלגיה (see to 8: 2). The last of Wohlstein's series, 2422, appears to be directed against ghosts and is an interesting example of necromantic spell. Familiar names are given to the spirits and they are cajoled to do no harm. Also in Wohlstein, no. 2422 appears the וה בח מצה ר מ. There is constant reference to dreams (힐יטם) and apparitions (דומאים, חיוני)," which are the milieu of demoniac and ghostly apparitions, cf. 7: 13; hence ישורש: י, "disturbing dreams," in which phrase the noun is practically personified—a category of evil spirits. We have such a combination as: התארארש וטרארש ותארארש (Pognon A), in which are impure conceptions of the night (cf. לילה in Syriac); the second word, which Pognon does not explain, is doubtless the Talmudic לילה, "leaper," exactly the Ephialtes of the Greeks, a kind of incubus." This distinction of the dream from ghost or demon represents a later psychology. Charms against dreams are frequent in the Greek papyri; thus against ἱνειρος φακτος, 99

81 This giving of unintelligible names to demons may be in imitation of Persian diabolology; see Jackson in Geiger and Kuhn, Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, iii, 659, listing 54 individual demon names.
82 Thompson, Devils, i, 153.
83 E. g. δαιμόνιον καὶ μὴ ἰνειρος, Pradel, Griech. u. südital. Gebete, 22, l. 2.
84 For a typical Babylonian incantation against ghosts, see Thompson, Devils, i, 37.
85 For onirology in later Judaism, see Joel, Der Aberglaube, i, 103.
86 See Roscher, Ephialtes, especially p. 48 f. for the etymology.
87 Wessely, xlii, 31, top.
or a φιλακτήριον εωματοφέλεϊα πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος; another against enemies, robbers, etc. and φόβοις and φαντάσματα ὑνείρων. These dreams and the similar panic fears of day and night are also referred to in extenso in Gollancz's Syriac charms.

(2)

Respectable or "white" magic includes not merely the laying of evil spirits but counter magic against the machinations of hostile sorcerers. Just so the Babylonian Maḫlu-series devotes itself to the rites of destroying the witch by means of simulacra which are consumed in the fire; the Greek magic has the same defensive purpose. The Mandaic texts recall somewhat of the ancient dread of witches with their description of those uncanny and obscene persons, and, as I have noted above, the witch and the lilith are practically identified.

It was most efficacious if the sorcerer were known so that he could be named and the "tables turned" upon him by casting upon him his malign arts, for no curse "returns empty." Such a case appears in Schwab G; all the evils that have fallen on the victim are bidden to fall on the head of מדרס בר נמי. But examination of the name reveals that it is fictitious; מדרס means "spellbinder" and נמי simply means "mother." The writer of the bowl has satisfied his client by assuming that he knows the adverse sorcerer's name. It is nothing else than the legal "John Doe." In like manner, in Wohlstein 2416, all evil works, etc., are commanded to return against their instigator.

But inasmuch as the sorcerer's names are not generally known, the incantations content themselves with listing the various kinds of magical practices and putting them under the potent spell. The Surpu-series illustrates the prophylactic practice; for instance, its third tablet is con-

"Ib., 42.

"Ib., 64. Dream-magic was highly developed among the Greeks; we have charms for sending dreams, ἀνειροτομεῖοι, e. g. Dieterich, op. cit., 191, l. 15. Magic is required as an antidote. Hence dreams are listed with other maleficent agencies, e. g.: πνεύματα χάριν, ἀμαρτίαν, ἀνειρο, ὄρκοι, βασκανία; Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 81.

"Probably technically expressed by ἥξπερ.

"Zimmer, Beiträge, 13.
cerned with breaking every possible kind of ban (\textit{manit}) that may have befallen a person. Hence a recurring phrase in the praxis of the fifth tablet: "may the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the grief, the sin, the misdeed, the impiety, the transgression, the sickness, which is in my body, be peeled off like this onion." We mark here the union of curses, etc. with evils of the flesh, just as they occur in our bowls.

Accordingly we find exorcism effected with this prudent intention against יבש (+ בות), "black arts," perhaps generally with the sense of poisoning, \textit{φαρμακοποια}, \textit{αραγη}, "sorceries," 39: 4; \textit{αρενη}, "invocations," (the singular \textit{ηρη} in 16: 10), the \textit{πανηλειες} or \textit{iεροί λόγοι} of maleficient magic, also termed the \textit{πραγμα} by Apuleius. There are the various terms or kinds of curses, the \textit{manit} of the Babylonian, the \textit{δρκοι} of the Greek magic; the \textit{אנתומ}, especially in Pognon's Mandaic bowls, where the authors of these bans are specified, e. g. no. 15: father, mother, prostitute, foetus, laborer, master who has defrauded him, brothers; also the frequent \textit{נדיירί}, maleficient "vows" and the \textit{אנתוצים}, which is the Syriac Christian equivalent of \textit{άναθεμα}, perhaps also \textit{הנה} (Wohlstein, 2426: 5). This listing of the bans and their originators has its abundant parallel in the Babylonian magic; e. g. the third tablet of the \textit{Surpu}-series, already cited, in which all possible kinds and origins of curse are listed in 165 lines: of father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, etc., posterity, infant. The unborn child, naturally regarded as homeless and miserable, hence a malignant wraith, is classed in the Babylonian magic

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textit{a}] For this and following technical names for sorcery, see § 11, beginning.
\item[\textit{c}] So in the Syriac, also in 7: 13. But \textit{φαρμακον} survived in a good sense in literature with magical tinge, e. g. in no. 30 of Bishop Serapion's prayers, "Thy name be a \textit{φω} for health and soundness." For an extensive discussion of the word, see Abt, \textit{Apuleius}, 112. It is formally impossible to distinguish between the words "sorcerers" and "sorceries," except in the Mandaic. Cf. the use of the adjective \textit{אנתומ}, 39: 6.
\item[\textit{d}] For these words see the convenient summary in T. W. Davies, \textit{Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors}, 44 ff.
\item[\textit{e}] See above, § 11. Pognon was the first correctly to interpret this term, B, p. 19.
\item[\textit{f}] In 2: 6 we find \textit{אנתומ, אנתומ, אנתומ}, used of the "white magician's" own work.
\item[\textit{g}] A similar list in Ellis 3 = Schwab B. In the later magic these classes are listed in exorcism of the evil eye.
\end{itemize}
as in the Mandaic citation with the causes of ban, and so too the hierodule or prostitute.106 The difference between the Babylonian mamit and these ṣamā't is that the former has rather the sense of taboo, the latter of a malicious curse effected under foul auspices.107

Then there are the "names," e. g. 16: 8. ṣamā't, of hostile invocations,108 and the מ"ע, "words," curse formulas, including the informal imprecation. Compare the "evil word" of the witch in Babylonian magic,109 and the current Babylonian phrase, "the evil mouth, the evil tongue, the evil lip."110 The Talmud has the principle, "None open his mouth to Satan."111 By a natural passage of thought the tongue and the mouth come in for exorcism, e. g.: "Bound and held be the mouth, and bound the tongue, of curses. . . .

Bound be the tongue in its mouth, held be its lips, shaken . . . . the teeth and stopped the ears of curses and invocations."112 The binding of the tongue is a frequent element in the Greek magic; some thirty of the katάδεσιοι in Wünsch's Appendix of defixiones to the Corpus Inscription. Attic. are for binding this "unruly member."113

Further objects of exorcism are the מ"ע, "mysteries," the sacramental rites of maleficent cults; the מ'המ'ע (Stiibe, l. 2) and מ"פ (Wohlstein, 2426: 5), enchantments effected by priests (מ"פ).114 A unique word in its use in the bowls is מ"פ, found coupled with the above terms. Halévy and Wohlstein115 compared form IV of the Arabic verb and rendered it as a delivery to evil. But it is to be compared with the Targumic מ"פ, used

106 Jastrow, op. cit., i, 367, 373.
107 So the Greek katáδεσιοι, and the Jewish collection of charms in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," PSBA, xxviii-ix.
108 Cf. the names of Hecate in the Greek katάδεσιοι, e. g. Wünsch, Antike Fluchttafel, no. 1.
110 Fossey, op. cit., 50, with citations.
111 Berak. 19a, 60a, Ketub. 8b; see Joel, Der Aberglaube, i, 70 (but rationalizing), and Blau, op. cit., 61, with Talmudic instances.
112 L'dz., 4.
113 Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, 307. An amulet of later age (Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 295) analyzes the evil tongue into the lie, accusation, magic, sycophancy.
114 So rightly Stiibe; the heathen priest was, and at last appeared exclusively to be, a magician. On the second of Wünsch's Fluchttafel is the design of an altar.

More obscure are the אַרְנָר (Ellis 3: 10) = "hidden arts"—with which may be possibly compared the אַרְנָר of Schwab R, and Wohlstein, 2426: 6.113 Also the אַרְנָר (once אַרְנָר) have aroused question. Schwab proposed אַרְנָר, "envisager," of the evil eye; Stübe, Wohlstein, Lidzbarski, connect with the root "to knock" (cf. אַרְנָר used of a Lilith, 11: 6).114 This meaning is corroborated by the amulet of Lidzbarski's just cited, where it is parallel to אַרְנָר and אַרְנָר (l. 11 ff +), wasting and mishap. But from its peculiar intensive form I think the word must have some connection with magic arts; cf. the modern spiritualistic knockings and rappings.

Probably the exorcism in the fragment published by Schwab, *PSBA*, xii, 299, from sin and guilt (אַרְנָר אַרְנָר), immediately after "arts" and


114 Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 136. Stübe (p. 37) first offered the explanation given above. Pognon discusses an obscure phrase in his bowls עם וספליים אַרְנָר (B, p. 49), translating "and their adherents." Lidzbarski treating the same phrase (*Epik*, i, 94) rightly takes exception to such a form and translates, "I deliver them," which is unsatisfactory. Probably our noun is to be understood here, reading the nominal suffix א—for the verbal נוּנ. Our word may be a translation of the Greek τελεθή; but n. b. Robertson Smith's note on the mystery idea involved in *aslama* (he might have added the Hebrew לָשׁוֹם), *Rel. Sem.*, 80.

115 Nöldeke, Z. f. *Keilsschr.*, ii, 290, animadverting upon Hyvernart holds that אַרְנָר, translated "prince, angel," always means "charm." Now the parallelism in Wohlstein 2422 between אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר, l. 7, and אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר, l. 15 (see above, n. 70), appears to approve Hyvernart, while in the Talmud אַרְנָר = "genius, angel" (e. g. רֵעָנ, angel of nourishment). But Nöldeke's etymology is doubtless right; a genius to be invoked was himself called an *incantamentum*. A proof of this is found in the Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski in the *Florilegium* dedicated to de Vogüé, p. 349, in l. 29 f. (not understood by the editor—cf. l. 210), where Hibel *Ziva is the אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְנָר אַרְn

116 Wohlstein: "böse Schickungen"; or it may be related to Assyrian *sātāru, sādāru," write," of a written charm.

117 So in a Babylonian text, of demons: "The man they strike, the women they hit," Fossey, *op. cit.*, 282.
"vows," with which compare the šînî in his text M 18, is exercised against practices which magically placed "sin" on the shoulders of some innocent person. Compare the symbol in Zecharia's vision of the removal of wickedness and its curse to the land of Shinar (Zech. 5). But there is doubtless a reminiscence here of the old Babylonian forms in which a sense of personal guilt appears in the incantations; so frequently in tablets 5 and 6 of the Surpu-series, e. g. 5, l. 77 ff., where the summary is made of "the curse, the ban, the pain, the misery, the sickness, the ailment, the sin (arnî), the misdeed (šerti), the offence (ḥablatî), the transgression (ḥiṣûî)." The above would be the only case then of a sense of sin in our texts, but from the point of view that the sin has been inspired by a demoniac force. Heitmüller pertinently remarks: "Die Sünde ist ein Art Besessenheit." And so sins are listed in the Greek objects of exorcism, e. g. πυγίμαρα χάνα, ἀμαρίαί, ὀνειρο, ὄροι, βασκανίας.\(^\text{116}\)

The malice (איהו = אֲנַחַט) of Lidz. 4 is the enmity which magic could conjure up against an enemy, a dreaded means of revenge, and very frequent in ancient magic. Compare the Jewish charms from Mossoul having this specific object,\(^\text{117}\) and for the Greek world the Cypriote leaden tablets published by Miss L. MacDonald,\(^\text{118}\) in which the gods are constantly invoked to suppress the wrath and anger and power and might of the adversary.\(^\text{119}\) A tablet to provoke such malice against an enemy is no. 2 in Wünsch's small collection.\(^\text{120}\) The הַיּוֹ לְבִישׂ או הַיּוֹ לְבִישׁ (30: 4) is a summing up or personification of all this kind of evil potency.

Particularly dreaded were the material means of sorcery, amulets, etc., which themselves came to be personified into evil spirits. The most frequent of these objects of exorcism are the חָוֹרָה (sing. חָוָרָה),\(^\text{121}\) small stones, beads, etc., carried singly, or on strings and necklaces, primarily used as amulets, but coming to possess at least in the Mandaic superstition


\(^{116}\) Wessely, xxxvi, 81, l. 1443 ff. (the Paris Papyrus).

\(^{117}\) Thompson, PSBA, xxviii, 105, 108, etc.

\(^{118}\) Ib., xiii, 160.

\(^{119}\) Cf. the charm in Wessely, xlii, 60 f.

\(^{120}\) See the editor's comment, p. 8.

\(^{121}\) For their character as spirits, see Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., 76.
a baneful influence." We might think of the manipulation of, for instance, an opal to bring another ill-luck; but probably the objects are more obscene, joints of dead men's bones, etc. Their standing epithet is "impious," —^7:13 and we read of their "tongue," e. g. 2:7. The "necklace charms" are exorcised in like manner, also the שבע (15:6, q. v.); 7:13 etc., "pebble," Ellis 3:11, would belong to the same class, but it is probably to be read מטה.

The magic bowls themselves are among the evil influences (7:13, perhaps Ellis l. c.), and so the magic knots, נסר (7:13, and 34:10. There is one reference to the magic circle of the doctors of sorcery, הרָא הַרֹֿא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא Havarah, 13, and to the use of wax. אפר, both in 39:7 (q. v.). The use of 7:11 (q. v.) and the גליל of Pognon B, no. 27, may be explained like הרָא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא הַרֹא Havarah = circles. The הרָא הַרֹא Havarah of 7:13 (q. v.), entered between the "arts" and "bowl," may be the hairs of the victim as used in magic.

The museums of antiquities possess many such necklace charms, which are often composed of stones of the shape of a drop or an eye—prophylactic against the evil eye? See for example, the illustrations to the art. "Amuletum" in Darembert and Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grec. et rom; Elworthy, The Evil Eye, fig. 21. For the use of stones in Babylonian magic, see the 3d tablet of the Labartus series and Myhrman's note thereon, ZA, xvi, 151: cf. Jastrow, op. cit., i, 338, and Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. lxiii. In Syriac we also used of the joints of the vertebra "the sappu of the ass as prescribed in the Labartu texts. With this cf. the prescription of porum asini freni anulum in digito portandum, Cyranides ii, 15, 6, ed. Mély and Ruelle, Les lapidaires grecs, Paris, 1898, quoted by Tambornino, De ant. daemonismo, 83. The mystical properties of stones in Egyptian lore is well known, and they were associated with the metals and planets; see Berthelot, Les origines d'alchimie, Paris, 1885, 47, 218 ff., etc. For the use of stones and bones as prophylactics against the evil eye, see Seligmann, Der böse Blick, ii, 24, 141 ff. For Hellenistic references and bibliography, see Abt, Apuleius, 115. Buxtorf and Levy, in their dictionaries, s. v., and Grünaub, ZDMG, xxxi, 263, understand these charms as pearls or corals.

Cf. the λίθος μάγνης πυλών; see Abt, op. cit., 115, 121, and n. b. the baiulalia described as λίθος ἴχθυχας by Philo of Byblos, Eusebius, Praep. evang., i. 6.

Once, as though misunderstood, masculinized. ינק, 12, 9; also מין מקים.

For these articles see Krauss, Talmudische Archäologie, i, 203 ff.; Blau, op. cit., 91.

For the Babylonian ideas of the virtue of the circle, see above, § 8. Choni, the famous rainmaker in the Talmud, was called בָּשָׁמ, the circle-drawer, because of his use of this device, Taanith 3:8; see Blau, op. cit., 33. According to Joel, op. cit., i, 33, Choni was an Essene, but he appears to have stood in good repute with the orthodox.
To that very malignant potency, the Evil Eye—Nature's endowment
of sorcery—there is comparatively little reference in the bowls, although
in the later magic of East and West it is often the chief, if not the sole
object of exorcism.\(^\text{127}\) The longest pertinent passage in the Nippur texts
is 30:3 f.: "the eye of man or woman,"\(^\text{128}\) the eye of contumely, the eye that
looks right into the heart." By the word נזאר Pognon, B, p. 41,
thinks is meant one who casts the evil eye. Or from its idea of "beckoning"
may it be connected with the malicious "putting forth of the finger," e.g.
Is. 58:9 and cf. possibly Code Hammurabi, § 123. Grünbaum is doubtless
right in holding\(^\text{129}\) that among the Jews the evil eye was of a different char-
acter from the western Jettatura, referring rather, as also in the Old Testa-
ment (cf. also Mt. 20:15), to the moral powers of envy, hatred, and so
forth; the evil eye is rationalized and moralized. Wellhausen also notes
the connection of the evil eye and envy in early Arabian thought.\(^\text{130}\)

\((3)\)

We come now to those objects of exorcism which to modern science
and "common sense" appear as natural physical or psychical maladies, but
which ancient thought regarded as actuated by demons, even to the extent
that the malady in question was personified as an evil spirit. It is a question
how far we have in this phenomenon the survival of ancient animism which
peopled the universe with spirits good and evil, and how far in the fin de siè-
\[\text{sic}le\] magic of these bowls we have the result of a (poetical?) personifi-
cation of evil which comes to be taken as real by the superstitious mind.
The ancient demonology survives but it is reinforced by the hypostatizations
and personifications of the play and fancy of the later mind, working some-
times in the field of a worse superstition, sometimes at the service of the free
and philosophic imagination.\(^\text{131}\) In the Old Testament the Word, the

\(^{127}\) For Talmudic notions, see Blau, Zauberwesen, 152; Joel, Aberglaube, i, 74.

\(^{128}\) A Palestinian amulet published by the writer in JAOS, 1911, 281: "from the
eye of his father, mother, women, men, virgins .... ailment and shame and spirit
and demons."

\(^{129}\) ZDMG, xxxi, 260 f.

\(^{130}\) Reste arab. Heid., 143.

\(^{131}\) Cf. the issue of the Platonic Ideas into the Gnostic Aeons.
Spirit of Yahwe, even his Sword (Am. 9: 4, cf. Gen. 3: 24), are personified; the evil spirit of Yahwe (1 Ki. 22) becomes in the end an evil spirit antagonistic to its origin; the sevenfold gift of the Spirit in Is. 11, 2, Greek text, issues in the Seven Spirits about the throne of God, Rev. 1: 4. And so the Chariot and the Wheels and the Beasts that accompany God’s theophany came under the same treatment of mystical personification. It is a similar phenomenon that we find in the Testament of Solomon; the seven demons brought to book by Solomon give their names as “Deception, Strife, Battle,” etc. or the thirty-six elements (στοιχεία) are hypostatized into moral essences; and in the same manner the Church personified the Seven Deadly Sins, which the Protestant Spenser dramatized in his perfect poetry. For various psychological reasons there was an increasing multiplication of the evils against which exorcism might be practiced; not only specific demons, like Tiu the Babylonian fiend of headache, but diseases under other names, and social evils such as enemies, loss of property, shame, might be exorcised. Probably the more intelligent man regarded this as a rational substitution for the elder demonology, while to the superstitious it merely meant more demons. At all events in the later magic we find more of the hypostatization of natural ills—how seriously it is to be taken is not always certain, and their commonplace names are simply given, whereas the old Babylonian magic would name the demoniac germ of the malady. Hence in our lists of exorcised ills we have in addition to the actual devils, already catalogued, series of evils which are somewhat on the borderland of diabolology. The old exorcisms still are effective but the old demonology is not ample enough; a man wants to exorcise headache, while he may be skeptical as to the existence of Tiu. Probably too as the exorcist (“medicine man”) was also the physician, and medicine was born out of magic rites. we may observe in the naming of the actual maladies an intrusion of the rational spirit.

So the “thrones, dominions, principalities, powers,” of Paul (Col. 1: 16); not only Gnosticism worked out this line of thought but also the Church took this heavenly hierarchy seriously.

JQR, ix, 24, 34. So in Hermas, the vices of the tongue are called δαμάνα (καταδάνα, etc.) Mand., ii, 2: 3; cf. v, 2: 7; xii, 2: 2.

Akhazu becomes the name of a certain fever (a “yellow” fever), Küchler, Beitr. z. Kenntniss d. ass.-bab. Medizin, 61. N. B. the assignment of the several
In the Babylonian we find cases in the magical texts of the summarizing of specific maladies along with the demons. A long and interesting example is presented by Jastrow.\(^{58}\) The series is introduced by a list of physical ills—contortions, broken limbs, affection of liver, heart, gall-bladder, etc. Then follow the evil eye, curses, calumny, etc., and then certain named demons; the text is an interesting predecessor of our inscriptions except that it places the maladies first. Is this the consequence of a rationalistic tendency? In the texts published by Küchler we find semi-magical prescriptions for diseases alone.

The New Testament gives a first-hand insight into the popular demonology of a representative portion of the oriental world at the beginning of our era. We find there devils of dumbness and deafness and blindness (Mt. 12: 22, Mk. 9: 17, etc.); one woman had “a spirit of infirmity,” πνεύμα ἀσθένειας, Lu. 13: 11; Simon’s mother-in-law was seized with a great fever and Jesus rebuked the fever, ἐπιτίμησεν τῷ πυρετῷ,\(^{59}\) even as in another case he rebuked the wind. And Jesus gave his disciples power “over unclean spirits to cast them out and heal every disease and every malady,” Mt. 10.\(^{60}\)

In the Egyptian magic there is the like identification of diseases with demons,\(^{61}\) and the Greek magical papyri are full of it. Cf. the title of a charm given by Wessely, φιλακτήριον ασωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πάσαν νίκον καὶ πάθος,\(^{62}\) So in the samples of Syriac charms published by Gollancz\(^{63}\) we have the same summarization of “all manners of diseases” along with the demons, e. g. p. 79: Exorcised, etc. be “all demons, devils, phantoms, every practice, all temptations, unclean spirits, cruel dreams, dark

demons, asakku, namentu, etc., to the different parts of the body, head, throat, etc.; Myhrman ZA, xvi, 146.

\(^{58}\) Rel. Bab. u. Ass., i, 367 ff. As Jastrow says, we gain here “a further insight into the connection between the medical calling and that of the exorcist.” Other examples, Thompson, Devils, i, 17, 145, etc.

\(^{59}\) Hebrew יֹעֵש.

\(^{60}\) An angel ἀγγελός, of fever, et al., appears in Byzantine charms; see Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 19. It is the Rabbinic מַעְנָה, discussed above, n. 112.

\(^{61}\) See at length Conybeare, JQR, viii, 583, etc.

\(^{62}\) Cases cited by Budge, Egyptian Magic, 206 ff.

\(^{63}\) xlii, 39, 1. 589.

\(^{64}\) Actes du 11ème Congrès des Orientalistes, Section 4, 77.
apparitions; fear and trembling, terror and surprise, dread, anxiety, excessive weeping; fever-panic, tertian fever, all kinds of fever, febrile ills, inflammations, etc.; when a child troubles its mother with pains of travail; tumors, pestilences, . . . all pains and all sicknesses, all wounds and all oppositions, surprises, revenges . . . the nine sicknesses,” etc. And Vassiliev has published a number of Byzantine charms directed especially against specific diseases, the first of which is a general panacea: ἡμία ἱμάς πάντα τῷ ἀκόράτῳ πνεύματα, ἡ βοσκανία, ἡ φαρμακία, ἡ φωτεραμία, ἡ φρίκη, ἡ πυρετός, ἡ ἐπίβολος, ἡ συνάντηση 155 υπηρέων, ἡ νοσεία, ἡ κωφία, ἡ τυφλός, ἡ ἀλάνυα, ἡ σέληνακόν, ἡ μυθείς (sic) δάνατων, ἡ ἀλλοκομίαν, ἡ μαρφοίμενον, ἡ ἄραν, ἡ ὀξύς, ἡ νοσημάτων (sic). 146

The most common of the demoniac categories bearing upon physical maladies are those with the general significance of “stroke, plague”: ξηλώματα especially epidemic disease, ἀσθένεια; ἐπιχνία, and n. b. Ἀθημα, Mand. ἀντιδήμα; ὀπ (ὅποι;) 34: 10. 39: 4;” also the ἀσθένεια, “sufferings.” Cf. Ps. 91: 5, a psalm and a verse which the Jews regarded as a valuable phylactery, and Ps. 89: 33. The ἀσθένεια treated above may be included here, ἐπιχνία.

It is a minority of the bowl inscriptions which refer to special diseases. Of our texts Nos. 11, 16, 24, 29, 34, are of this character; so also a clause in Lidzbarski 5; lists of diseases appear in Wohlstein 2422, apparently mostly cutaneous affections, and at the end of Schwab G.

142 Fears are a frequent object of exorcism in the Greek magic, e. g. Wessely, xiii, 64, l. 25, and collation of the subject by Tambornino, De ant. daemonismo, 58, 65 f.; see also Dieterich, Abraxas, 86 f.

143 This in earlier magic would have been ascribed to the jealous Lilith.

144 Anecdota graeco-byzantina, i, 332.


146 For a survey of the Hellenistic personifications of disease, see Tambornino, op. cit., 62 ff.; e. g. insanity = Mania; Febris, etc.; also see Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 10, Wendland, Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur, 125.


148 The ἀρίθμος, Schw. M: 17, right after “arts” and before ἄρης, ἄρης may refer to tortures inflicted by magical operations.

149 See Fränkel’s criticism of readings, ZA, ix, 308.
We find listed general names of diseases, e. g. a large number of cutaneous diseases: a series in 24: 2: possibly fevers. In Schwab we read of "fevers," Rabb. 11: 2, is possibly "fever." The demons referred to in 34: 10 may be the spirits of cancer, tumors of the eye, dysentery, and in l. 13 palsy of hand and foot. A long list of fevers is presented in the first of Gollancz's Syriac charms.

In the Berlin bowl 2416 Wohlstein reads a certain affection as translating it "böser Fluss"; Stübe reads it , interpreting it, by a desperate solution, as the sacrificial jugular vein in which he supposes was used as a maleficent charm. Jastrow in his Lexicon gives both and . The correct spelling is and it is closely related to . The root is parallel to "be clear, bright" (cf. the Assyrian); the sense of blindness in connection with this root arose from the fact that the sun produces blindness (eye-diseases are most common in the Orient), or from the dazzling sensation suffered by those affected with certain optical diseases.

No. 29: 7 we have a characteristic magical prescription for a woman who is exorcised from the various categories of devils and charms.

For these and the following terms, see Glossary C.

A disease in Assyrian, Küchler, op. cit., 131, 197.

Wohlstein, 2422: 20, dropsy or urinary affection? Fränkel (ib., 309) cft. Hull. 105h, and explains as "water from which a demon has drunk." It may be the eye-disease known to the Jews as "water," see Preuss (cited in next note), p. 305.

For the diseases in the Bible and Talmud see Jewish Encyc. art. "Medicine," and iv, 517 f. for demons of diseases, with bibliography, viii, 413 f.; noteworthy treatments that have since appeared are Krauss, Talmudische Archäologie, i, § 104, J. Preuss, Biblisch-talmudische Medizin, 1911 (with extensive bibliography), while Fishberg, The Jews, 1911, cc. 13-15, may be consulted with profit. Many of the medical terms in the bows are not to be found in the Jewish literature.

For this "Yarod" disease, see Preuss, op. cit., 308. He notices also the eye-disease , a form of our word, p. 310.

The Talmudic formula against blindness, Shabirir, biri, riri, ri, Ab. Z. 12b, etc., is formed from this root.
and then from נִשְׁתָּה, a menstruation malady (?); then are mentioned מָכָלְתָהּ והַנְּחָה, which are evidently the causes of feminine irregularities, followed by דִּבְרֵי „pollutions” (fluxes?), and the דֵּבָרִים הָעָלִים, probably epilepsy. In a badly arranged series in No. 16 we find (l. 9) הָרְיָה דְּרָי, literally “the spirit (= breath?) of stench and asthma,” i.e. of the foul or labored breath symptomatic of diseases (see ad loc.). In 11: 3 f., again a charm for a woman, after the list of demons appear מָכָלְתָה הָעָלִים, which we should translate “barrenness” and “bereavement,” understanding them as personified. But in the parallel Mandaic text of Lidzbarski’s (see to No. 11) bereavement has become a Lilith (Proc. Am. Phil. Soc. 4: מָכָלְתָה הָעָלִים = takkáltá). Which is the original of these forms? In 34: 10 we might be rendered, “ugliness and distortion,” with which compare the charms of the Greek youths in the papyri for health, good looks, etc.

Another class of evils are those of a social nature. So poverty מָכָלְתָה הָעָלִים, figures in 34: 12, but from two other passages we see that it is the hostile witchcraft that would effect poverty in the victim’s life which is exorcised: מָכָלְתָה הָעָלִים, “the genius of poverty,” 16: 10, and Lidz., 4: מָכָלְתָה הָעָלִים, where “distress” and “sickness” are epexegetical to “invocations.” Again in 34: 12 is found an exorcism against all kinds of losses: מָכָלְתָה הָעָלִים, “the spirits and beings in 7: 11 are troubles involving shame.

We mark that the rationalization of maladies had not gone very far; the decadent Babylonians were satisfied with the exorcism of devils and witchcraft and avoided the diagnosis of diseases. For modern magical practice in this field see the collection of Jewish charms published by R. C. Thompson, “Folklore of Mossoul,” PSBA, 1906-7. In these the spirits have fled, but the ancient magical practices remain effective.

107 Cf. the constant personification in Greek magic of βανκαβία.
108 E. g. Dieterich, Abraxas, 197, l. 3.
109 Cf. the מָכָלְתָה הָעָלִים of my amulet published in JAOS, 1911, 281.
§ 13. PROPITIOUS ANGELS, DEITIES, ETC.

In the Babylonian exorcistic system the beneficent gods and spirits were arrayed and invoked against the demons and ills that affected human kind. Jastrow gives a specimen of such an invocation of some twenty deities¹ and discusses at length these various lists and their orders.² In another example, given by Reisner,³ fifty great gods, seven gods of destiny, 300 Annunaki of heaven and 600 of earth, are invoked. It is not inevitable then that we must go to Persian dualism to discover the origin of the Jewish angelology. Absolute monotheism with its desire that the one God be exalted alone broke down before the specious and alluring argument that there must be more who are with us than those who are against us (2 Ki. 6: 16).

It is to be premised that in many of our texts the religious element is very deficient; reliance is placed upon bans and formulas with often no reference to Deity or other personal agencies of friendly character. Those inscriptions in which such supernatural agencies apart from God are invoked may be divided into three classes, representing so many distinct origins. There are those in which the well known names and name-formations of the Jewish angelology appear; although, as remarked above, § 12, the word "angel" is not used in all cases in the usual Jewish sense (often = deity). Then there are the genii of the Mandaic religion, mostly with names of outlandish formation. And finally there are the invocations of evidently pagan origin in which deities are named, although unfortunately most of their names are obscure or perverted by the text tradition. Further these different elements are confused and what appears like a good Jewish text at times admits a pagan deity into its celestial

¹ From the Surpu-series, iv, l. 68 ff.
² Rel. Bab. u. Ass., i, 289.
³ Sum.-bab. Hymnen, iv, l. 152 ff.

(95)
hierarchy—somewhat as the mediaeval Church came to canonize the Buddha.

(1) We need not dwell long upon the Mandaic genii. Pogonon has given a survey of those occurring in his bowls, to which may be added a few more from Lidzbarski's and my texts. Some of the names are patterned after the Jewish angelic nomenclature, e. g. הַרְפָּעָם ( = רפסים), or have forms in -ai, e. g. בְּצוֹאָר, נְהָאו, called "angels" (No. 38), or we find a name קֵסְרִאָואָיס patterned after the obscure Mandaic principles Piriawis and Sindiriawis. A number of the names are not found in the known Mandaic literature.

The angelology of the apparently Jewish texts and the angelic nomenclature are not as elaborate as we find in later Jewish literature, e. g. the Sword of Moses or the Sefer Raziel, the bulk of which consists of lists of angelic names. The majority of our texts have no such names. The most common angels are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. As a rule the names are formed in -el, although other formations appear and quite un-Jewish potencies are brought in as angels. Our texts stand on the border-land of Jewish angelology and not within its orthodox development.

Taking up first the known angels, we find that Michael does not have necessary precedence. He sometimes appears in the first place followed by Gabriel, Raphael, Nuriel, et al. (e. g. Nos. 14, 34, Hyv.), but as often the order has Gabriel first,—Gabriel, Michael, Raphael (Nos. 7, 20, Myhrman. Wohlstein 2422, 2416), or Gabriel occurs without Michael (e. g.

4 B, p. 93.

5 In Ellis 1 the Mandaic genius Abatur is an evil spirit, and is classed among the ghostly spirits in Wohlstein, 2417: 6. N. B. the occurrence of this name as Abyater in an Ethiopic apocryphon, Littmann, JAOS, xxv, 28. Afriel, ib., 29, is a form of Raphael, corresponding to the form occurring in the bowls; see Glossary A, s. v.


7 Composed by Eleazar of Worms, 13th cent.


9 See Lucken, Michael, 1898, especially § 4.
The latter order is of course that of their appearance in the Jewish literature (Old Testament and Tobit). Other angels may precede these or occur without them. Aniel appears as the fourth in a tetrad (Wohlstein 2416).

The title peculiar to Michael in Jewish lore, the Great Prince, מַתָּן הָגָעִית (Dan. 12, Aboda Z. 42b, etc.), appears in 5:3, but without specific reference, and at the end of No. 7 in the list of angels, which in its occurrence at the beginning of the text names Gabriel first, Armasa is "the great lord"; so the application of the epithet is uncertain. In Hyvernat's text, which appears to be comparatively late, we find Michael's full glory expressed: "the mighty, the king, genius of the law" (הנהMAL'LA נַפְּשָׁו). In 34:7 he is called the "healer" (ר'אלאא, Raphael "reliever" מַלָית), and Gabriel the "servant of the Lord." The title "healer" suggests that the frequent opening invocation, "In thy name, O Lord of salvation (מִלְּטָה), great Saviour (ר'אלאא) of love," which is not a regular Jewish form of address to Deity, may refer to Michael; but the supposition is not reinforced by the position Michael takes in these texts. In Wohlstein 2416 kabbalistic surnames are given to Gabriel and Michael, מַטָּיִל הָגָעִית (so W. would read), the latter, "likeness of Yah," corresponding to the later Jewish notions concerning Michael as almost סְכִי hupos. Cf. the kabbalistic forms in 24:4 (of angels?) and the group of seven barbarous names in Schwab M, Dalal, Salal, Malal, etc., presumably standing for the seven archangels. Reference to the latter is made once, in the introduction to Stübe's text (= Wohlstein 2416) where exor-

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cism is made in the name of Metatron, Hadriel, Nuriel, Uriel, Sasgabiel Hafkiel, Mehaekieli, as "who are the seven angels that go and turn around heaven and earth and stars and zodiac and moon and sea."\(^\text{18}\)

In this last series Metatron takes the place that should be given to Michael. Metatron\(^\text{19}\) appears earlier as one of the (six) archangels, in Targum Jer. to Dt. 34: 6: Michael, Gabriel, Metatron, Jophiel, Uriel, Yephepia. He is really a rival figure to Michael, springing from a different religious concept; Michael is an angel, the patron of Israel, hence the Angel, *par excellence*, the representative of deity.\(^\text{18}\) Metatron is in origin an idea, Platonic, Philonic, however we may call it, produced by the necessity of a Demiurge, a "second god" between Deity and man.\(^\text{18}\) It is interesting to watch the somewhat unlike histories of the rival ideas. Michael remains an angel, but Metatron becomes more and more a mystic being; he is associated with the Enoch and Elija legends, and his identity with these human beings may be described as an assimilation of them to Metatron or as his incarnation in them; he is both divine and human.\(^\text{20}\) To the mystic, the kabbalist, such a figure is more sympathetic than the archangel (cf. the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews!), and so he replaces or absorbs Michael. Hence he is described in terms like those given to Michael. Eisenmenger quotes (p. 396) a long list of appellatives: he is Prince of the Presence, Prince of the Law, Prince of wisdom, Prince of kings, etc. (cf. the titles applied to Michael in Hyvernât's bowl), while elsewhere (Eisenmenger, *ibid.*) he is called the Prince of the world, cf. the title "the great prince" discussed above in connection with Michael.\(^\text{21}\) We may

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\(^{18}\) Most of these names are plays on evident roots.


\(^{21}\) For the extremes to which this notion went, see Lueken, *op. cit.*, 36 ff.
suppose that on the periphery of Judaism as well as in its esoteric circles the idea of Metatron would be especially acceptable to those who were not weaned from polytheism.

Comparing Nos. 3, 19, 25, we come upon an interesting identification. אַרְמַס, which appears in No. 3, is the Greek Hermes, more especially the Hermes of the mystic Egypto-Grecian theosophy (see to No. 3). He is the Word, etc. (No. 19) and in 25: 4 f., is identified with Metatron.\(^9\) Thus we have here a welding together of the esoteric Jewish Metatron and the equally mystical Hermes of Hellenism. Whether our magicians were aware what אַרְמַס meant, I know not and I doubt it. It gave them one more mystical name and combination.

Just as Hermes was dragged in, so other names or words were put in the category of angels or intermediate beings. So in 7: 8 the invocation is in the name of Gabriel, Michael, Rafael, Asiel, Hermes, Abbahu, Abraxas,\(^{10}\) And so with many terms in these invocations it is impossible to decide what we are dealing with (e. g. Agrabis, 17: 4), whether a surrogate for a divine name, an intermediate being, a pagan deity, or perhaps a sorcerer's name. The expression "in the name of" was taken seriously only so far as the name was concerned; the name, the word, was the essential thing, not the prosaic object it stood for. The same phenomenon appears in the magical papyri. There we find now an exorcism in the name of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus Christ (χριστος) and Holy Spirit (σημειον, siv)\(^{11}\)—wherein the exorcist shows bad orthodoxy, whether as Jew or Christian; or again an incantation in the name of ὲαοι ἄγενα ὲαοι μιχαήλ ὲαοι σαμαήλ ὲαοι γαβήλα ὲαοι ραβαήλ ὲαοι αβραασάς, κ. τ. λ.,\(^{12}\) where gods, angels and formulas are mixed up just as unintelligently as in the incantations from Nippur.

As for the minor angels most of them can be found in other Jewish literature, and reference for them may be made to Schwab's dictionary of angelology. Glossary A lists the angelic names in the bowls. In their

\(^9\) So Michael was identified with Hermes, Lueken, op. cit., 28, 78 (with reference to Hermes-figures bearing Michael's name).

\(^{10}\) For some of the angel names in the papyri, see Lueken, op. cit., 71.

\(^{11}\) Wessely, Vienna Denkschriften, xxxvi, 2, 75, l. 1227.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 144, l. 144. See above § 11.
formation they follow the general rule of making the first (verbal) element express the object desired in the incantation. Thus in the love-charms Nos. 13 and 28, the angels invoked are Rahmiel, Ḥabbiel and Ḥanniniel.

(3) It is difficult to say how many of the bowls are Jewish; the presence of Jewish catchwords is not a sufficient criterion. I would call attention to a few of the Nippur bowls which are definitely pagan. Of such nature is the last one cited, No. 28, where along with the angel Rahmiel appear the mighty (passionate?) Dlibat (a Semitic Venus) and [blank] gods. No. 19 has the longest list of invocations of apparently heathen deities. Only a few of them can be certainly identified. Hermes appears there, probably two words (masc. and fem.) representing the Gnostic Aeons (אויולא, איוולא); Bagdana, "with 70 exalted priests," who appears as a demon (Abugdana) in the Mandaic bowls. Other names have a very non-Semitic sound, and we can identify some Greek divinities: Zeus, Okeanos, Protogenos (see the commentary). Also we find angelic names, Akzariel, etc., and again Abraxas, and reference to the 60 gods and 80 goddesses. Yet the opening invocation is "in thy name Lord of Salvation," etc., who is also the "true God," I. 17.

Of peculiar interest is No. 36, in which the exorcist declares he has been empowered by certain deities: "The lord Sameš (sun) has charged me, Sina (moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nannai has said to me [blank], and Nirig (Nergal) has given me power." In quite antique wise the sorcerer (perhaps a priest, מברם) professes to have received oracles. Apart from the striking parallels of the prophetic commissions in the Old Testament, we find the expression of like assumption by the exorcists in the Babylonian magic. Thus from the Utukku-series: "The sorcerer-priest that makes clear the ordinances of Eridu am I; of Marduk sage magician, eldest son of Ea, herald am I, the exorciser of Eridu, most cunning in magic am I"; again: "The man of Ea am I, the messenger of Marduk am I, my spell is the spell of Ea, my incantation the incantation

Pognon B, p. 93, Lidz., 4: 2 (p. 103, n. 7); cf. the change of the beneficent Mandaic genius Abatur into an evil spirit in Ellis 1.

Thompson, Devils, i, 133.
of Marduk."* Cf. also the Maḫliu-series: "The god and goddess have commissioned me, whom shall I send?," and, "I go on Marduk's command."* In our text we have doubtless one of the latest survivals of priestly exorcism in the old forms coming down from the āšīpu priests of Babylonia; these forms doubtless were cherished long in the Harranian religion.

"Ibid., 23.

* Tablet ii, l. 52, 158. Cf. also § 9, end.
IV. HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS

§ 14. AGE OF THE BOWLS

Very diverse views as to the antiquity of the bowls have been offered by students. It is unnecessary to consider the hypothesis of their pre-Christian origin. Chwolson as an epigraphical expert submitted the texts he was acquainted with to a careful examination and believed he could assign them, by comparison of the scripts, to different centuries early in this era, from the second to the fourth or fifth. But epigraphical evidence in the case of a formed script like that of the square character is fallacious. Especially in the case of rude popular texts, in which antique forms of writing have survived, no certainty from epigraphy can be obtained. And in general a chronology obtained from epigraphy is most dubious; I may refer to the current opposing arguments over the Siloam inscription and the Gezer calendar tablet, or note the remarkably fluent, almost cursive script of the potsherds from Samaria, which only their certain provenance compels us to ascribe to the Omride age.

But most of the students would be inclined to place the bowls considerably later, between the fifth and ninth centuries, although rather by conjecture, from the impression made by the contents, than through positive proofs. Levy and Halévy thought, but fallaciously, that they could detect Arabisms, and were inclined to date the texts after the Arabic conquest. Nöldeke would place Hyvernat's bowl not earlier than the eighth century, basing his opinion on the forms of the Persian names. Schwab assigned his Louvre bowls to the fourth or fifth century.

1 See above, § 5.
2 Levy, ZDMG, ix, 474; Halévy, Comptes rendus, 1877, 292, specifying more exactly, "vers le sixième siècle."
It is evident that, in the case of a large number of texts coming from different localities and in most cases not observed in situ, it is impossible to take a datum from any one and so fix the chronology of the whole species. Magical literary forms are peculiarly persistent; we may think of the uncertainty as to the age of the Greek magical texts, in which, for instance, a Christian theological phrase may not define the age of the magical formula, can only give a clue to that of the particular document. And so our texts, copied and recopied as precious magical prescriptions, repeated possibly by laymen long after the special school of sorcery had ceased to exist, may have extended over a series of centuries. Some bowls may be considerably later than others, e. g. Hyvernat's with its reference to "Ispandas-Dewa the Jinn of Solomon," and Schwab's H and O composed of biblical verses.

Fortunately more certainty as to a unity of time can be had for the texts from Nippur. These were found by expert scholars in situ at certain noted levels of the ruins. While written in three different dialects and as many scripts, nevertheless the appearance of the same persons and families in the three classes tends to show that they all belonged to about the same age. We are not therefore to suppose a stratification of Judaic, Syriac, Mandaic layers, representing so many different ages or even distinct racial elements. Nor do the variants within the texts of the square script compel us to assign them to different ages; these are but calligraphic variations. There is every reason to place the Nippur bowls within rather a brief period, and if one or a few texts threw any light upon the chronology, we could place the age of the whole collection.

The provenance of the bowls from Nippur was described in § 1; they lay above the stratum of the Parthian temple. This building had been destroyed, was covered with sand, and upon the Tell settled small Semitic communities, Jews and Mandaeans, drawn to the deserted place probably by motives of religious community life. Indeed we may suppose that these bodies, separated from the main currents of their larger societies, made a practical use and profit out of their religious prestige in the preparation of magical texts. To speak more exactly of the archaeological conditions, in the "Jewish" houses discovered by Peters an upper stratum contained Cufic coins of the seventh century, a lower stratum only Parthian coins, Jewish bowls being found also in the latter. The lowest
dating then is the seventh century, on the basis of the Cufic coins, and this
dating is to be pushed back, if it be modified at all, because of the ease
with which small coins slip down through the soil. The archaeological
evidence then for the *terminus ad quem* of our texts is the seventh century
(probably its beginning), with a fair leeway back into the preceding century.

As I have said, the epigraphical evidence is a weak reed to lean on
for chronology. The only new fact I can bring to bear on this feature of
the discussion is the novel Syriac script exhibited in seven of our bowls.
I have discussed this script in § 6 and there came to the conclusion that
it is an early type of the Edessene style of alphabet, a result corroborated
by its identity with the Manichaean alphabet. But again this may be a
case of survival; certain evidence from epigraphy is *nil*.

There remains the philological testimony. The "Jewish" Aramaic of
the texts is just such as we find in the Talmud, and with evidently like
dialectical variations; a few forms appear representing the "Palestinian"
dialect, remains of which occur in the Babylonian literature. The Mandaic
dialect is fully formed, and has exercised its influence, at least in spelling,
upon the other two, the Rabbinic and Syriac. There are many words which
can be illustrated only from the neo-Syriac dialects, or from the compilations
of the Syriac lexicographers. But these words may be old and only by
chance have failed to make their appearance in literature. Thus the late
Syriac form *mişū* "goat," is now found in the Elephantine papyri. The
fact that a Persian word, e. g. *dastabira*, does not appear till later or is a
*hapax legomenon*, is not proof of late age unless it can be shown to be of
late Persian formation. Nor do I find that any of the proper names compel
us to assume a late date. The majority of them are Persian, and do not,
to one who is a layman in this branch of science and who must rely mostly
upon the authority of Justi's *Namenbuch*, appear to be necessarily late, say
toward the end of the first millennium.  

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* It is impossible to make an epigraphical examination of all the bowls published,
  for in the majority of cases facsimiles are not given, or they are poorly made.

* Nöldeke's argument that the element *-duch* for *-ducht* speaks for a late age
  is not at all stringent for a Semitic dialect which would naturally abhor a termination
  in a double consonant; the Syriac texts have *-ducht*.  

There is one line of negative evidence which is the only clue to a terminus *ad quern* which I can discover on this basis. Despite the variety of names, the list of which includes two Syriac Christian names (אַנְאֵרִי, מַעְרָא הָנתָרִי) and a Greek name (Παύλος τοῦ Νασάρεος), also probable Indian names, there is none of Arabic origin. A pair of common nouns and the use of *א* for the conjunction in two cases do give us etymological connections in that direction; but *א* in this usage is found in the Senjirli inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri and is a spelling *ad aurem*—it is corrected in one of Schwab’s texts. As for the two words ניינא, Jinn, and פְּנֵי (and possibly פְּנֵי), I cannot grant that these loans must have taken place after the Mohammedan conquest, when sorcery was so eager to include every possible name of evil spirits (n. b. the adoption of דָּבְדָּדָא and inasmuch as the good Semitic word may long have been at home on the Arabian frontiers of Babylonia.

My consequent conclusion is that the Nippur texts should be placed in a period not later than the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, that is, only as a terminus *ad quern,* approximately 600 A.D. The abandonment of the Tell of Nippur may have been caused by the Arabic conquest, which, as we may assume, ultimately drove away the Jewish and Mandaean settlers to other abodes, the latter to their recesses in the south (they were not, I think, recognized as one of “the peoples of a book”), the former to the towns. As for those texts from other quarters that appear to be later, they are but the continuation, which we should expect, of the magic of the elder bowls, and as I have noticed in § 2, towards the end, late descendants of the species.

If my conclusions from the data of the Nippur bowls are justified, they afford us one result of comparative value. While the great mass of magical, and more particularly Jewish magical literature, is known to us only in late documents,—we may but speculate as to the age of the Sword of Moses, the Wisdom of the Chaldaeans, the Seal of Solomon, the elements of Sefer Raziel—our texts are contemporary and authentic documents of the late pre-Islamic period in Babylonian history.
§ 15. ORIGINS AND RELATIONS OF THE BOWL MAGIC

"Jewish incantation bowls" is the title that has been generally applied to our species of magical texts. It arose in consequence of the fact that the first bowls interpreted, as also the majority of those now known, are written in the script and dialectic forms of the speech of the Talmud, and withal appear preponderantly to bear the earmarks of Judaism. The subsequent discovery of similar supplies of texts Mandaic in composition and contents, and now the presentation in this volume of a number of Syriac texts, enlarge our vista concerning the diffusion of this special form of magic among the races and faiths of Babylonia. Further, over against texts of whose Judaism there may be no reasonable doubt, we find a number which are out and out pagan, while the majority are certainly eclectic in their theological tastes. These observations require that we extend our study beyond the domain of Judaism to discover the relations of these bowl-texts to the general field of magic, as we know it for the first centuries of the Christian era, and to the earlier strains which entered into it. What are the historical connections of our texts, and what light do they cast upon the religious or spiritistic thought of cosmopolitan Babylonia in the age of the Sassanian empire?

In the magic-wild age at the beginning of our era, the Jewish magic was recognized as one of the three great schools of sorcery, along with the Chaldaean and the Egyptian. The Jews had inherited the rites and notions of primitive magic from the Arabian Hebrews and from ancient Canaan; despite the severity of an ethical monotheism, which throughout

1 Hence our rude and vulgar texts are of philological importance as almost the only early contemporary documents of these dialects.

2 The analogies have been set forth in the preceding sections; in the following paragraphs I can only speculate on the genealogical relations. Cf. Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, 261, n. 2.
its growth had placed a unique ban upon the practice of sorcery, this feature nevertheless survived. While the Second Isaiah is deriding the sorceries of Babylon and exposing their helplessness (c. 47), we have stray glimpses of the persistence of ancient rites closely akin to magic, which still claimed the adherence of renegades (Eze. 8; Is. 65, 66). In the Book of Tobit are given magical remedies for the expulsion of foul demons with the concurrence of angels; Josephus tells of his sorcerer who could pull the demon out of the nose of the possessed with a root indicated by Solomon. The New Testament gives the first extensive and intimate picture of the magical conditions in Palestine; "If I through the finger of God cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?"—inquires Jesus. In Acts we read of well-established sorcerers who bewitched the people and even Gentiles in foreign parts, a Simon Magus and Bar-Jesus Elymas. But apart from the hoary forms of Mezuzzoth and Tephillin and some mortuary charms, our first literary specimens of Jewish or Judaizing magic are found in the Greek papyri of the Christian age, and there how much is Greek and how much Jewish we know not. Here appear various forms and anagrams of the Ineffable Name, quotations from the Scriptures, historical references to Solomon and especially to Moses, who came, as the great mystagogue and magician, to be identified with Hermes-Thoth, and was regarded as the teacher of Orpheus. He is made the author of a Hermetic book, through and through Egyptian and Hellenistic, entitled the Eighth Book of Moses, as a continuation of the Pentateuch, which Dieterich has published at the end of his Abraxas. Blau and Deissmann have published a delicate erotic charm, composed in true Greek spirit, and yet the former may be right in claiming its phraseology as preponderantly Jewish.

In which direction was the give and take, what were the connecting links? Dieterich would find in the Essenes and Therapeutae the bond between

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4 See H. Vincent, "Amulette juifé-araméenne," Rev. bibl., 1908, 382, (with ample bibliography), and Montgomery, JAOS, 1911, 272.
8 See the analogies presented in § 11.
6 Dieterich, Abraxas, 70.
7 See notes to No. 28.
Jewish and Hellenic magic. But just wherein lay the peculiar type and particular contribution of Judaism to the world's magical faith, we do not know, for the reason that we have no early magical documents of unimpeachable Jewish origin. And if we possessed documents from the Palestinian life of the Hebrews, how far even then could we decide what was specifically Hebrew and not Canaanitish or borrowed from the spheres of culture to the east and west? What different origins are assigned by the commentators to the occult practices described in Eze. 8.°

When we pass to the eastern home of the Diaspora we have that marvellous encyclopaedia, the Talmud, with its glimpses into the common life of the people as well as into the discussions of the schools; magic holds its sway more or less over all, and its existence, if not its legality, is confessed by the spiritual masters, who, if we may contrast successively Mishna, Gemara, the Gaonic period, with one another, came more and more to recognize and legitimize the practice of magic.° We catch in the Talmud and the subsequent authoritative literature some of the magical phrases, learn something of the practices and beliefs in demons, mark the superstitious fears of the people of Babylonia, of the Jews as well as of their neighbors. 1° Our bowls and their inscriptions are rude and unlovely, with none of the sombre dignity of the Babylonian incantations, or of the often lyric beauty of the Greek magical literature; 1° but these bowls are of prime interest as giving us for the first time extensive texts of the eclectic Babylonian magic of the first Christian millennium. They are degenerate successors of the elder incantations of the land, yet they are autograph evidence of the superstitions which Talmud, with caution, and Eisenmenger's Entdecktes Judenthum, with malice, reveal, and are precursors of that sea of magical literature which has come down to us under Jewish auspices.

° Ib., 137 ff.
* See Kraetzschmar, ad loc.
1° See Joel, Der Aberglaube, the sections C, D, E (pt. 1, pp. 55, 64; pt. 2, p. 2) for this comparison. For the Talmudic teachers who allowed and practised magic, see Blau, Das altjüd. Zauberwesen, 26, 54.
11 According to Blau, pp. 23, 84, the Babylonian Jews were far more addicted to magic than the Palestinians.
12 Cf. the noble Hermetic hymn of creation, the "holy word" in the Eighth Book of Moses, in which "God smiled seven times," and each smile was an act of creation; Dieterich, p. 182.
And withal they give a sample of the medley and fusion of peoples and religions in the land which the Jews had long since called Confusion.

The order of the day is to Babylonize, and our evident line of primary investigation is to discover the relationships of the bowls with the ancient Babylonian magic, the literature of which in the last decades has been published in large quantities by the most distinguished Assyriologists. My notes to the texts and the Introduction show how apparently numerous are the connections between the object of our study and the magic of Babylonia. While there is only one instance of the specific bowl praxis in that earlier literature, still its method of defixion is quite congruous with the ancient magical operations. As of yore, the sorcerer appears as the commissioner of Deity or of the gods (§ 9); he follows definite and repetitious formulas, similar to the Babylonian šiptu (§ 11). He invokes most frequently, or at least primarily, one chief god, "the Lord of love and healing," just as the Babylonian called on Ea or Marduk, but, as in the elder incantations, other gods or their angelic equivalents are invoked in large accumulation (§ 13). Most striking in the correspondences is the registration of the devils, black arts and maladies to be exorcised; as in the Babylonian, so in our magic these are specified in long detailed lists (§ 12). In fact our spells far outdo the Babylonian repetition of the seven classes of evil spirits. In the Mandaic texts the terror of the witches appears, in others the evil charm is reversed upon the head of the sorcerer, all as in Babylonian magic. Rites and words and the instruments of magic, which are personified, are as much the object of detestation as in the Maklu-series. Diseases and all human ills are inspired by devils, indeed are devils and are treated as personal essences. The magician's ban, the spell of the mighty god, is laid upon them all, and they are forthwith assumed to be "bound," and "tied," as in older days when simulacra sacramentally sealed the operation. Even the quotation of Scriptures and references to sacred legend have their parallels in the Babylonian incantations, which used the ancient myths as potent charms (§ 11). It is unnecessary to proceed further with the summary of general correspondences, but enough has

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13 See for the literature, Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., i, ch. xvi, and his Religious Beliefs in Bab. and Ass., 296 ff.
14 See p. 43.
been noticed to dispose our minds to the dictum of Zimmern:28 "Diese (the incantation bowls) im Ausdruck oft überraschend an die alten babylonischen Beschworungen erinnern den jüdischen Beschworungstexte, bei denen unter den mit Namen angeführten bösen Dämonen auch Lilith häufig erscheint, liefern in ihrer Weise ebenfalls den Beweis für nachhaltige Einstromen babylonischer dämonologischer Vorstellungen in das Judentum."

Yet the implications that may be drawn from this judgment, even if not intended by the writer, are open to criticism. In the first place, as observed in the preceding sections, similar correspondences with the Greek magic are to be noted in almost every instance. This fact compels us to recognize the possibility of eclectic as well as of immediate Babylonian influence upon the Jewish magic. And then, secondly, marked differences exist between the fields, changes in the center of gravity, omissions, accretions. There still remains a large degree of substantial reason in the opinion earlier expressed by Nödeke, surveying the material from a different point of view: "Die Verbindung mit altbabylonischen Aberglauben dürfte also ziemlich lose sein." The study of magic is still in its beginnings, and students are too prone to find a genetic relation when we have to bear in mind that we are dealing with parallel workings of the human spirit operating in a universal and amazingly uniform field, while at the same time, particularly for the age when Hellenistic culture was dominant, we must give allowance for the interfusion of factors geographically most distant.

Of the old Babylonian names of demons, only two appear in our texts, the šedu and Lilith (with its male counterpart), but these, if originally Babylonian, in ancient times had pervaded the Semitic world. The utukki limnuti are the רעה ביטת, "evil spirits," but these have their biblical precedent.29 The Babylonian vocabulary has been suppressed by genuine Semitic words. The extensive praxis of the Babylonian has also almost disappeared; the inversion of the bowl, some rudely scrawled designs, and

28 KAT9, 463.
29 The actual adoption by the Jews of Babylonian magical rites is portrayed in Eze. 13: 17 f.
31 The רעה ביטת may be Babylonian, see to 8: 2.
one or two magical prescriptions" are all that remain in our texts of the elder practice. The use of the bowl in a love-charm has its parallel only in the Hellenistic σαταδεμος or δεξιος, likewise buried in the earth. The sorcerer invokes the names of ancient masters (as in the Greek magic again), he no longer is professionally independent like the ḫşpû priest; even laymen borrow and lay the spells. The mere "word" or "name" has replaced the practice; in the Babylonian magic the gods were prayed to for their assistance, and we often question whether we are dealing with magic or religion; here their or the angels' names are simply used, and these are sufficient to invoke their potency, without appeal to the heart or mind of a living deity. The use of a word like Abraxas illustrates the extreme consequence; if a deity can become a name, so a word can become a deity—nomen nomen! The formula "in the name of" can be used before letters and phrases as well as before divine names. At first sight this name-magic appears more spiritual; it actually proves to be more absurdly mechanical, because it invokes a binding of the gods and heavenly powers by a cheap and easy formula without any of the "service" of the gods, with litany and priest, which the elder rites prescribed.

There is thus a change in the spirit of the magic. The old Babylonian was religious in his incantations; it is only in the so-called medical texts that we find the passage from the religious sphere to that of entirely mechanical operation, which may issue either in empirical science or in absolute magic. The sense of sin lay heavy upon the Babylonian devotee, he needed to dress in sackcloth and wallow in ashes, while the incantation required rites of purification and confession of sins in pathetic and ethical litanies. But any such religious element is entirely wanting in our texts, apart from the stereotyped introductory formula, "Lord of healing, Lord of love" and two obscure, probably traditional references to sin and guilt.

We have in a word a purely magical system, that is, one whose efficacy consists in doing or rather saying certain things without a prayer or lustration or confession.

39 See Nos. 12, 13.
40 Cf. the "confessional" in the second tablet of the Surpu-series.
41 See p. 86.
It may be further noticed that in the use of the Jewish Scriptures, which is very scanty, the passages of real religious import are not employed (§ 11). This is especially true of the Nippur texts, and often all that we have reminiscent of the Bible or of religion are the stereotyped Amens and Halleluias, common property of the magic of the age. Along with this unreligiousness of the magic goes a certain impression of impersonality throughout; there is a general lack of reference even to personal sorcerers; attention is paid to the operation of witchcraft, regarded itself as a poten-
tiality, and the mechanical danger is met by mechanical means.

In these differentia from the old Babylonian magic we find much that is apparently or evidently Jewish, and again some factors that are not so categorically explained. We may think that the comparative absence of magic rite is due to Jewish influence, as also the large use of name-sorcery. The cultless condition of the Jews since A. D. 70 and the long previous term of six centuries in which the official cult was confined to one sanctuary, must have incapacitated the Jew for the rites of the magician. He dared not make simulacra, many practices were out of question because of their evidently heathen associations ("the ways of the Amorite"). But he had a holy book made up of sacred words, and a god unlike any of the pagans, who might not be seen, who once had spoken (Dt. 5), and who in lieu of images and many sanctuaries was revealed in his Names.21 And so holy words and names became the province of the Jewish sorcery. His religion, when it passed out of the naturalistic or the ethical sphere, found its outlet in logology, in Rabbinism with its logomachies, in magic and kabbalism with their manipulation of words and letters. Even the angels, which were imported as a kind of humanizing mythology into Jewish monotheism, came to be but plays on roots, invocations of the attributes or activities of deity, so that finally angel was merely synonymous with charm.22

In these particulars the Jews may have contributed to the later Mesopotamian magic, as well as to that of the Hellenistic world. In our bowls we find Jewish families as the clients, and in the Nippur collection there is a frequent reference to the venerable Jewish master, Joshua b. Peraḥia, as a revealer of heaven's mysteries; but as he appears also in the

21 Kabbalism appears as early as the present text of Ex. 3, 14.
22 See § 12, n. 112.
Syriac bowls, which are probably of pagan origin, he may have already become a common traditional figure like Moses in the papyri. Nippur had been since the Exile a center of the Jews, and in Talmudic times it lay just east of the famous Rabbinic school at Sura, between which and Pumbaditha to the north of Babylon the spiritual life of Babylonian Judaism circulated. But Nippur does not appear to have remained a Jewish seat of importance. It is mentioned but once in the Talmud, and the settlement which the Pennsylvania expedition unearthed on the top of its ruins was, at least so far as the bowls testify, a mixed folk, among whom the identical magic flourished under Jewish, Mandaic, pagan forms. This interchange of magical property precludes us from specifically speaking of many texts as certainly Jewish, even while we recognize numerous Jewish elements. It is interesting to observe that the Mandaic texts are truer to the theology of the sect than many of the so-called Jewish bowls. The Jewish magic here in Nippur, as elsewhere, was eclectic. The religion of the Jew cannot admit that it itself is eclectic, and the self-consciousness of the intelligent orthodoxy in rejecting or at least minimizing magic as part of the Jewish system, approves itself when we study our specimens of magic; their science is as much cosmopolitan as native.

I pass now to another clue for the origins of the bowl-magic. I have discussed under No. 3 the frequent references to the genius Armasa, who is identified with Metatron and called the Word, and is none else than the Hermes of the Hermetic theosophy. No. 28 is a magical philtre for a lovesick wife, the terms of which find their closest correspondence in Greek charms; No. 19 names a number of deities, among whose obscure names we can identify Zeus and Okeanos, and perhaps the names of the Aeon-pair. There are other clues of connection with the Greek magic, discussed in the Introduction and the texts; I may refer especially to the

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28 For the river Chebar hard by Nippur, the Kabar of tablets found by the Pennsylvania Expedition, see BE, ix, plate 84, l. 2. For the names of the numerous Jewish settlers there see Clay's Murashu texts and his summary in Light on the Old Testament, 404, also S. Daiches, The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions (Publication no. 2 of the Jews' College, London).

29 See S. Funk, Die Juden in Babylonien, Berlin, 1902, ii, 153 (with no reference to Nippur).

30 Yoma 10b, identified with the biblical Calneh
identical pharaseology in the choice of a certain day out of a month and a year as auspicious for working the charm. Such terms as Abraxas direct our thought to the great western world and the imposing magical fabric of Hellenism. And this system directs us to Egypt.

I have spoken of the permutations made on the Sacred Name as typically Jewish. And yet there was another people which equally cultivated the mystery of ineffable names, a people older than the worshippers of Yahwe, the Egyptians. The Jewish development in this regard was hardly independent of Egypt. However this may be, we find in the Greek magical texts the fusion of the two theosophies, the Jewish Ineffable Name, with all its vowel permutations, and like sacred titles, Sebaoth, Adonai, etc., mixed pell-mell with those of Egyptian origin. And further the accumulation of barbarous syllables, such as appear in our texts, has no known tradition behind it hailing from the Jewish and Babylonian theologies; it must be traced back to the Egyptian magical science. This phenomenon

28 See p. 55.
29 The recent rapid development of the study of magic and the increased application to the magical papyri have aroused in various quarters the question concerning the nature of the Jewish magic and its relations to that of the Hellenistic world. This investigation appears to have been first broached in a critical way by Blau (pp. 37 ff., 96 ff.), followed by several writers whose works have been constantly cited in the above pages: Dieterich, Deissmann, Conybeare (who considers the Testament of Solomon to be of Jewish origin), Gaster (in introduction to his Sword of Moses), Reitzenstein, Heitmüller, Wendland. Our specimens of magic hail from the eastern confines of that world, even from beyond its political borders, and are speaking proofs of the eclectic and cosmopolitan character of Hellenistic magic.
30 Budge, Egyptian Magic, ch. v; Erman, Egyptian Religion (1907), 154. For the influence of Egypt in the Hellenistic magic, see the excursus in Heitmüller, "Im Namen Jesu," 218.
31 In addition to the observations in § 11, see Budge, l. c.; Wiedemann, Religion of the Ancient Egyptians (1897), 268, quoting Synesius's words: the Egyptian "mumbled a few unintelligible syllables"; also his Magie u. Zauberei im alt. Agypten (1905), 32. The Greek papyri are faithful repeaters of this Egyptian art.—Stübe, remarking on the kabbalistic use of letters (p. 54), thinks that here we have traces of the passage from the Talmud to the beginnings of the development of the Kabbala. But as of Egyptian origin or kinship, the use is not to be dated by the Kabbala. It existed on the periphery of Judaism long before it was taken up by the Jewish doctors. Indeed Chwolson (CIIH, col. 115) denies any special relation of these texts to Talmudic ideas (against Lenormant, Essai, i, 212, who held that our magic was a product of the Babylonian academies). Wohlstein was the first to observe the eclectic character of our magic, ZA, viii, 316 f. In matter of fact hardly a trace of technical Kabbalism is to be found in them.
is continued and flourishes with abandonment in the Greek papyri, and there again this form of magical spell falls in with the Jewish currents.

This Egypto-Hellenistic magic is one of the prime sources of our texts, and the impression made upon me in my study is that they resemble much more this form of magic than that of ancient Babylonia. The beginnings of this invasion of western sorcery into Mesopotamia may have begun with Alexander's armies; there can be little doubt but that pervasive Hellenism soon domesticated its magic, as everything else Greek, wherever it settled. It doubtless was reinforced in its development on Babylonian soil by the Hellenistic Jewish magic that had grown into luxuriant life on the theosophic soil of Egypt and thence sent forth its waves of spiritual energy to all the homes of the dispersed race.

It is difficult in the field of magic to decide which is cause and which effect, for the spirit of magic produces like fruits spontaneously everywhere. Our bowl sorcery is connected doubtless by many lineal bonds with ancient Babylonia, but it shows as unmistakable links with the Hellenistic magic, to which the Jews contributed, and from which they received still more. The problem of these texts is the same that confronts us in speculation over the Greek magical papyri. Who wrote these? Egyptian, Jew, Greek, Christian, Gnostic, all contributed each one his magical names, mysterious formulas, bits of sacred history, each outbidding the other in the effort to attain the same ends and arriving at an indistinguishable limbo of monotonous sameness. The texts were written for all who would use them, and those who received their magical traditions adapted them to the changing fancies of age and climate.

Our texts exhibit a like eclecticism. Babylonian, Jewish, Mandaic, Gnostic, Hellenistic, and indirectly Egyptian, elements are there, in various combinations. The Jew contributed a certain quality of monotheism and made it palatable by his angelology; his Divine Name, his Scriptures and apocrypha and liturgy, were storehouses of magical lore. All this was fused with like elements from parallel sources, and the product was useful to any body of magicians, even as it was in demand on the part of every class of clients, pagans, Persians, Jews, Christians, every kind of sect. And what is true of our texts is true of all the Jewish magical literature.
The bowls then are not so much illustrative of a special Jewish magic as of the eclectic religious conditions of later Mesopotamia; here the ancient magic, divorced from its content of real religion, came to be reinforced by new currents of superstition from the West. Whatever be the relation of magic and religion, whether they are twin sisters, or the one the parent of the other, or innate rivals, in our special and confined field we may observe the break-down of the ancient noble religions; gods have become names, rites esoteric and selfish and malignant, holy writings formulas. It is not Judaism we have been studying but a phase of fin de siècle superstition.

In recent years so much has been made of Persian origins for western religion, philosophy, and magic, that I am surprised to find hardly a trace even in a word of the Zoroastrian system upon our bowl-magic. This is the more remarkable as it belongs to Persian soil and flourished under the Sassanian empire, while the dualism, demonology and magical practice of Persia would have been so natural a nursing mother to the superstition we have been studying. Had the Zoroastrian influence spent itself and, after it had given itself to the world, did the more virile currents of the original stock and of the West reassert themselves and triumph in Iran's territory? Or has the influence of Persia been overrated?

As to the comparative age, in point of literary tradition, of the three classes, "Jewish," Syriac, Mandaic, it is impossible to decide; all follow common types. In the case of the Mandaic replica to No. 11, the former has the secondary text. The Mandaic charms are closest in spirit to the old Babylonian magical literature, those in the Syriac appear to be expressive of the current paganism (e. g. No. 36).

See Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, esp. nn. 37-39, p. 266 f.; Bousset, Die Ursprünge der Gnosis, etc.

N. B. the Ispandas-dewa in Hyvernat's text, and possibly the Persian Peri. The arguments for Persian influences advanced by Levy, ZDMG, ix. 471 f., are now antiquated by the Babylonian literature. The fashion of interminable lists of demons may come from Persia.
CBS = Catalogue of Babylonian Section University of Pennsylvania.

Numerals in ( ) number the lines of the spiral inscription, starting from the radius where the text begins.

Brackets, [ ], indicate suppletion of lacunae.

Phrases in ( ) in the translation represent amplification or interpretation by the translator.

Inferior points attached to Hebrew characters indicate doubtful readings.

Points on the line indicate missing letters or words.

Superior points, in the Syriac texts, represent the diacritical marks of the original.

**No. 1 (CBS 8693)**

This the amulet of Ephrá (2) bar Šabördúch, wherein shall be (3) salvation for this Ephrá b. Š. and also (4) for this Bahmandúch bath Samá, that there be for them (5) salvation, namely for this Ephrá b. Š. and for this Bahmandúch b. Š. (6) Amen, Amen, Selah.

This is an amulet against the Liliths that haunt the house of (7) this Ephrá b. Š. and this Bahmandúch b. Š. (8) I adjure you, all
species of Liliths in respect to your posterity, which is begotten by Demons (9) and Liliths to the children of light who go astray: Woe, who rebel
and transgress against the proscription of their Lord; woe, from the blast
(10) fast-flying; woe, destroying; woe, oppressing with your foul wounds
...., who do violence and trample and scourge and mutilate (11) and
break and confuse and hobble and dissolve (the body) like water; woe,
....; and where you stand, (12) and where you stand (sic) fearful and
affrighted are ye, bound to my ban,—who appear to mankind, to men
in the likeness of women (13) and to women in the likeness of men, and
with mankind they lie by night and by day.

With the formula, TWM (14) S'S GŠ GSK, have I written against
thee, evil Lilith, whatsoever name be thine. We (15) have written. And
his name shall save thee, Ephrà, forever and ever.

**Commentary**

A phylactery in the name of a man and wife for protection against
the liliths and their broods which haunt the home. The same couple are
the subjects of the charm in No. 13, in which the woman invokes the love
of her husband and the blessing of children. For the general magical
details I refer in this and the following texts to the Introduction.

1. נמרד = in No. 13 written with both נ- and ס-. The name may be
Jewish or Persian, (1) hypocoristic from נמרד, or (2) a hypocoristic
reduction from one of the numerous names in Fra-; see Justi, Iranisches
name of the mother by no means determines the race of the family.

2. שברד = "Sapor's-daughter" not instanced in Justi; *duch* for *ducht*;
see above, p. 104, n. 6.

3. עיס = unless a scribal error, a unique adverbial development of
the preposition, "and withal," = *simul ac*, or ἀυτῷ καὶ, e. g. Dieterich,
*Abraxas*, 147.

4. נמרד: see Justi, p. 374 f.; also in Pognon B.

5. סַמָּה: in No. 13 also סַמָּה. A frequent Jewish name; see Heilpren,
רַדְיוֹ תֵרוֹת (Seder ha-Doroth), ed. Maskileison, Warsaw, 1883, ii, 206 f.
The two forms are hypocoristic; see Nöldeke, art. "Names," *Enc. Bib.*
§ 50 f., Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, 7 ff., 13 ff. (For the early form and history of these terminations, cf. the results of Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, 7 ff.). The full name was שומא, "blind," occurring in Jewish and Syriac. It occurs as a feminine name (as here) in Asseman’s Catalogue, cited by Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, col. 2655.

6. נילח : pl., also נילחת. The liliths are the only named objects of exorcism, but masc. ppls., etc. are found in l. 10 ff., probably by technical phraseology.

רבד: מֵאַרְבְּדָה; cf. *Pesah*. 111b: "those which haunt caper-berries are spirits.

הנה: the pronominal suffix expressed with the intrusion of ל, cf. in the Assouan papyri of Sayce and Cowley, 14אUl תורא (F, 9).

8. שנבי: if a correct restoration, the charm would obviate the demoniac procreation described.

9. "Sons of light": נבר הוא primarily fire and the term would indicate the angels, expressive of the legend that the angels emanate like sparks (cf. בְּרֵי חַבִּיק, בְּרֵי חַבִּיק, *Job* 5: 7) from the *דִּינֵי רֹאשׁ*, the stream of fire under God’s throne, *Hag*. 14a, and other ref. in Eisenmenger, ii, 371 ff. Cf. "the hosts of fire in the sphere," 8: 13. In 16: 7 the demons are "sons of darkness." But as the reference is to demoniac unions with human flesh, the expression appears to be transferred to mankind. It is then parallel to "sons of light," a name given in the Mandaic religion to the Utrhas, Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, 30, and also to men predestined to life, Brandt, *Mand. Schr.*, 13, 19. The redeemed come to share in the light-nature of the angels, cf. *Dan*. 12: 3, *Enoch* 38-39, cf. the *וִאֵל גַּזֶּר* of the NT. In the myth of Adam Kadmon, man was originally a being of light (Boussset, *Hauptprobleme d. Gnosis*, 202, etc.; for the Kabbala, Karppe, *Zohar*, 372 ff.). Hence we must suppose that נבר has been reduced from נבר כזרע "light" (cf. the Arabic), and the expression is to be correspondingly rendered. The predicates following recall the myth of Gen. 6.

מריה, as in Syriac, but the י is only the שewa; cf. l. 11.

10. יי ניר ישפיא פְּוֹשַׁי: An interesting parallel to a well-known Talmudic formula against witches, *Pesah*. 110a-b: כְּהֵן עָלָהוֹ בִּרְעָה מֵאֶפֶּלוּיָה, generally translated: "Your head be balder, your crumbs [with which you conjure—cf. the anecdote
of Abaye in *Hull.* 105b, Joel, *Der Abergläube*, i, 69] be blown away, your spices fly off, the wind carry away the fresh saffron." I doubt if so much sense can be made out of the doggerel; following the Talmudic tradition our phrase would mean "your breadcrumbs away with the gust!" By itself the words could simply mean, "be blown away with a gust," with re-duplication of the verb. For הרת in the Talmudic passage, see to 18: 9.

The combination in the middle of the line is obscure; a verbal middle noun from המשא? The participlesutherford, המברכלין portray the fiendish assaults of the demons; the same accumulations in Lidzbarski's Mandaic bowls. Cf. the action of the demon of epilepsy in Mk. 9: 14 ff.

11. For the ב see above p. 61.

משרתות נכון: for the relaxing effects of disease cf. Ps. 22: 15, Eze. 7: 17.

toer, a dittograph induced by the scribe turning over the bowl to write on the exterior and repeating the word. The י in the first form represents the יב. The meaning is: stay banned where you are!

12. יבש: metaplastic form of root יבשא, found in the Targums, etc. (cf. Heb. יבשא).

ראים ולךvestment, רastery. The climax of the description is the worst and most obscene of the plagues; the same phrase in Pogn. B, no. 27.

13. תכון: in Ellis 1: 8 ולךvestment appears in conjunction with the Tetragrammaton.

14. 결: the form is singular, and the phrase refers to the many names of a lilith (see §§ 11, 12 and No. 42).

With לילית it is difficult to determine whether the singular or plural is meant. For "lilith of whatsoever name," cf. 14: 6: demons whose names are mentioned and who are not mentioned. The same indefinite invocation in the Babylonian, e. g. Utukki-series (Thompson *Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, i, 153): spirits "that have no name," presenting a blanket formula for names not known; cf. δαμάδων καὶ μὴ ἀνωμαλήνων, Pradel, *Griech. u. südital. Gebete*, 22, 1. 2.

15. יא, a Hebrew reminiscence; in general cf. Ps. 20: 2 f.

1 See Blau, *Zauberwesen*, 77. The connection of this Talmudic passage with Eze. 13: 17 ff. has not been observed by the commentators.
Again I come, I Pâbak bar Kûthîhâi, in my own might, on my person polished armor of iron, my head of iron, my figure of pure fire. (2) I am clad with ‘the garment of Armasa (Hermes), Dabya and the Word, and my strength is in him who created heaven and earth. I have come and I have smitten (3) the evil Fiends and the malignant Adversaries. I have said to them that if at all you sin against Abûnâ' bar Geribtâ and against Ibbâ bar Zâwithâi, I will lay a spell upon you, the spell (4) of the Sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan. (I say) that if at all you sin against Abûnâ b. G., and against his wife and his sons, I will bend the bow against you (5) and stretch the bow-string at you.

Again, whereinsoever you sin against the house of Pâbak and against his property and all the people of his house, in my own right I Abûnâ bar Geribtâ—or against Ibbâ bar Zâwithâi—(6) will bring down upon you the curse and the proscription and the ban which fell upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrha. In order to subdue Devils (7) do I come, I Abûnâ b. G., and all evil Sacra-
ments and the tongue of impious Charm-spirits; I have come and smitten the Demons and Devils and evil Tormentors, the Gods (Idol-spirits) and female Goddesses—standing in serried rows and encamped in camps.

Commentary

A mutual charm of two sorcerers, each invoking his powers in turn in the other’s behalf. An almost exact replica of the terms of the charm is found in the first part of No. 27. The two men named appear in No. 3, where Pabak’s household is the subject of exorcism.

1. בות: apparently a formal term of introduction; cf. 26: 3. It generally connects the several members of an incantation series. Cf. the “and” introducing the mortuary charm published by me in *JAOS*, 1911, 273. It may be correlative to בות in l. 5.


בזירתא: Syriac בזירתא is a water-flask with a small mouth. For the character of the name, cf. Hebrew בקתה, *Neh. 8: 39*. נים “wine-pitcher,” etc. For the hypocoristic termination in ו, see to 1: 4. It is parallel in meaning and form to בקתי. *Neh. 11: 17.*

3ת = 3ת. 27: 3. Comparing the Rabbinic ו, “a shining spark,” and “white earth, gypsum,” and ו, “polish.” I understand this word in the sense of “polished armor.”

ארמנ = שילוח, 27: 4; the parallel marks the gradual obscuration of magical formulas. Fire is the potent element against witches and demons, as the ancient means for destroying their arts. In Babylonia the fire-god Gibil was the chief god of exorcism in such magic, Tallquist, p. 25 ff.; for other examples in Semitic magic, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic* in Index. Iron, like the other metals, and excelling them, is a potent means against devils, Blau, p. 159; Thompson, in Index; in the *Testament of Solomon* is an anecdote of a devil afraid of iron (*JQR*, xi, 18); Josephus’ exorcist used an iron ring. For the western world, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.*., i, 50.

2. אני I supply from the parallel inscription. After it appear traces of ב, which letters are repeated to make the following word; a fault in the bowl required the rewriting of the characters.
The garment of a potent being carried with it his powers. Compare the assertion by the magician in the charm noted to l. 1, in which he professes to be clad with the magical paraphernalia of Moses, Aaron, David, Solomon, etc., and see above, § 9. There is also to be recalled the magical garment of Marduk in the fourth of the Seven Tablets of Creation, while the magical robe which renders the wearer invisible is common property of folklore.

is found in the parallel bowl No. 27 (along with the rest of this phrase); in 19: 7; in 25: 4 in the spelling אֶרֶמֵס; and in 7: 8, אֶרֶמֵס = Myhrman, l. 4, הָיֵתִים. The forms give the clue אֶרֶמֵס is one of the Syriac spellings for the Greek Ἑρμῆς, e. g. Peshitto to Acts 14: 12; הָיֵתִים also occurs in Syriac. אֶרֶמֵס is then the Hermes about whom gathered the extensive mystical cults and literature towards the beginning of the Christian era to which is given the epithet Hermetic. Summary reference may be made here to Reitzenstein's illuminating study Poinandres (Leipzig, 1904), also to G. R. S. Mead, Thrice Holy Hermas, London and Benares, 1906. The Greek Hermes, the messenger of the gods, was identified with the Egyptian Thot, the divine agent of human illumination—in a word the Logos of the Egyptian religion. This mystical function of Hermes-Thot is evidenced, e. g., by a passage in Justin Martyr: εἰ γεγένητο ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον Λόγον θεοῦ, καίναν τοῦτο λόγον τοῖς τῶν Ἑρμῆς λόγοι τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγγελικὸν λόγου (Apol. i, 22; Migne, Patrol. gr., vi, 57.).

This figure was also adopted in the syncretistic mysticism of the farther East, as the expressions cited from our bowls show. He is the word אֶרֶמֵס (אֶרֶמֵס, 19: 7), and the Metatron, that mysterious intermediate agency between God and his creation in Jewish Gnosticism (cf. § 13). But this Hermetic theology was not mediated to the Orient through Judaism, but through the Hermetic schools, which appear to have held out, into the twelfth century, in that obstinate center of paganism, Harran. Chwolson has collected the evidence for the survival in that region of the Greek religious philosophies, and Reitzenstein has now trenchantly pointed

1 The Ἑρμῆς λόγος or λόγον: Reitzenstein, op. cit., 43; Abt, Apologie des Apuleius, 118.

2 In his Die Sasabier und der Sasabismus, 1896. See now Dozy and de Goeje,
out (p. 166 ff.) the essential Hermetic quality of this last remnant of the old pagan philosophy. The magic of the Euphrates valley has caught up probably from Harran the figure of Hermes and easily identified it with the Jewish Metatron, the biblical Enoch, etc. Hermes was the equivalent of the Babylonian Nebo, and a passage in the Mandaic Ginza throws light upon the expression, "clad with the clothing of Armasa"; in the Ginza we have a tradition that the angels invested Nebo with a dress of fire.

The מַלֶּהֶל of our text is then a proper epithet of אֵרָמָסא. What is meant by the preceding epithet דָּבָר? It occurs in the parallel text, and also in Stiibe's text, l. 5, thus: מַלֶּהֶל מִּלָּה מִלָּה דָּבָר. I suggest that דָּבָר (דָּבָר) means "who-is-in-Yah," an ancient mystical expression for the Logos; cf. the Johannine πρῶτος τῶν δεών, and the description of the Son as "in the bosom of his Father," and, "I am in the Father and the Father in me." Compare also 7:8, יִתֵּנֵהוּ, and note.

3. מְרוּיִי (cf. 4:4), reminiscent of the biblical כַּעַס מְשָׁרָר, for which see Joel, i, 100.

אֲבוֹאָה: a name of two Amoras.

הָרִיבָה: "scabby"; cf. Gareb, 2 Sa. 23:38, and the Palmyrene אֲבוֹאָה, de Vogüé, Syrie centrale, no. 141; also the Arabic Juraib, Jarbá.

אֲבָא: the same name in Seder ha-Doroth, ii, 45. The form is shortened from Abba, see Lidzbarski, Ephemeris, ii, 8.

יוֹבָה: so the probable reading of the name here and below. It is hypocoristic from יִוִּי, "corner"; cf. the biblical name Ribka = Aram. יָבָק, "stall." Is there here a pious allusion to the daughters of Israel as polished corners (יוֹבָה) of the temple, Ps. 144:12?

אֲבואָה: the verb is found in the Aramaic only in the Syriac, and but rarely, and in the bowls occurs only here.


Bar-Hebraeus, Chron., ed. Kirsch, p. 5, where Hermes and Enoch are identified "by Greek books"; also a reference in Reitzenstein, p. 172, n. 3, to a Hermetic MS. bearing the name of Idris = Enoch. For this Enoch-theosophy see Joel, Aberglaube, ii, 16, 19.

Ginza, R, p. 54, ed. Petermann; see Brandt, Mandäische Schriften, 89.
the spell on the sea and Leviathan was mightiest in magical history, for it was the first great act of "white magic"; cf. the Marduk legend. A survival of this mystical aspect of creation appears in Job 38: 8-11, which concludes: "And He said: thus far shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed"; cf. Jer. 5: 22, Ps. 104: 6 ff., Job 38: 8 ff. The subjection of the abyss is a frequent magical allusion in the papyri, e. g. the Great Magical Papyrus of Paris, l. 3062 ff. (Dieterich, Abraxas, 140; Blau, p. 113; Deissmann, Light, 258). The sealing of Tehôm is referred to in Targ. Jon. Ex. 28: 30.

4. The scribe began to write the perfect, passed into the imperfect (which we should expect here) with the second letter and returned to the perfect termination; he amended his mistake by rewriting the word. In general the scribes aimed at carefulness. A word so corrected is sometimes deleted with a line.

5. The various forms, see Glossary, s. v. Noldeke, Mand. Gram., § 144.

a form of -נ is found in Targums and Talmud (also in the Palestinian charm cited to l. 1). The terms are reminiscent of Marduk's slaying of Tiamat in the Babylonian creation legend: "Marduk made ready bows .... The bow and the quiver he hung at his side"; cf. the praise of Marduk's bow in the fifth tablet (King, Seven Tablets of Creation, ii, 63, 83, and fragment cited, p. 207); also numerous biblical parallels: Hab. 3: 9, cf. v. 11; Ps. 7: 12-14; Dt. 32: 41 (where Gressmann, Isr.-jüd. Eschatologie, 78, would read וַיֵּשֶׁם אֵשׁ for אֱשֵׂז). As in l. 1 with the clothing of Deity, so here with his magical arms the magician declares himself invested. But the phraseology may be based on magical practice, a symbolical shooting at simulacra, in the same way as these are burnt, peeled off, mutilated, etc. A very similar passage is to be found in one of the Manichaean texts discovered in Chinese Turkestan, in which the conjurer shoots with his bow and arrow at the demon, who falls dead; Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy, 1908, 401.

5. The other part of the mutual charm now begins. The contrast is further expressed by בָּעִיד, "on my part."

A reminiscence of the myth of the confederation of the fallen angels upon Hermon (n. b. ירמ'ח) see Enoch 6: 5 f.: "they named the mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by curses upon it"; also 14: 7 ff. Philo of Byblus also connects the Titans with the Lebanons and other mountains of Syria: "These begat sons of greatest size and superiority, whose names were given to the mountains which they occupied, so that some of them are called Kassion and Libanos and Anti-libanos and Brathu." And Hilary of Poitiers adds something to our knowledge of the myth: "Hermon is a mountain in Phoenicia, the interpretation of whose name is anathema. Moreover it is the tradition—from whose book it comes I know not,—that the angels lusting after the daughters of men, when they descended from heaven, assembled on this very high mountain." Cf. the anointing of Nebo by the evil gods in the Mandaic mythology, Brandt, Mand. Rel., 126 ff.

7. סדרי מרור: construct of accumulation.

רווי בראשי תיבות: "camping in camps." רו is very rare in Hebrew and Aramaic, but is frequent in Assyrian, where among several meanings it is found in this sense (cf. the biblical place-name תמר). occurrences in a MS. cited by Rabbinowicz to Megilla 10b: מcribe, where סדרי מרור יש וארוני, where סדרי מcrire סדרי, parallel to מcrire מוכרים, is probably the correct form. The allusion to the serried battalions of the demons is epical, perhaps of mythological origin.

* Eusebius, Praep. Ev. i, 10: 7; text in C. Müller, Fragm. hist. graec, iii, 566.
* Hilary to Ps. 132: 3, see Corpus script. eccles. latin., xxii, 689.
* So on Jastrow's authority, Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud, etc., 1476, but I do not find the reference.
In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour of love.

Designated is this spell and mystery and strong seal for the sealing of the household of this (2) Ardói bar Hormizdúch, that from him may depart and remove the evil Demon and the evil Satan, who is called SP'SK,
the Mighty Destroyer, who kills (3) a man from the side of his wife and a woman from the side of her husband, and sons and daughters from their father and from their mother,—by day and by night *omo, omo*, walking. (4) I adjure thee that thou do not kill off this Ardōi b. H. from Aḥath his wife, and that thou do not kill off Aḥath bath Parkōi from Ardōi her husband, (5) and that thou do not kill off their sons and their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have, from this day and forever, neither by night nor by day. In the name of Z'Z'Z', ḤSR, ḤSR, ḤSR. P'SP'SP', TMR, TMR, (6) TMR, NKṬ, ZHZHZH, ḤSR, P'S, TMR, KK, 'STW, YWPT, YWPTYH, from the burning fire, SKSYN, SYN, SYN, SKYWN; SK, his name KS his name. This is the great name before which the angel of death is afraid, (7) and when he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and (just so) before this Ardōi b. H. shall he fear and flee .... [and from] Aḥath his wife, bath P., and from all their sons and from (8) all their daughters, whether those they have or those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of KK, 'STW, YWPT, YWPTYH, from the burning fire, SKSN, SKSYN, SKYWN, .... [This is] the great name before which the angel of death is afraid and when (9) he hears it, frightened he flees and is swallowed up before it and before this household. Moreover now in this great name of which is afraid [the angel of death, etc.—he shall flee from Ardōi b. H.] and from Aḥath his wife b. P., (10) and from sons and daughters, those they have and those they shall have. PWṬSS, Amen. In the name of 'STW, YWPT, etc. [This is the great name] before which the angel of death is afraid, and when he hears it (11) frightened he flees and is swallowed up; so moreover now on the authority of this great name shall fear and flee and go forth the evil Demon .... (from Ardōi, etc.). PWṬSS. According as it is said: "And YHWH said to Satan: YHWH rebuke thee, Satan; YHWH rebuke thee, who chooses Jerusalem. [Is not this a brand plucked from the burning? Amen. Amen.]"

**Commentary**

A charm for a man and his family against a murderous spirit. The charm consists in magical syllables constituting "this great name" and the formula is repeated four times; see p. 65.
1. **Phylactery.** A frequent epithet in these bowls of the deity invoked, along with several other epithets, e. g. 7: 1. 

Cf. the frequent invocation in Pognon's bowls: "Asugallatu bēltu rabītū, "Great Healer, Mighty Mistress"; and of Bau, who became identified with Gula, e. g. asītu gallatu.

Ninib was domiciled at Nippur and these epithets of his consort may have been particularly Nippurian, and so have survived in the bowls coming from that locality. I have not been able to discover the parallel masculine epithet for Ninib. This invocation is doubtless pagan, being distinct from the numerous biblical epithets expressive of the love and power of God. It is never associated with the Jewish Divine Name. **Σωρθό** is a common epithet of the Greek gods, Zeus, Apollo, Asklepios, Hermes, and is an epithet of the Deity in the N. T., e. g. I Tim. 1: 1. Cf. also the Phoenician **אֱלֹהִים, CIS, i, no. 379,** and **Ex. 15: 26, יְהוָה רְאוּ פָרָס.** Also n. b. the common epithets for

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2. This reference I have not been able to verify.


4. R. C. Thompson, *PSBA,* 1908, 63.

5. Radau (*BE* xxvii, pt. 1, p. ix) endeavors to find the same title for Ninib in his explanation of the Aramaic rendering of **nin-ib, ניניב** (see Clay, *JAOS* xxviii, 1907, 135, and Montgomery, *ibid.,* xxix, 204). He interprets it as **en-usāti,** "lord of help," our very title (cf. Delitzsch, *Beiträge z. Ass. i,* 219, for equivalence of *AZU* with *āsū*), and with the same root. The interpretation would be very agreeable to me in view of the above remarks, but Radau omits to explain the Aramaic rendering of s (or z) by *פ* when the Aramaic has the root *ננִב,* while Clay's explanation appears to me the more satisfactory.
the love of God (* ≤) in the O. T. and Koran, also in the Palmyrene texts." Pradel has collected in his *Griech. u. südital. Gebete*, 42 f., a number of the epithets denoting the healing and merciful character of God; he is there *Ιατρός χαίρων, ἱερόν*, etc.

'a standing introductory formula in these bowls (with אסא, etc.). ב, Prael, appears to be used in the sense in which the Peshitto has it as the rendering of the Hebrew שכתך,* sanctify," e. g. *Josh. 7: 13, *Jer. 12: 3. Cf. the religious connotation of the parallel root—יָעִי.

For אָתַמְתָּה as a pa‘ál formation see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, 121. Cf. the Mandaic forms and formula cited by Lidzbarski, *Eph. i*, 96, n. 1: אָתַמְתָּה אָתַמְתָּה נָהָאְרָה. The "charm, mystery, seal," are identical, and refer to the Great Name of the incantation. For the identity of name and seal, see Heitmüller, "*Im Namen Jesu*," 143, 150, etc.

2. "Darda: hypocoristicon in -י, abundant, with variants in -י and י, in these texts (see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, in *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Class, of the Vienna Academy, 1888, p. 387.). The name is formed from one of the numerous Persian names in ard- or art-.; it occurs in Myhrman's text, see his note, p. 349.

אֵדִירִי: a frequent Persian name see Justi, p. 10.

הָיָה, or הָיָה = יָיָה, from יָהָה or יָת; but as הָיָה, from הָה (found in Heb., *Ex. 28: 28*, cf. the Aramaic יָהָה), see the forms יָהָה, יָהָה, יָהָה, יָהָה, יָהָה, יָהָה, יָהָה, פֹּגְנוֹן, B. יָהָה, 31: 3.

"Demon, Satan, Destroyer," all epithets of the one demon; cf. above pp. 58, 68.

וָלָוי: with reversal of the alphabetic order of the first four letters—to indicate the bouleversement of the demon?

 weekdays: *abbāda gabbārā, abbād* not otherwise found; for the formation cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 115. Notice that the Hebrew and Greek Abaden is represented in *Rev.* by ἀπολλόνιον, as though the original was a noun of agent, not an abstract. The epithet = תְּפִלָּה תְּפִלָּה, 2 *Sa. 24: 16,บนם, תְּפִלָּה תְּפִלָּה, *Ex. 12: 23*, the Samaritan מִנְבָּא, etc.

J. A. MONTGOMERY—ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS.

The conjunction is also similarly pointed in Targum Onkelos, Dt. 14: 37 (ed. Berliner); see Berliner's note, ii, 140.

אִימְתִּין: the half-vowel after ב is indicated, as in Mandaic.

אֵשׁ: thus the uncanny stealthy movements of the demon are expressed.

4. תָּמָּנָּה: probably the first element in such a name as הַתָּמָּנָּה, "sister of her father," cf. דָּמָּנָּה, "brother of his father," a frequent name in the Talmud. Cf. biblical זָּמָּן, and the Babylonian Aḥatbu, Aḥatsûna, Aḥat-immišu, etc. (Tallquist, Neubabylonisches Namenbuch, 3), and similar names in the Glossary.

בֶּרֶבֶּר: hypocoristic of Persian Farruchan, Justi, p. 94 ff.

5. הרוּחַ = הָוָּה, cf. רַחְצָה, 6: 4. pl. ppl. with future sense, as common in Syriac.

נֶב: appears only in this phrase, so 16: 13, 19: 20, is archaic and seldom in Talmud; for the pronouns see end of Glossary C.

6. "From the burning fire," i. e. of hell. For the threatening of demons with pangs of hellfire, see Pradel, 21, l. 11 ff.; for the threatening of demons in general cf. the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 1227 ff. (ed. Wessely), and see in general Tambornino, De ant. daemonismo, 78.—The angel of death appears in Schw. F. The charm of which he is afraid is a potiori more fearful to the demon.

7. יְטָרֵיך: for the second ה representing the šewâ, cf. the Sabbioneta text of Targum Onkelos, ed. Berliner, to Ex. 21: 13, Num. 35: 26. For u in לָדוּי, see Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., 219. N. B. the two prepositional forms הָדוּי and הָדוֹי הָדוּי along side of each other, the latter attributed to the "Palestinian" dialect by Dalman, Gram. d. jüd.-pal. Aramaïsch, 181.

The Great Name, or True Name, at which devils and all things created tremble and flee away, is a common thesis in the Greek magic: Wessely, xlii, 65, ad infra; the God of Israel whom the heavens bless and (the oceans?) fear and every devil trembles; Dieterich, Abraxas, 140, l. 55 ff: the name at which trembles the Gehenna of fire and every mountain trembles; Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafeln, no. 4, l. 44 (with editor's notes), and no. 5.

* "Neue griech. Zauberpapyri" in Denkschriften of the Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Class, xlii, 2: his earlier publication in vol. xxxvi is cited as "xxxvi."
1. 21. It is not necessarily a Jewish phrase, Wessely, xxxvi, 50, l. 244 ff: "This is the primitive (πωρετων) name of Typhon at which trembles earth, deep, hell, heaven," etc. Cf. Heitmüller, pp. 148, 231, for citations from the Fathers, and Pradel, p. 40 f., for Greek magic. Dieterich regards this trembling before the Name as of Orphic origin, p. 141.

The bowl CBS 16093 is almost identical in text with this one, and bears the same design. It is about two-thirds as long. Its clients are the couple named in Nos. 32 and 35. Also another bowl (unnumbered) is practically the same as the present text, but shorter, with the same design, also made out for the clients of Nos. 32 and 35.
No. 4 (CBS 2923)

Covers to hold in sacred Angels and all evil Spirits and the tongue of impious Amulet-spirits. Now you are conquered, you are charmed; charmed, you are charmed and sealed in each one of the four (2) corners of his house. You shall not sin against Pâbak bar Kûfîthâi, nor shall any do folly against him, against all the people of his house, either by night nor (3) by day; because I have bound you with an evil charm and a sure [seal]. Again, I have charmed you with the charm with which Enoch was charmed by his wicked brothers. Again I charm you with an evil and galling seal. Again, (4) I charm you with the seal with which were charmed the Seven Stars and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac unto the great day (5) of judgment, and to the great hour of the redemption of your heads: you shall not ..., nor sin against them, against Abûnâ bar Geribtâ, and none shall at all do folly against them, namely the people of the household of Pâbak (6) b. K., neither by night nor by day, because well sealed is his house and well armed, and with a great wall of

(183)
bronze have I surrounded it. I, what I desire I grasp, and what I ask I take. (7) You are in the place of Abûnâ b. G. and in the place of Pâbak b. K.

**Commentary**

A general charm against all evil spirits, made out for the Pâbak of No. 3. The introductory lines are of interest as they definitely settle the use of these bowls (§ 8). The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough, see p. 55.

1. מְסִלָּלְתָּה, מְסָלָלָה, מְסָלָלֶה: 'I'm is to be identified with the plural of the Syriac מְסָלָלָה, מְסָלָלָה, or מְסָלָלֶה; the 'י probably represents the pronunciation מְסָלָלֶה. The second word מְסָלַלְת is the infinitive of מְסָלַל, "contain," whose original meaning is retained in the Hebrew, even in the sense of holding in with force, e. g. Jer. 6:11, over against the later meaning of "measure."

You are in the place of Abûnâ b. G. and in the place of Pâbak b. K.

The introductory lines are of interest as they definitely settle the use of these bowls (§ 8).

The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough.

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Commentary

A general charm against all evil spirits, made out for the Pâbak of No. 3. The introductory lines are of interest as they definitely settle the use of these bowls (§ 8). The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough, see p. 55.

1. מְסִלָּל: 'I'm is to be identified with the plural of the Syriac מְסִלָּל, מְסָלָל, or מְסָלֶל; the 'י probably represents the pronunciation מְסָל. The second word מְסַל is the infinitive of מְסַל, "contain," whose original meaning is retained in the Hebrew, even in the sense of holding in with force, e. g. Jer. 6:11, over against the later meaning of "measure."

The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough.

You are in the place of Abûnâ b. G. and in the place of Pâbak b. K.

The introductory lines are of interest as they definitely settle the use of these bowls (§ 8).

The design represents the sorcerer waving his bough.
Legenden der Musselmänner, p. 62, a compilation from manuscript sources. According to these legends Enoch (Idris), who foretold the flood, suffered at the hands of the wicked Cainites, even as Abraham was made a martyr for his faith. Our passage must refer to some spell laid upon Enoch by his adversaries. The early Samaritan theologian Marḳa (fourth century) cites a book of the Wars of Enoch, which may have contained these traditions. A spell laid by the wicked on a saint was à fortiori potent; see above, p. 64, for other apocryphal examples. For Enoch in incantations, cf. 19: 17.

The word is written twice; in the first case the scribe omitted the 8, then inserted it above the line, and on second thought rewrote the word correctly. It is the Syriac and Mandaic ἀναφορά. The first is unique; it is to be classed with the phenomena noticed by Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., 223, where, e. g. -yūn for -ūn.

Wēn-ra, ṣ[a]n[a] ṣ[a]n[a]: cf. “the great day,” Hexaplaric Syriac to Is. 1: 13, the New Testament “that day and that hour,” the Syrian Ephrem’s expression, “the hour of judgment” (ed. Lamy, iii, 583), and the Arabic “the hour.” For the feminine form ḏawrā, see Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., 145.

In lines 4, 5, we are introduced to an extensive and ancient cycle of myths concerning the relation of the Seven Stars (the planets with sun and moon) and the twelve zodiacal signs, with the creator of the kosmos. There were two distinct developments in this mythology; in the polytheistic development the planets became highest deities. But in what we may call the monotheistic trend of thought, in which one of the gods, like Marduk became monarch, or, as in Israel’s faith Yahwe is the sole God, stress is laid upon the antithesis between the Creator-God and those celestial divinities. The present regulated orbits of the planets and the fixed positions of the zodiacal constellations signify that these beings, once autonomous, have been brought into subjection to a higher god. In process of time they came to be regarded as “spirits in prison.” Thus Ti₃matt became, when slain, the fixed firmament (or the zodiac?), while, according to Zimmern, KAT, 502, the eleven Helpers of Ti₃matt are the twelve signs of the zodiac, minus that of the Bull, the sign of Marduk.

1 For the later Jewish Enoch literature see Jew. Enc. i, 676.

2 See Montgomery, The Samaritans, 224.
himself. This unfavorable attitude toward the celestial bodies is thus ancient. The monotheistic trend was native to the Hebrew theology, and in line with it we have the passage in Is. 24: 21 ff., according to which “the host of the height on high,” as well as the kings of the earth are punished, being bound in prison. For the later theology the Book of Enoch is a good witness; e. g. 18: 13 ff.: “I saw there seven stars as great burning mountains. When I inquired about it, the angel said: This is the place where heaven and earth are at end; this is a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. The stars which revolve over the fires are they which at the beginning of their origin transgressed the command of God for they did not come forth at their time. Then he became angry at them, and bound them for 10,000 years, till the time when their sin is accomplished” (cf. 21: 6). The “spirits in prison” of 1 Pet. 3: 18 ff. is in line with the same notion, depending directly upon Is. 24: 21 ff., and we may compare the invidious use of “planets” in Jude 13, in the expression ἀστέρες πλανήται.4

But our text also bears witness to another development of the myth. The “binding” of the Seven Stars and the zodiacal signs was for a fixed term. According to the passage quoted from Enoch, it was for 10,000 years. In the Isaianic passage, a term is fixed: “after many days shall they be visited.” In Peter the ancient myth is revived in the notion of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison. It is left somewhat obscure what shall take place when “they shall be visited,” or when “their sin is accomplished” (with Enoch). Exegetes differ over חרס in Isaiah, whether the verb is to be understand favorably (of a visitation for release) or unfavorably (of chastisement). Also the Petrine preaching to the spirits in prison is understood by commentators in equally opposite ways. In our text the term of “the great day” and “the great hour” is evidently to be one of release to the stars bound in prison. There appears to be applied here the idea of a universal Apokatastasis. Now for this notion of the redemption of the imprisoned celestial deities we have a basis in Babylonian

4 See Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, c. i. “Die Sieben.” In the Mandaic system the seven planets and twelve signs have become utterly evil. In this line of thought, taken up by magic, there is, I think, an open anthesis to astrological fatalism.

* There is literal reference to this passage in No. 34: 6.— שתהה. There is possibility of confusion between שרכי and שרי.
mythology. In Tablet vii, l. 27 f. of the Epic of Creation (King, Seven Tablets of Creation), among the titles given to Marduk are: “Who had mercy upon the captive gods; who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies.” And Pinches has now published a text (“Legend of Mero-dach,” in PSBA, 1908, 53 ff.) which is a late supplement to that epic, and apparently continues the theme of the release of the captive gods: “He (Marduk) goes down to the prison, he rises to approach the prison. He opened the gate of the prison, he comforts them. He looked upon them then, all of them; he rejoices. Then the captive gods looked upon him. Kindly the whole of them regarded him.” The “day of redemption” of our text is therefore in line with this Babylonian myth, and probably the passages from Isaiah and 1 Peter are also to be explained in consonance with it. This mythical trace probably descends from the Enoch literature.

5. Abuna is intruded awkwardly.—מָנָא for מָנָא.

6. הָוָה: the root כו (ם, מ, ו) is found elsewhere in these bowls, and also in those of Pogonon and Lidzbarksi (see Glossary C). It is used in parallelism with רָאָה, etc., in preventive magic. The verb means in the Aramaic dialects “to arm.” But Pogonon (B, 74) assumes for the noun מָּאֹרְא the meaning “admonition,” and Lidzbarksi (Eph. i, 96, n.) the sense of “binding up” a letter, etc. But there is no necessity in departing from the common meaning; it refers to the magical armament of persons and things with power to resist the forces of evil; so a passage in the Ginza: “Arm yourselves with arms not of iron” (ed. Petermann, p. 25, l. 20). That is, it is the magical equipment of a person or charm against evil. Paul may have been making use of well-known magical language when he exhorted the Ephesians to “put on the panoply of God,” Eph. 6: 13. The following phrase, “a great wall of bronze,” is equally parabolic; bronze possessed atropaic use in magic, like the other metals; cf. 15: 7, and see Pauly-Wissowa, i, 50; a Talmudic instance, Sabb., 66b.

אַגְּנֵהּ פָּרָכָה: our magician displayed the same assurance in No. 2. At least this confidence had its psychological effect on the client.

אַגְּנֵהּ פָּרָכָה: “hoist with their own petard”!
Wholly charmed and sealed and bound and enchanted [are ye], that ye go away and be sealed and depart from the house [and property?] of Farrûch bar Pušî and Nēwândûc'h bath Pušî and Abândûc'h bath Pušî, and that there depart from them (2) all evil Liliths and all Demons and Devils and Spells and Idol-spirits, and the Vow and the Curse and the Invocation, and evil Arts and mighty Works and everything hostile. Ye are bound with the seven spells and sealed (3) with the seven seals in the name of Eldedabîya Abî Ponan, lord of spoil and curse . . . . . I conjure against you in the name of the great Prince, that thou keep Farrûch b. P. and Nēwândûc'h b. P. (4) from the Evil Eye and from the mighty Satan, and from . . . . and from the many Satyrs in the road of Hamad, in the name of Yhwh, 'H, B'H. Amen, Amen, Selah. (5) "According
to the mouth of Yhwh they would encamp, and according to the mouth of Yhwh they would march; the observance of Yhwh they kept according to the mouth of Yhwh by Moses.” “And Yhwh said to Satan: Yhwh rebuke thee, Satan, Yhwh rebuke (6) thee who chose Jerusalem. Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?” Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A general incantation against evil spirits for a man and his two sisters. The latter half Hebraizes.

1. The duplication of the ppls. is for intensity, “twice charmed.” error for לְחֵיתָי, the only instance of this verb in the bowl-texts.

References cited by Payne Smith, col. 3246; cf. Farruchan and composites in farruch, Justi, p. 95 f.—

אָבָב: Justi, pp. 228, 1.

הו: by heedlessness of construction; cf. l. 3.

הָנָה: תְּנֶה (also Talmudic) = הָנָה, see to 3: 2.

2. בְּאַר: the place of the term in the list shows that the charms were regarded as personal entities. Cf. above, p. 86.

“Seven spells,” etc.; cf. the fever-remedy in Sabb. 66b, “7 twigs from 7 trees, 7 nails from 7 bridges,” etc., etc. For this magical number in the Talmud, see Blau, pp. 73, 86, who quotes the Jewish maxim לְכָל חָבֵית קִנְקִינָה.

3. עֵזֵר: obscure, probably name of a genius; י' אַב may indicate his paternal relation to another well-known genius. For י' אַב cf. 2: 2.

“The great Prince”: the technical title for Michael (see p. 97). It is to be observed that this bowl is peculiarly Jewish in theological form, while the following adjurations are in Hebrew. The double use of אֲנָשָׁא יִשָּׂא אֵדֵר introduces a mixed construction here. The verb generally is used of exorcism, with by of the object, = ἐξορνάζω. But at the same time he adjures the great Prince, whom he addresses in the second person. All these terms denoting magical binding could be used indiscriminately of the good and evil genius. The angel is adjured in Hebrew, which according to belief was the only tongue the angels knew.
4. "The hobgoblins in the way of Hamad, the many"; cf. the Rodwell-Halévy bowl in which a geographical location is given, "upon the road to Huṣi," and Wohls. 2417, a demon who dwells in Samki. The reference is to the demons which beset some particular road. For the satyrs see p. 80. ורבא in the text is awkward.

5. Literal quotations from Num. 9: 23 (cf. 26: 1 f.). The applicability of this quotation lies in its triple use of the efficacious word שָׁם (as above in l. 3). Hence the magical use of such Psalms as the 121st, 122d, the Aaronic Blessing, etc. Later Kabbalism, found in the theme the abbreviation of שֶׁמֶשׁ, see Schwab, Notices et Extraits of the Paris National Library, xxxvi, 1 (1899), 288.

7. There is no evident sense in these words around the figure. וֶאֱלוֹת and וּלְלָה are reminiscent of the interpretation of the Name, Ex. 3: 14; הָלָה = "avaunt"?, וּלְלָה = Moses.
A press which is pressed down upon Demons and Devils and Satans and impious Amulet-spirits and Familiars and Counter-charms and Liliths male (3) and female, that attach themselves to Adak bar Ḥathōi and Aḥath bath Ḥathōi—that attach themselves to them, and dwell (4) in their archways, and lurk by their thresholds, and appear to them in one form and another, and that strike and cast down and kill. And this press (5) I press down upon them in days and in months and in all years, and this day out of all days, and this month out of all months, and this year (6) out of all years, and this season out of all seasons. And I come and put a spell for them in the thresholds of this their house, and I seal and bind them. Fastened up are their doors (7) and all their roof.
And this press I press down upon them by means of these seven words, by which heaven and earth are charmed: in the name of the first, Gīšmin and Marbīl; of the second, Gīšmin and Marbīl; of the third, Marbīl; of the fourth, Mašbar; of the fifth, Mōrah; of the sixth, Ardibal; of the seventh Kibšin (presses), with which is repressed (9) ... with them are repressed all evil Spirits and impious Amulet spirits and Liliths male and female and Familiars and Counter-charms and Words, that they appear not to Adāk b. H. and to Aḥath b. H. (10) and to ... neither in dream by night nor in sleep by day, and that they approach neither their right side nor their left, and that they kill not their children, and that they have no power over their property, what they have (11) and what they shall have, from this day and forever.

And whoever will transgress against this press and does not accept these rites, shall split asunder violently and burst in the midst, and the sound of him shall resound with the resonance of brass in the spheres of heaven, (12) and his abode shall be in the seventh (?) hell of the sea, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

**Commentary**

A charm in behalf of a couple (each with a mother of the same name) and their household; the incantation consists in seven magical words, and concludes with a threat against any who destroy the bowl and ignore its ban.

1. cf. מִשְׁלֵי, 4:1, and see § 8. Cf. the verb, l. 5. N. B. similar use of הביכם in Pesikta R. 16 (Jastrow, p. 611): the sacrifices are “presses because they press down the sins.”

2. נִשְׁטִי, also 12:9, in both places before הַבָּכִים. Out of several possibilities of interpretation I suggest that of הַבָּכִים in the sense of “side” (cf. 34:4), and then one who is familiar (Jastrow, s. v.), hence = the πάρεδρος or familiar spirit of the Greek magic; e. g. the ἱεροπομπόι and πάρεδροι in Justin Martyr, Ap. i, 18, Eusebius, H. E., iv, 7:9, occurring also in the magical papyri, Dieterich, Abraxas, 161, n. They may be the genii invoked by manipulation or rubbing of the amulet as in the Arabian Nights. In Arabic superstition we learn of the “follower,” tābiʿu, that accompanies the bewitched man, Nöldeke, ZDMG, xli, 717. And cf. the
Satan who is a "comrade" to an evil man, *Karin*, in the Koran (e. g. 41: 24), see van Vloten, *WZKM*, vii, 182 ff., could be the Syriac word for marauding troop, an appropriate description for a demoniac species, but the meaning given above is more appropriate in the context.


*חא*: cf. the Syriac name *Hâthi*, "my sister," cited by Payne Smith, col. 1408, here with the Persian diminutive ending.

*מר*: the Syriac *mar* = "transverse beam," hence probably door lintel,—so Payne-Smith, col. 670; radically the word refers to the arch of the doorway. For the abodes of the demons, see p. 76.

*בר* *ר* = the same phrase in the Mandaic, Nödeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 216, 2.


5. For the selection of a special day for the exorcism, see p. 55.

6. *אא* = unique form; *אא* is treated in some forms as though *אא*, and here metaplastically as *אא*.

*בר* *ר* = the only occurrence in the bowls of this ancient magical term.

—The root ר ר is used here not in its Aramaic sense.

*בר* = cf. *Pesah*. 111b, ר ר אא, of the demons.


8. These magical words are wholly obscure; see § 11.

10. "Sleep by day": cf. the special term in 7: 16. The midday siesta was perilous, especially for those in the fields; in the Greek superstition this was the chosen time for attacks by the satyrs and fauns, whose place was taken in Jewish legend by the *קָפְס מֶרְי* a demon representing sun-stroke, etc. See Grünaubam, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 251 f., and Roscher, *Ephialtes*.

Magical protection at right and left hand is frequently referred to in Babylonian sorcery; e. g. the *Utukki*-series iii, 93 (Thompson, i, 11); or four deities surround the sorcerer, in front and back, at right and left, *ibid.*, iii, 142; the *Maklu*-series, vi, l. 123 f. Cf. 13: 7.

11. The penalty for infraction of the charm is bombastic enough! For the threatening of demons, see above, on 3: 6.

עָתוֹ, נֶפֶךְ; also נֶפֶךְ נִבְּר. Mandaizing spelling for נֶפֶךְ נִבְּר. A dialectic formula may be used here. N. B. נ of the preformative, נב is Syriac over against the Rabbinic and Mandaic forms.

12. "In the seventh hell" (with awkward use of the numeral) in contrast to the seventh heaven. For the seven hells, see Eisenmenger, ii, 302, 328 f.
No. 7 (CBS 16007)

This bowl is a replica to that published by Dr. Myhrman of Upssala (No. 16081), see above p. 20. The latter is more perfect than my text, in fact almost the only perfect one in the collection; for this reason and also for the value of comparing the numerous variants I give the two texts in parallel, making such emendations as appear necessary in the first-published text, which amount chiefly to the proper grammatical distinction of yod and waw and he and heth. It may be observed that the designs in the two bowls differ: in 16007 merely a circle enclosing a cross, in 16081, a linear figure, the stem surmounted by a head capped, at the other end a pitchfork-like termination (the forked tail of the demon?), while four rays represent the limbs. On either side of the figure are three characters like the Greek Σ, or looked at from the side like Ψ, with which we may compare the Ψ's shuffled into Pognon's texts, see p. 60. For convenience of reference I give the same line-numbering to Myhrman's text as to my own.

In the commentary I make such few notes as are necessary on Dr. Myhrman's ably edited text.

16007

16081 (Myhrman)

בישנא מפי התפحة

(2) אסא רבח הדחי לארנה

(3) לוח התפמותו לך

(4) יוויאר (בר) אחיהו

(5) יוויאר

כישתיה ארלאתה רבח בהשקאת רבח

(6) בעשד אלי

(7) ערכי דבחא ובחא

(8) ברא דוקדה

(9) דרויין ו->{$\text{in}}$ שיפור脈脈脈脈脈脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉脉 pulse... pulse

(6) לכל מוניני וה므로

(6) וררי וメリ רוחו יבשאאת והמוריר

(6) וררהו לכל שרען وكل דיוון

(145)
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM. BABYLONIAN SECTION.

1. The text appears to be a transcription of cuneiform tablets from the University Museum's Babylonian section.

2. The first line seems to be a title or introductory sentence.

3. The text is written in a script typical of ancient Mesopotamian tablets, with signs and symbols characteristic of the cuneiform script.

4. The text contains a series of numbers and characters, which are likely to be place names, dates, or other important information.

5. The text appears to be a historical or legal document, possibly discussing the rights and obligations of people or entities.

6. The text is written in a columnar format, with lines of text running vertically.

7. The text is written in a script that requires knowledge of cuneiform script to fully understand.

8. The text contains references to other tablets or documents, indicated by numbers and symbols that are difficult to interpret without further context.

9. The text is likely to be of interest to scholars of ancient Mesopotamian history and language.

10. The text is written in a script that is not immediately legible to modern readers, requiring specialized knowledge to interpret accurately.

11. The text contains a series of characters that are difficult to translate accurately without a detailed analysis of the context.

12. The text is written in a script that is not immediately legible to modern readers, requiring specialized knowledge to interpret accurately.

13. The text contains a series of characters that are difficult to translate accurately without a detailed analysis of the context.

14. The text is written in a script that is not immediately legible to modern readers, requiring specialized knowledge to interpret accurately.
In thy name, O Lord of salvations, (2) the great Saviour of love.

I bind to thee and seal (3) and counterseal to thee, the life, house and property of this Yezidâd (4) bar Izdândúč; in the name of the great God, and with the seal of Shaddâ El, (5) and by the splendor of Sebaôth, and by the great glory of the Holy One: that all . . . Demons and all mighty Satans remove and betake themselves and go out (6) from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezidâd b. I.

(7) Again I bind to thee (Myhrman, to you) and seal and counterseal to thee (M. to you) the life and house and property and bedchamber of Yezidâd (8) b. I., in the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael, and in the name of the angel 'Asiel and Ernes (Hermes) the great Lord. [In
the name of Yahu-in-Yahu] (9) and the great Abbahu and the great Abrakas (Abraxas), the guardian of good spirits and destroyer of evil spirits, I guard to thee (M. to you) the life, house, dwelling (10) and property of this Yezidâd b. I. And I seal to thee (M. to you) the life, house and dwelling of this Merdûch bath Bânâî, that there sin not against you (M. them) all evil Arts (11) and all (magic) Circles and all Necklace-spirits and all Invocations and all Curses and all Losses and all ... and all sore Maladies and all evil Satans and all Idol-spirits and all impious Amulet-spirits and all mighty Tormentors, (12) which under my own hand I banish from this house in the name of Pharnagin bar Pharnagin, before whom trembles the sea and behind whom tremble the mountains, in the name of HH, HH, and in the name of (13) Bar-mêsteel, whose proscription is proscribed and none trespasses upon his ward.

Lo, this mystery is for frustrating you, Mysteries, Arts, and enchanted Waters and Hair-spirits, Bowls and Knots and Vows and Necklace-spirits and Invocations and Curses (14) and evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits. And now, Demons and Demonesses and Lilis and Liliths and Plagues and evil Satans and all evil Tormentors, which appear—and all evil Injurers—in the likeness of vermin and reptile and in the likeness of beast and bird (15) and in the likeness of man and woman, and in every likeness and in all fashions: Desist and go forth from the house and from the dwelling and from the whole body of this Yezidâd b. I. and from Merdûch his wife b. B., and from their sons and their daughters and all the people of their house, (16) that ye injure them not with any evil injury, nor bewilder nor amaze them, nor sin against them, nor appear to them either in dream by night or in slumber by day, from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

And again I swear and adjure (17) thee: May the great Prince expel thee, he who breaks thy body and removes thy tribe. And by the seventy Men who hold seventy sickles, wherewith to kill all evil Demons and to destroy all impious Tormentors,—are they cast prostrate in troops and thrown on their beds. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.
A charm made out for a man, his wife and household, against all manner of demons.

A comparison of these bowls, each written by a facile scribe with a well-formed ductus, throws light on the history of the transmission and development of our magical inscriptions. Myhrman's text is shorter, in the other an appendix has also been added addressed against some particular but unnamed demon. The spelling in M. is more archaic, avoiding *matres lectionis*, the masc. pronom. suffix being represented by *n* alone, *n* is generally used for final *a*, the antique form ΝΑΙ is found (l. 6), as also the true reproduction of Hermes by *n*. Also my text is more confused in the arrangement of the exorcised powers, M. follows the historical order. Formally then M. appears to be the elder text, in comparison with which mine is more inflated.

The most interesting point of difference is this: in M. the sealing is done "to you" throughout, but in my text "to thee" (l. 2, etc.). This plural has justly troubled Myhrman, and he suggests three possible explanations. But I believe the only explanation is that his text is polytheistic or rather a product of the common magic religion; in expressing three names of "the great God" Elaha, Shaddai and Sebaoth, the magician regarded them as a trinity of deities, just as in the magical papyri these Jewish (and other) divine names are invoked as so many deities (see § 11). M's text is then of eclectic religious character. My text abjures all such polytheism, but that it is secondary to the other is shown by comparing them in ll. 9 and 10. M. retains its polytheistic plural; my text has clung to the form, but misunderstanding it has read נב (= נב = נב), and I suppose made it refer to the following feminine שד, or to some feminine demon. For the same reason it reads, awkwardly, הו in l. 10 for the correct נב. Thus an eclectic text, or its original, in which the deities invoked are the names of the Jewish God, has fallen into more orthodox hands and produced our monotheistic

1 Cf., among the seven planetary spirits of the Ophites (Origen, *Cels.*, vi, 31) יאש, סבב, אדונאיב, קירואס; the "angels" אדויא, בטביה, יאש, Dieterich, *Abraxas*, 182, l. 12; also in Pradel's Christian texts, סבאות and אדונא are found among angel-names (p. 47).
text, leaving but a trace or two of its original source. Such are the complications of this magic!

1. The opening singular invocation does not agree with the following plural in M.

אָנַיִי יִמַּה: name of a Nestorian writer, Payne Smith, col. 1586; Justi, p. 149, thinks the Syriac form an error, but our text confirms it. Our word could be Semitic ד ד ר י ו. Also note Izeddad in Justi, p. 147.

4. ד'osaic: Justi, p. 146.

With מָסְסָא, M, cf. in addition to his reference to Așpenaz, Dan. 1: 3, the name Așpazanda, Clay, BE, x, 41.

5. והָשִּׁיר: plural, "the rays of light." This and the following term represent Hebrew בהבּ.

והָשִּׁיר: with expression of the half-vowel, as in cases cited earlier; cf. Stibe, l. 62. For the following Hithpalpel, s. Jastrow, p. 407.

והָשִּׁיר, M: so the spelling surely, see above, p. 81.

6. “from the body”: cf. the φιλακτήρων σωματοφύλαξ, London Papyrus, l. 589, Wessely, xlii, 39.

8. For the angels, see § 13; for four angels (cf. the four gods surrounding the magician in Babylonian magic; see above, on 6: 10) see Lueken, Michael, 34 f. Nuriel-Uriel is generally the fourth. In Stübe, l. 58, יִנַא takes this place. יִנַא occurs in Sefer Raziel, s. Schwab, Vocabulaire, 214, and probably in a text of Pradel’s (p. 22, l. 16), where אֶשֶּא and אֶשֶל doubtless = Asael and Raphael. N. B. the care with which the scribe rewrites the name of Asiel; all four names are made to terminate in -iel.

רֵיָא יִרֵיָא = M. הָרָיִים (the latter the closest to the Greek of our spellings) = Hermes, see to 2: 2. Myhrman’s suggestion, which I originally (and independently) favored, that the word is Hormiz = Ahura-mazda, is ruled out by the fact that that element in our proper names is given by רֵיָא יִרֵיָא.

דָּבְרֵי הַבָּטֵחַ יִנְבָּה הָיָה: cf. Stübe, l. 15 יִנְבָּה יִנְבָּה; Pognon B, no. 5, יִנְבָּה יִנְבָּה, above 2: 2 (q. v.); יִנְבָּה יִנְבָּה, 13: 7. יִנְבָּה ancient form of the divine Name, appearing (apart from biblical proper names and probable Babylonian forms) in the Assouan papyri, in the Greek magical papyri (Deissmann, Bibelstudien, 4 ff, Blau, p. 128 ff.) as יִנְבָּז, surviving among the modern
Samaritans (Montgomery, *JBL*, 1906, 50, n. 5), and used in the magical texts current at Mossoul (*PSBA*, xxviii, 97). I think the doubled term here is theosophic: Yah-in-Yah; cf. the Christian Logos-doctrine and its terms, and Kabbalism. It is possible that Stüve’s יוהי = Yahbēh (1αβη) = Yahweh. At all events this spelling-out of the full Tetragrammaton occurs in a proper name below, 26: 4.

9. אביהו, and רדאני below, 1. 12, probably correctly diagnosed by Myhrman as exalted sorcerers’ names; see above p. 47. For the two Amoraim Abbahu, see *Jew. Enc.*, s. v. A suggestion in another line is possible for Abbahu. King in his *Gnostics and their Remains*, London, 1887, 246, says that the Pantheus or representation of the pantheistic Deity of the Gnostics, appearing on the Gnostic gems, “is invariably inscribed with his proper name יאדו and his epithets אברסא and זאבאו and often accompanied with invocations such as .... אפלאאאא, ‘thou art our Father.’” Our Abbahu may represent this epithet and the passage would accordingly preserve three of the Gnostic designations of Deity: Yahu, Father, Abraxas. For Abraxas see above, p. 57, and for treatments of the subject and bibliographies the articles “Abraxas” in Hauck’s *Realencyk.*., *Jewish Encyc.*, and especially the splendid monograph by Leclercq, in *Dictionnaire de l’archéologie chrétienne*, etc. Variants in the bowls are אברסא and אברסס. These forms represent Abraxas as against the original form Abrasax, hence I use the former word in the present volume. Myhrman remarks (p. 345): “As over against the view of Blau-Kohler (*Jew. Enc.* i, 130b) this would prove to be at least ‘a single reliable instance’ of this name occurring in Hebrew”—or at least in a Jewish document, as my text is. Abraxas is found in *Sefer Raziel*, 5a.

6: ממסנה, המהלך: instances of the Syriac nominal formation from derived stems.

7: רוחית נבאה: recalling the Jewish “good demons,” see above, p. 76. The expression is also reminiscent of the Greek ἁγνὸς δῆμων, frequent in magic.

70 (2d): ppl. w. suffix. It is represented by three ppls. in M., the second ממסנה, which M. translates, with a query, “pierce.” This is impossible; I would suggest to read מ for מ, and understand the Afel,

יִנְיָאָה = 27: 8; a masc. name among the Jews, Ṣefer ha-Doroth ii, 84. But these names appear to be indifferently masc. and fem.; cf. 1: 4. The same name בְּנָי is found in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, Lidzbarski, Handbuch, 238, and = the frequent Babylonian Bən-ia, cf. the name lists in Clay, BE, viii, pt. 1, pp. ix, x.

11. מַרְנָיָא, occurring frequently in the unpublished No. 2918. I interpret this from the Syriac מֶּשֶׁר, as of the magic circle, cf. התואם והButtonText, 39: 7, and see p. 88. The circle was used particularly for necromancy and devil-raising. Cf. Eliphas Lévi, Dogme et rituel de la haute magie, Paris, 1856, ii, l. 14. The objection to this interpretation is the entire obscurity of מַרְנָיָא.

12. "under my own hand": there is much imitation of legal forms in magical formulas.

13. מֶּשֶׁרין: evidently a Persian name; Myhrman as from farna, "good fortune," and gin (?) comparing Pharmakes, etc., Justi, p. 92-96. I may compare the Persian name Frenanh, Justi, p. 105b.

פֵּרָנָה, פֶּרָי, פֶּרִין, in the latter as from root פִּירָי.

14. מֶּשֶׁרין, translated there "son of the inquirer of the oracle." We must go to the Assyrian for the explanation. There the corresponding form mustālu means one who gives an oracle upon being asked, i. e. an oracle-giver, and is an epithet of deity. See Jastrow, JBL, xix, 99, and the reff. in Delitzsch, Ass. Hwb., s. v. פֶּרָי. The expression has the connotation of deciding the fates, with which cf. the following phrase in our text בְּרֵי מִשְׁחַתָא may here be used like the Arabic ابن, without modifying its regimen. Or may the phrase = בָּרִי mustālu, "oracle-giving seer"? Some ancient phrase has been conventionalized and
personified. For the following expression concerning the inviolability of the "decree," cf. 38: 8.

The root הָדַע הָדַע came to be used particularly of poisoning. The הָדַע are probably "hairs," Syriac zeppâ. Any portion of a person's body, especially hairs, nails, etc., as detachable, could be used in magic directed against him. See Thompson, Sem. Magic, Index, s. v. "hair," and with abundant citation of comparative magic, Abt, Apuleius, 179 ff.; also Blau, p. 161.

14. For the appearance of devils in animal forms, cf. the reply of the demon to St. Michael in a text of Pradel's (p. 23): "I enter their houses metamorphosed as snake, dragon, vermin, quadruped."

15. נָיִינִי = כְּזָזָנִין, cf. l. 16, vs. M. נגָכְזָזָנִין or גאַנְנִין (?).

16. תָּנִחְנוּ: Paels, with ' for preformative half-vowel. I understand הָסָרָה and הָסָרָה, of the demoniac bewilderment of the victim (see Jastrow, s. v.), or actual insanity. M. has for these verbs "הָסָרָה אֵל in their house"; Myhrman's translation, "shall not dwell," would require הָזָרָה, or an error for הָזָרָה. It looks as if הָזָרָה is for הָסָרָה, or an error for הָזָרָה.

ترجمة: so also 8: 11, but generally in parallel occurrences, e. g. Myhrman's text, גוֹנֵי. The same noun is found in the Mandaic, בה"א והי (וינ', Norberg's text, ii, 18, l. 12), and the verb הת-duration (ib., l. 19). It means to "snore, sleep profoundly" (cf. Heb. יִתְחָרָה) = Arabic sahara. Cf. 6: 10.


"70 men holding 70 sharp sickles": i. e. the 70 angels or shepherds, representing the 70 nations, Enoch 89: 59 (originally regarded as good angels, Schürer, GJV, iii, 198, n. 32, Luken, Michael, 14, but later legend regarded them as fallen). The "sharp sickles" are an echo of Rev. 14: 14 ff., where the Peshitto uses the same words as here. This coincidence (cf. also Mt. 13: 37 ff.) argues for a common source of ideas.

הָעַנְנוּ: inf. of יָעַנְנוּ, Targumic but not Talmudic.

הָעַנְנוּ: Pael pass. ppl., of the Syriac and Mandaic root "prostrate." Or possibly cf. the Rabbinic meaning "put on a cover," with reference to the inverting of the bowls, see to 4: 1, 6: 1. The "beds" are metaphorical of weakness and subjection, cf. Is., 50: 11.
No. 8 (CBS 9013)

Translation

In the name of the Lord of salvations.

Designated is this bowl for the sealing of the house of this Geyônâi bar Mâmâi, that there flee (2) from him the evil Lilith, in the name of 'YHWH El has scattered'; the Lilith, the male Lîlis and the female Lîlîths, the Hag (ghost?) and the Ghul, (3) the three of you, the four of you and the five of you; [naked] are you sent forth, nor are you clad, with your hair dishevelled and let fly behind your backs. It is made known to you, (4) whose father is named Palhâs and whose mother Pelahdad: Hear and obey and come forth from the house and the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife (5) bath Mâråth.

And again, you shall not appear to them in his (sic) house nor in their dwelling nor in their bedchamber, because it is announced to you, whose father is named Palhâs and whose mother (6) Pelahdad,—because it is announced to you that Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia has sent against you the ban. 1 adjure you [by the glory (= name)] of Palhâs your father (7) and by the name of Pelahdad your mother. A divorce-writ has come down to us from heaven and there is found written in it for your advice and your terrification, in the name of Palsa-Pelisa (‘Divorcer-Divorced’), who renders to thee thy divorce and thy separation, your divorces (8) and your separations. Thou, Lilith, male Lîli and female Lîlîth, Hag and Ghul, be in the ban . . . . [of Rabbi] Joshua b. P.

And thus has spoken to us Rabbi Joshua b. P.: (9) A divorce writ has come for you (thee?) from across the sea, and there is found written in it [against you], whose father is named Palhâs and whose mother Pelahdad, . . . . they hear from the firmament (10) . . . . Hear and they and go from the house and from the dwelling of this Geyônâi b. M. and from Rašnôi his wife b. M.

And again, you shall not appear to them (11) either in dream by night nor in slumber by day, because you are sealed with the signet of El Shaddai and with the signet of the house of Joshua b. Peraḥia and by the Seven (?) which are before him. Thou Lilith, male Lîli and female
Lilith, Hag and Ghul, I adjure you by the Strong One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by the Shaddai of Jacob, by Yah (?) his name .... by Yah his memorial .... I adjure (13) you to turn away from this Rašnői b. M. and from Geyónai her husband b. M. Your divorce and writ (?) and letter of separation .... sent through holy Angels .... the Hosts of fire in the spheres, the Chariots of El-Panim before him standing, (14) the Beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water, the Legions of I-am-that-I-am, this his name .... And by the adjuration of holy Angels, by .... el the great angel, and by ‘Azriel the great angel, (15) and by Ḳabḵabḵiel the great angel, and by ‘Aḵariel the great angel, I uproot the evil Necklace-spirits. Moreover you evil Liliths, evil Counter-charms, .... and the letter of divorce (16). And again, do not return to them from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed upon him .... Gabriel (?)!

Again (I adjure you), evil Lilith and evil Spirit .... (17) .... or kill .... depart from this Rašnői b. M. And be they preserved for life! Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

**Commentary**

A charm for a man and his wife, particularly against the Liliths (a picture of one of which obscene creatures decorates the bowl), made out in the form of a divorce-writ. The inscription is very indistinct and towards the end becomes almost illegible. No. 17 is in large part an abbreviated and mutilated replica.

1. Gewānāi (cf. 7: 15), or Ge(y)ёнāi (from ꠿婫, or骺, “color”?). Cf. ꠿ conectar appearing in Bar Bahlul’s Syriac-Arabic lexicon, where it is equated with wald, etc., to which Payne-Smith adds, “vox corrupta ex πῶλος,” Thes., col. 708.

2. The generic lilith is differentiated into several different species, the male and the female, the ghost and the vampire, hence “the
3, the 4, and the 5 of you” below. In the following text it is a question whether the 2d per. sing. or plur. should be read in many places. The two numbers are clearly distinguished in l. 7, end. But the obscurity consists in the equivalence of לילית and נר, like the case of the loss of i in the verbal forms in נ in later Aramaic, e. g. יָתִי, l. 11; also אֶפְתָּח, l. 15.

is plural, as shows. Also the confusion of i and i in our script renders the distinction between masc. and fem. uncertain. Do the imperatives in l. 10 terminate in i or ä, the latter a masculine form (inclusive of the feminine), the former possibly to be compared with the Syriac? My English “you” covers the uncertainty between sing. and pl.

בְּשַׁפְּטִית נֵרוֹר: a prophylactic “word,” like the magical quotations from Scriptures; cf. a similar case at end of No. 42.

At end of l. 2 are named the five different “modes” of the lilith. and are unique demoniac names, found only here and in No. 17. The probable identity of נ with the Arabic Ghul suggests connecting ש with the Arabic si’lat; Lane, Lexicon; 1365, and at length his Arabian Nights, c. 1, n. 21, and also van Vloten, WZKM, vii, 179, who quotes an Arabic author to the effect that the Si’lat is the witch of the feminine Jinns. (The Arabic root sa’ala, “cough,” = Syriac פָּלוֹ). We have then to account for the loss of the מ. The form would be comparable to אֲנַיָּא. Another possibility is = Assyrian šûlû, “ghost.” Muss-Arnolt, Dict. 1036 (from הלע?), the formation being originally šēlāni’tu (cf. ēlānu from הלע). The witch or Ghul is preferable in the context, however in No. 39 the Lilith appears as the ghost of a dead relative, so that the context does not determine the etymology.

תָּחַת, or תָּפְסַא No. 17, “ravager,” represents the Heb. תָּחַת (“ostrich”?—such is the tradition in Onkelos and LXX) in Targum Jer. to Lev. 11: 16, Dt. 14: 15 (where these two spellings also are found), among the unclean birds. Horrible bird-like forms were given to the demons by the Babylonian imagination, Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Ass., i, 281; also cf. Utukki-series, B, 35 f. The ostrich itself even in the rationalizing Old Testament is half demoniac; cf. the notes on the גלע, p. 81. Probably the נ is exactly the Arabic Ghul, which is thus described by Doughty: “A Cyclops’ eye set in the midst of her human-like head, long beak of jaws, in the ends one or two great sharp tushes, long neck; her arms like
chickens’ fledgling wings, the fingers of her hands not divided; the body big as a camel but in shape like as the ostrich; the sex is only feminine. She has a foot as the ass' hoof and a foot as an ostrich,” etc. (*Arabia Deserta*, i, 53, quoted by Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, 60).

3. ןל"ח"הניכ : for the sharpening of the vowel, *t'llattâi* from *t'llattâi*, see my notes on *א"ר* Họ, p. 73.

שַׁעֲרָה: supplied from 17: 5, as also other bracketed passages. שַׁעֲרָה is sing., as *רַשְׁיו* לֹא אִישׁ shows. Nakedness and dishevelled hair are standing descriptions of the lilith, witch, etc. See references above, p. 77; add Kohut, *Jüdische Angelologie*, 88, and for Arabic legend, Wellhausen. *Skizzen*, 3, p. 32. The picture presents the abandoned character of the lilith—e. g. the Labartu is called a whore—, and also her shameful, outlawed position.

3. שָׁמַע ח: שָׁמַע ח as constantly in these texts and as in Mandaic. The naming of the demon's forbears has a compelling power, as part of name-magic; see p. 58. Cf. the naming of the parents of the demon בֶּאֱוֵרֹחָא in the invocation of his appearance in a charm of Wessely's (xliii, 60, from Brit. Mus. Pap. cxxiii). The same names distorted and applied *vice versa* appear in No. 17; similar names also in No. 11.

6. אַשְׁרִי: often along with synonymous verbs, אַשְׁרִי, שֶׁמֶּל, etc. Cf. the Babylonian *ištu biti ši* (*Utukki*-series, iii, 158), the long series of imperatives in *Maklu*-series, v, 166 ff., etc.; *Mk*. 9: 25, *Acts* 16: 18; in Gollancz's Syriac charms; in the Greek, e. g. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295, 298 (where the demon is also bid to disobey).

4. רַגְשֵׁי: probably hypocoristic from *Rašnu*, name of a Zoroastrian genius, see Justi, p. 259. Cf. the names רַגְשֵׁי, רַגְשֵׁי, in Glossary.

5. נַעֲרָה = נַעֲרָה (15: 2), "Martha."


"by the glory of your father": hardly an appeal to the demon's sense of honor. רַגְשֵׁי must be equivalent to "name," cf. the parallelism and the equivalence of the Name and the Glory in the Old Testament, where נַעֲרָה is also used of the human personality.

7. יְהֵשׁ לְהֵשׁ נְאָ: the separation of the lilith from her victim is expressed in terms of a divorce-writ. This was a happy thought of the
magicians, who thus applied the powers of binding and loosing claimed by the rabbis to the disgusting unions of demons and mortals. The logic of the procedure was very simple—if only the liliths were as submissive to divorce as their human sisters. The decree is frequent in these bowl incantations, and first appeared in Ellis’s bowl, no. 1. But I do not know of any case of the occurrence of this magical Geț outside of the bowls.

The magical writ affects the same forms and formalism as that of the divorce court. In the parallel bowl, No. 17, a form of date is given (I. 1: Nōms nōm), which was a requisite in the legal Geț. The names of both parties are exactly given, hence the parents of the liliths are here specifically named. The very terms of divorce are repeated in 17: 2: "Bequeath such hadith to him;" cf. the facsimile of a Geț given as a frontispiece in Amram’s work (מסורה שבקות והוזחת וחいて). It was necessary that the writ should be properly served on the divorcee, hence in 26: 6, תָּקַל שלום: “take thy writ,” a sentence consummating the process, and then the divorced demon must betake herself from her victim’s property, as commanded by the peremptory; “Hear, obey and go forth” (I. 10). But there is a difference; against spiritual powers divine authority was necessary. And so it is affected that the writ has come down from heaven (I. 7), that is, it belongs to the category of writs from foreign countries for which there were special forms; hence the נא לאה נמי נורו מיא, I. 9. The commissioners and witnesses are the holy angels, etc., I. 9 f. A rabbi is also at hand to seal as notary the divine decree, none other than the famous master-magician Joshua b. Peraḥia. For a further phase of this “divorce-writ” see to 11: 7. In I. 7, both the sing. and pl. are carefully used, so as to include both the definite lilith and also the whole brood.

7. הָרָתְרֵיכָא, Shim’tob; Pael infinitives with first syllable in i.

אָבֵלָא דָלֶא: the root = “split asunder.”

מַחְתָּא (?) may be pl. from חומ in sense of Latin reddere.

11. “the house of Joshua”: i. e. of the school of sorcery; in 34: 2 the sorcerer calls himself “J.’s cousin.”

"by the Seven"?—i.e. the seven angels, genii, etc.? The seven planets are so called simply in Syriac.

12. for the Rock of Isaac, cf. Is. 49: 24, 25; for the Rock of Israel. The "Shaddai of Jacob" is unique. The scribe was not mighty in the Scriptures. But cf. Ecclus. 51: 2: "give thanks to the Shield of Abraham, ... to the Rock of Israel, ... to the Mighty One of Jacob."

13. אנות שיבוך: another term for the divorce-writ.

From l. 13 to end the text is largely mutilated or illegible; this is the more unfortunate as there are traces of interesting apocryphal or kabbalistic passages. Viz. "the hosts of fire in the spheres"; "the chariots of El-Panim"; "the beasts worshipping in the fire of his throne and in the water," with which cf. the glassy sea of Revelation. The following term רוני ("banners," then "cohorts") is a common word in the Targumic literature for the angelic hosts, according to Shemoth Rabba 15. ובעת. (But the phrase may mean, "who is revealed as.") The language is Hebrew and the allusions are taken doubtless from apocalyptic literature.

14. שראה is known as an angel of the divine chariot, Schwab, Vocabulaire, s. v., and שראה is found ibid. n. b. play with שראה.

15. The reference to the שפחת indicates that witchcraft is behind these devilish manifestations; the lilith and the witch are practically identical, see p. 78.

17. "may they be established for life"; cf. the finale of the Mandaic texts, "Life is victorious." The same expression in 12: 3, and the negative wish against devils in Wohlstein 2426: 9; but in his no. 2417: 22 the verb is used of the resurrection. At least the vague idea of immortality may be contained in the phrases.
No. 9 (CBS 9010)

The bowl I deposit and sink down, and the work (2) I operate, and it is in [the fashion of] Rabbi Joshua (3) bar Peraḥia. I write for them divorces, for all the Liliths who appear to them, in this (house of ?) (4) Bābanōš bar Kayōmtā and of Saradust bath Širin his wife, in dream by night and in slumber (5) by day; namely a writ of separation and divorce; in virtue of letter (abstracted) from letter, and letters from letters, (6) and of word from words, and of pronunciation from pronunciations; whereby are swallowed up heaven and earth, the mountains are uprooted, and by them the heights melt away.

(7) Oh, Demons, Arts and Devils and Latbē, perish by them from the world! Therefore (?) I have mounted up over them (you?) to the celestial height, and I have brought against you (8) a destroyer to
destroy them (you) and to bring you forth from their house and their
dwelling and their threshold and all .... place of the bedchamber of
Bābanūš b. K. (9) and of Saradust b. S. his wife. And again, do not
appear to them, neither in dream of night nor in sleep of day .... I dismiss
you (10) .... letters of separation ..... 

(11, exterior) In thy name have I wrought, YHWH, God, Sebaoth,
Gabriel and Michael and Raphael. Thy seal is upon this beseealment and
upon this threshold. Amen, Amen.

Commentary

A charm for a man and his wife. The inscription is illiterate, and is
largely parallel to (doubtless dependent upon) the Syriac text No. 32 =
No. 33; also cf. No. 8.

1. ספורה ריהא דשקני: the same phrase appears in 32: 3 and 33: 1,
whence the third word in the present text can be restored. It is very
obscure and I propose the following explanation. יס is a synonym for
"bowl," and is the Syriac and Mandaic אומתא (puhîrâ) which came to mean
"symposium," but goes back to the root מתר, giving the words for the potter
and his art, i.e. originally it was a potter’s vessel. For the loss of the
guttural in our present word, cf. Mandaic אומתא for אומתא, etc. רמות אומתא
I take in the common Syriac sense of laying a foundation; the bowl was
placed, as we have seen, at one of the four corners of the house. For
שיקו, we must assume a parallel significance, and it is to be derived from
שיקו, treated as שיקו in the similar sense “to sink” (the 1st Form is used as an
active in Rabbinic). As the phrase appears in our Syriac bowls, which are
largely colored by Mandaic idioms, the reference to this dialect is
justifiable.

2. In the lacuna might be read. ספורה ריהא is a Syriac idiom,
taken from the Syriac parallel.

3. awkward; probably for בדידב (Persian b often = Semitic b), Justi, pp. 54, 241, the second the Persian
genius-name Anōš.
was legible to the original copyist of these bowls in 1. 8. The name signifies *patrona*. The masc. אָרָם appears in Pogonon B.

Apparently a form of Zarathuśtra; see Justi, p. 379 f., where the frequent spelling Zaraduśt is cited in names. But strange is the application of this masculine name to a woman.

The name *Sirin*, Tabari’s Chronicles, ed. de Goeje, i, 4, p. 100, l. 3.

The terms all appear in No. 8.

A parallel phrase appears in 32: 6; here the words are Hebrew. The general sense of these obscure phrases is clear; they refer to the magical use of letters and words and the manipulation of their pronunciations, such for instance as we find in the treatment of בְּחָנָה and in the Greek magic of the seven vowels. Cf. Pradel, p. 35, l. 9, “in the name of these angels and letters.”

This root appears in the Bible where it passes from the physical “prick, prick out,” to the sense “distinguish,” that is, in speech, “pronounce clearly.” It is the question in Sanh. 56a whether נֵכֶב שֶׁכְהוּ הָאָדָם is so used or in the sense “blaspheme.” In the present case it means “pronounce,” and is synonymous to the Piel נֵכֶב as that appears in קֵלָה חָרָמָה. Mystic or traditional renderings of the Tetragrammaton are doubtless referred to, but all this is only mysteriously suggested here; the magician does not offer us samples of his rare art. There is a garbled form of these phrases in 32: 6.

A Mandaic spelling for the plural in יֵא.

A category appearing only in the bowls, see above p. 81, and Glossary.

probably the Targumic “therefore.”

This and the following line are difficult by reason of an inconsequent use of the pronouns; the scribe was writing by rote. Light is thrown

1 For this discussion see Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonay*, 44 ff.
on the passage from 32:8 f. (q.v.), where is given the tradition of Joshua b. Perahia's ascent to heaven, by which he obtained mastery over all evil powers. Our scribe boldly turns the 3d person of the legend into the first person—of himself,—an instance of the attempted identification of the magician with deity or master-magician.

לִימָה: so the parallel demands.

אֲחַיָּהוּ: appears to be Asel; תִּחְנוּ is hebraizing.

8. אֲמוֹם = וַתִּשְׁחֵית, Ex. 12:23; in the parallel the abstract נֵבָלוּ.

11. For the asyndeton connection of the angelic names with that of Deity, see above, pp. 58 f, 99, and note the Greek parallels. Sebaoth appears to replace one of the four archangels; cf. the personification of S. in Myhrman's text.
Translation

This amulet is for the salvation of this Nèwândūch bath Kaphni, and Kaphni her husband bar Sarkoi, and Zādōi her son, and her house and her whole threshold, in the name of Yah, Yahu, Ah, .... (2) Sealed, and countersealed are this house and this threshold .... in the name of LLZRyón and Sabiel and Gabriel and Eliel ..... (3) And sealed are these, Zādōi and Nèwândūch, with that seal with which the First Adam sealed Seth his son and he was preserved from Demons (4) and Devils and Tormentors and Satans. Again sealed and countersealed are these, the son of Sarkoi and Nèwândūch his wife b. (5) K. and Zādōi her son, with that seal with which Noah sealed the ark from the waters of the Deluge. (6) And may they fly and cease and go forth and remove from them and from their house and their abode and their bed-chamber, from this day and forever.

Commentary

A charm for a woman and her family. It is decorated with a figure having a beaked, bird-like face.

See Introduction, p. 44.

For the name see to 5:1; the same person appears in No. 11.
"Išši: probably for Kašnāš, "the hungry one." The woman’s husband and father had the same name. This is a case of the father’s name being given, against the rule; for other examples, see 12: 1, Pognon B, p. 98, and the name ṇẹṣẹ, in Lidzbarski 5.

ניר: cf. the Persian name Serkoh Justi, p. 296.

יִנְו: the full spelling appears in I. 5; for the name, ibid., p. 382. A Zārói appears in 37: 3.

2. נִיֵּר: I can make nothing out of these words.

For Šabiel and Eliel, see Schwab, Vocabulaire, 251, 57. The first name is probably mystical.

3. נִבְּ: emphatic use of נִב; cf. Dan. 7: 15.

For these apocryphal references to the seal of Adam and Noah, cf. p. 64, and for the Jewish legends see Jew. Enc., s. v., "Seth," "Noah." It is in the Babylonian story not the Biblical that the hero shuts himself in.

5. נִזְּ: found in Targ. Onk. to Gen. 6: 17, = τησφων, frequent in the Greek magical vocabulary.
A charm for a woman and her household, in terms of a divorce from the evil spirits.

The text would be legible only for a half, but for the interesting fact that it is one of four almost duplicate inscriptions. The longest and clearest of these is the Mandaic bowl, no. 5, published by Lidzbarski. Another is, remarkably enough, the first inscription of this category ever published, Ellis no. 1, in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 512 ff.; see § 2.¹ The latter is given in poor facsimile, and none has taken the trouble to collate afresh the bowl in the British Museum, a simple task which doubtless would have allayed the difficulties.

Of this text the bowl from Nippur is practically a duplicate, and, with the help of Lidzbarski's inscription, I am able to restore almost the entire text not only of our bowl but also of that in the British Museum.

There is also a fourth duplicate, No. 18. It can be read only by comparison with the three presented here, and so I have left it in its original place in my arrangement of these inscriptions, especially as it contributes nothing further to the understanding of their contents.

I have thought it worth while to present the three texts in parallel columns. This process facilitates the verification of emendations, while the variations which present themselves throw interesting light upon the natural history of magical inscriptions. We mark how magical terms which once had a meaning become blurred and obscured at the hands of generations of sorcerers and copyists, until sense becomes nonsense, or simple word or phrase receives a kabbalistic interpretation. The Mandaic appears to have the latest type of text, having evidently transferred its material from another script and dialect. Cf. the parallel texts in No. 7.

In the following texts I have slightly abbreviated the names in the 2d and 3d columns, and omitted a few unimportant phrases in the 3d (always so noted). It is not necessary to give a translation of Ellis's

¹ As suggested in that section, n. 4, this was the bowl obtained by Layard from Nippur.
bowl, as the text is now almost entirely intelligible. The enumeration of lines in Ellis’s text is according to the spiral lines.

No. 11

Ellis 1

Lidzbarski 5

apple for my garden

למלכות

 Rifts and riddles solved

דריות ו是什么呢

be filled

מל iframe שליטים

why is this? a reply

why is this? a reply

full plate (spiral)

מפלחת

A bowl (spiral)

A bowl (spiral)

The first bowl is shown and the second

The first bowl is shown and the second

The first bowl is shown and the second

A bowl (spiral)

A bowl (spiral)

A bowl (spiral)

A bowl (spiral)

A bowl (spiral)

A bowl (spiral)
J. A. MONTGOMERY—ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS.

169

Dsmcja pnon'm (7)

paini'^'

msiDa pncnm (6)

D'bc Sim

xin xnnj (6)

Dsnb spn (7)

[came shir]'e) (8) רככתו

ותינן ולששותון והוב

לא הרדרון עלהון

שחל ונוטיבונ

וקיבלו ... בון

ותוק (8) עדירט

מן גונור (sic.) בת בונ

לא התוות[ת וו]ה

בליהל או בתימא

לא השבש[ת [עימא]ה או

היקף[ת] היה בת 홈תה

(9) בישם מנטינש שמר יי

והיה טעמ

כבדוןי יי ויד וי "י

[come shir] רככתו

בטעםית [דרש] ליבת

דריע ורעה עליה

שמא שחר רת"ה

הלאם וביובלת לא 'י

היתמהו, בצאתם לברד

בפוריותו הגדאיאו

מלך אדם ועבדו

שחה ויוו ויוו

ויהי לולא

וזהן ואספסרן

מש אצתו משדהו

זר הוצו ומדיאו

'ה

בר פי פי א"ת ר' ו

וון דבר

כבר רבחםיהו שידי נינהו

לנצאותו יבשות יוהו

לאתאדריו ואלמאדיאו (9)

באיו שקולagina

קאבצל טמאתך חלשות וי

וכי זק עורק תעתאשאק

מן בהזהו יי רודרויו יי

אל חודהו[ו]אל לברתל verk

רל'.ליאואלברקניאדיאו דרמאנ

רדריिיהו בראתיה ו

בומייקה ר זרי לול ה

אלחא semi-טפיא אצאתאטא

היא אצאתאו נון דעה

ער יא יא ריו יא יא זא

עפואיאינו והניבאתוא

וליאתא

וכביז' ומקבאתא

בעמיקה נברא

בשעיהית 'יכינן מלבא

בר אבוד

ר זרי לול ה אלא

שופת רמא ויקרא גל칙
Translation

Salvation from Heaven for this Nēwāndūch bath Kaphni, that she be saved (2) by the love of Heaven from the Lilith and the Tormentor. Amen. Amen. Again, fly and refrain (3) and remove from Nēwāndūch b. K., the Lilith and the Tormentor and Fever and Barrenness (4) and Abortion; in the name of him who controls the Demons and Devils and Liliths, and in the name of "I-am-that-I-am."

For the binding of (5) Bagdānā, their king and ruler, the king of Demons and [Devils], the [great] ruler of Liliths. I adjure thee, Lilith Halbas, granddaughter of Lilith Zarnī, [dwelling] in the house and dwelling of Nēwāndūch b. K. and [plaguing] boys and girls, (7) that thou be smitten in the courses (?) of thy heart and with the lance of ...., who is powerful .... over you.

Behold I have written for thee (i.e. a divorce), and behold I have separated thee [from N. b. K. etc.], [like the Demons] (8) who write divorces for their wives, and do not return to them. Take thy divorce from Nēwāndūch b. K. and do not appear to her, neither by night nor by day, and do not lie [with her]. And do not (9) kill her sons and daughters. In the name of Memintaš (?) keeper of Habgezig (?). Yō, Yad, Yaṭ, Yaṭ, Yaṭ. By the seal on which is carved and engraved the Ineffable Name, since the days of the world, the six days of creation.

Commentary

1. Nēwāndūch b. Kaphni: the same as in No. 10; here without mention of a husband. It is also the name of the mother of the client in Ellis's bowl.

2. "Heaven" is used here and in parallel passages as surrogate for Deity, after ancient Jewish use; the same use in 18: 1 and Wohlstein 2422: 3.
3. א"ת: a new word. I would connect it with the Arabic root ס'ר (Heb. שיר, סיר), with the meaning "be hot, rage," etc. See the various derivative nouns in Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, 1363: ס'ר, "burning, shooting," ס'ר, "demoniacal possession, madness, mange"; ס'רט (our very form!) "cough," etc. Possibly fever, or poison. The Arabic ס'ר connotes infection.

4. ל: "bereavement," then used of abortion, the reference being to a miscarriage caused by magic of the unborn child.

It is unfortunate that in the first line of Ellis's inscription, the name following ניריג. i.e. "Nirig" is indecipherable from the facsimile. For יי"ז = יז, cf. on the Nérab inscriptions, = Nin-gal. In אבמה ווהו, the second word is a careless repetition of the first.

5. At the end of this line begins the parallelism with the two other inscriptions. Our very first word, which appears as one in a series of divine names, e.g. El-sur, is explained from the parallel which shows that ניריג was meant; the unusual form בא (= ב) was taken to be = "god," and the passage became hopeless. The same process of corruption will be found below on the Mandaic side.

6. ובא: so in Ellis, but in the Mandaic bowl נבアイ in Pogon B). See Lidzbarski's attempts at explanation. But our ובא is the elder form; see on 19: 6, 13, where ב is both generic and personal.

7. ב: the first ב is an error as the subsequent spelling shows; the second represents the half-vowel. The scribe in our text has been confused and repeated his words here. For the "king of demons," see p. 74.

7. דא = דא = דא, in the three texts; cf. the names in the parallel texts Nos. 8 and 17: אול and אול andolson. Proof of the impossibility of etymologizing on these forms! The accompanying lilith in the Mandaic, לא, must be connected with our לא above; abortion is personified. The granddam of the lilith appears to be better known as it is identical in all three inscriptions. The two liliths in the Mandaic are interpreted by Ellis's text; they are the male and female respectively; cf. below, 1. 8. לא.

7. לא: these various forms throw no light on the word. It looks as if it were a corrupted Greek anatomical term.
(Ellis): our text explains the reading of the elder bowl לול = לול, the former a metaplasis of the latter; the same form in 18: 7.

? = חתים: the latter has, as Lidzbarski recognizes, a peculiar Mandaic form. I am inclined again to hold that the parallel shorter forms are more original. The reading in our bowl is different from the other two. For cf. אבר, 3: 2.

הנה explained by the second column, where plus הבתה i. e. the divorce-writ. Curiously enough the Mandaic has taken the interjection אנה as a pronoun and rendered it by הדה.

"break a charm."

The additional thought appears here that inasmuch as demons divorce their spouses, divorce-writs must be as effective on them as among human kind. Cf. also No. 18. It may be noticed here that the first and third texts address a special lilith in the singular, the second goes over into the plural; the same uncertainty in No. 8.

( = plural) Mandaism; so also below עליה = עליה.

Once a special lilith is thus reduced to a travesty! The well-known Jewish phrase appears also in Schwab, E. 3

2 For the true explanation of this term, see Arnold, Journ. of Biblical Lit., 1905, 107 ff.
Solomon's magic ring (first mentioned by Josephus) inscribed with the Tetragrammaton is the subject of Haggada in Gitt. 68a, b. Later legend, especially Arabic, developed the wonders of this magic ring. According to the end of our inscriptions this seal engraved with the divine Name was in existence since the week of creation (= תבנית). This is an addition to the ten things which according to Pirḳe Abūth, 5: 8, were created on the eve of the first Sabbath—among which were the alphabetic script and the tables of the Law.

* See Jewish Encycl., xi, 438 ff., 448; for the Greek magic, Dieterich, Abraxas, 139, l. 28, and at length, p. 141 f.; for bibliography, Schürer, GIV, iii, 303.
No. 12 (CBS 9009)

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûc and for Şarköi
(2) bath Dâdâ his wife, and for their sons and daughters and their house
(3) and their property, that they may have offspring and may live and be
established and be preserved (4) from Demons and Devils and Plagues
and Satans and Curses and Liliths and Tormentors, which may appear
(5) to them. I adjure thee, the angel which descends from heaven—there
being kneaded (something) in the shape of a horn, on which honey is
poured—(6) the angel who does the will of his Lord and who walks upon
the (throne-) steps of his Lord še'ú, and who is praised in the heavens (7)
še'ú, and his praise is in earth semâ;—they are filled with glory, who endure
and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet (8) are not
seen in their dances by the whole world, and they sit and stand in their

Exterior

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûc and for Şarköi
(2) bath Dâdâ his wife, and for their sons and daughters and their house
(3) and their property, that they may have offspring and may live and be
established and be preserved (4) from Demons and Devils and Plagues
and Satans and Curses and Liliths and Tormentors, which may appear
(5) to them. I adjure thee, the angel which descends from heaven—there
being kneaded (something) in the shape of a horn, on which honey is
poured—(6) the angel who does the will of his Lord and who walks upon
the (throne-) steps of his Lord še'ú, and who is praised in the heavens (7)
še'ú, and his praise is in earth semâ;—they are filled with glory, who endure
and keep pure since the days of eternity, and their feet (8) are not
seen in their dances by the whole world, and they sit and stand in their
place, blowing like the blast, lightening like the lightning. (9) These will frustrate and ban all Familiars and Countercharms and Necklace-spirits and Curses and Invocations and Knockings and Rites and Words and Demons (10) and Devils and Plagues and Liliths and Idol-spirits and Tormentors and everything whatsoever evil, that they shall flee and depart from Dādbeh b. A. and from Sarkōi (11) b. Dādā his wife and from Hōnik and Yasmin and Kūfithāi and Mehdūch and Abraham and Pannōi and Sili the children of Sarkōi and from their house and from (12) their property and from their dwelling, wherein they dwell, from this day and forever, in the name of Yhwh Sebaoth. Amen, Amen, Selah. “Yhwh keep thee from all evil, keep thy soul.”

Exterior

(13). Of the inner room, of the hall.

COMMENTARY

A charm for a man and his wife and their seven named children, in the form of an adjuration of a certain potent angel. There is rubrical reference to a magical operation for compelling this angelic assistance. The same family appears also in No. 16 and the Syriac Nos. 31, 33. Prof. Gottheil has presented a tentative translation in Peters, Nippur, ii, 182.

1. דבר: probably abbreviated from Dādbuyeh; see Justi, p. 75.

2. סמיונדר: see ibid., p. 281, the Armenian name Samanduucht.

3. שד: see 10: 1.

4. דאמ: Justi, p. 75. Dādā. The name is Semitic, e.g. Palmyrene and Syriac אָדָם, from root דם. The name looks like a masculine (for the use of the father’s name see to 10: 1), but may equal אָדָם, 39: 2.

cf. the intrusion of rubrics into the Psalms. The ancient charm was for binding the good spirits as well as the evil; the incantation as well as the exorcism was a *katâbegos* (see Heitmüller, "Im Namen Jesu," 2d part). In the early Babylonian magic images of the favorable gods were made and used in the rites; a good example is found in Zimmern's *Surpu* series, no. 54 (p. 169 = Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, p. lviii). Probably idolatry has its basis in this magical idea. Reverence gradually obscured the idea that the gods were thus bound, it survived only in the word-magic. But in the present case a "horn" (symbol of power?), probably a cone of wax or the like is kneaded, and honey poured upon it, with which we may compare the antique anointing of the sacred stone or *bethel*; wherein the suppliant literally "smooths" the face of deity (Heb. נֶשֶׁך). The rubric is, I think, unique in Jewish magic. For the magical use of honey, see Thompson in Index, s. v.

6. נָבָה הָיִה: for the plural, cf. instance in Jastrow, *Dict.*, 834b; or the form may be regarded as parallel to נָבָה הָיִה.

We have here a bit of poetic lore about the angels, describing their worship and service of the Almighty. It appears to be a quotation from some Midrash. Who the angel invoked is, does not appear,—Michael? The terms נָבָה הָיִה, are probably mysterious utterances to awe the hearer; cf. עֹמֹד, עֹמֹד, 3: 3 (from עָשֵׂה, "hear," אַשֶּׁר "lift up in worship"?). For the description "blowing like the blast," etc., cf. *Ps.* 104: 4.

7. צֶבַע: cf. צֶבַע וַעֲבוֹת. 7: 5. The description passes to a plural subject here.


8. The choric dances of the angels are a pretty fancy, cf. *Job* 38: 7.

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1 Small conical stones are found in the oriental explorations, doubtless domestic bâitylia; see Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, 177, and Scheil, Mémoires de la Délégation Perse, vii, 103, 112 f. (Fig. 34-37, 340 ff, 374, 381).

2 For an extensive collation of like instances in Graeco-Roman magic see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius*, 222 ff., 227. May the term in Apuleius, *boalos*, the magic-god whose image is formed for purposes of sorcery, (a term much disputed by the commentators) = בֹּל WORD. the word used here?
9. For the ר"ם and ש"ת, see 6: 2 and p. 86. לוע is a masculinized form of לועה (see p. 88).

11. לוע: I cannot identify. The Glossary shows two other men of the same name.


המש : the same name in No. 2 (in לוע).


עונ : the Arabic Fannuyeh; see Nöldeke, Persiche Studien, 405.

לועה hypocoristic of ש"ת, name of several Amoraim; see Seder ha-
Doroth, ii, 347. Cf. biblical ש"ת, from ש"ת. לועה, ש"ת, also occurs in the
Nabataean, CIS, ii, nos. 185, 208, 221. Nöldeke (in Euting, Nab. Inschriften,
74) vocalizes the name Sullai, and Berger (see to No. 208) compares the
Nabataean name Sullaios. But Lidzbarski (Eph., ii, 16) rejects this deri-
vation and derives the hypocoristic from ש"ת.—Note that among these
nine souls only one strictly Jewish name appears.

12. The scriptural quotation is from Psalm 121,—a psalm admirably
adapted for a charm. Cf. note to 5: 5.

13. The two words: "of the room (recess, bedchamber, etc.), of the
hall (also, cavern)" evidently refers to the place where the bowl was to
be placed. The first word may be in construct state, or the two terms
may be parallel, as the words might mean the same thing. ואת =
Ass. idrānu, and is current in the Aramaic dialects. Jastrow defines
just like as especially a "sitting room in the shape of an open hall"; for
some discussion of its etymology, see Payne-Smith, col. 315.
No. 13 (CBS 8694)

Closed are the mouths of all races, legions (2) and tongues from Bahmandûch bath Samâî. (3) And the angel Rahmiel and the angel Hâbbiël and the angel Hanniniel, (4) these angels, pity and love and compassionate and embrace Bahmandûch (5) b. S. Before all the sons of Adam whom he begat by Eve, we will enter in before them; from their clothing they will clothe her and from their garments they will garb her, the garment of the grace of God. (7) With her they will sit, on this side and on that, driving away (demons?), as is right. In the name of Yhwh-in-Yah, El-El the great, (8) the awful, whose word is panacea, this mystery is confirmed, made fast and sure forever and ever.

Exterior

(9) Hark a voice in the mysteries! Hark the voice of . . . . , the voice of a woman, a virgin travailing and not bearing. Quickly be enamored,
(10) be enamored and come Ephrā bar Šabōrdūch to the marrow of his house and to the marrow of Bahmandūch b. S. (11) his wife; as (she was) a virgin (?) travelling and bearing not, so (may she be) fresh myrtle for crowns. Amen, Amen. (12) And made fast and sure is salvation from Heaven for Bahmandūch b. S. (13) A preparation (?) .... leaven, press it (?) .... Amen, Amen, Selah. Salvation and peace from Heaven, forever and ever and ever.

**Commentary**

A charm for a certain woman against the reproach of barrenness, that her husband may love her and she may have children by him. The couple is the same that figures in No. 1, which is particularly a charm against the liliths; these are supposed to have prevented the natural fruit of the human union, affecting not only the woman but also the man's love and virility. At the end probably is given an aphrodisiac recipe.

This text and No. 28 are unique among early Semitic incantations, for they are love-charms. In this they bear the closest relation to the Greek erotic incantations, on which I will speak more particularly under No. 28. But in the present text it is the barren forsaken wife who speaks, not the passionate lover, as in No. 28 and the Greek charms. The incantation has a Jewish cast in its address to certain angels, whose names are expressive of love and in its use of biblical divine names. Apparently the text is shortened from a longer model. It is illiterate in style and script, and contains numerous Hebraisms. A feature is the use of a wedge-shaped sign (indicated in the transliteration by a comma), occurring as a separator between words, but without consistency.

**ספיגי י**

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The words refer to classes of mankind, and the taking away of the woman's reproach among men? Or not rather to ranks of demons?—to whom we expect some reference; cf. p. 80. The closing of their mouths means forstalling their curses, cf. p. 85.
used of the cohorts of evil (Payne Smith, s. v.) and in the Peshitto translates the “legions of angels” in Mt. 26: 53.

3. The three angels appear (upon some reasonable emendation) to have names corresponding to the verbs in the next lines. Angels were chosen, or invented, for the pregnant meaning of their names; so Raphael became the patron of healing. Rahmiel is the genius of love in No. 28, and in one of Thompson’s Hebrew charms from Mossoul (PSBA, 1906-1907), which contain many incantations for love, love between man and wife, and also for breaking marital love; once we find a philtre in which the angels invoked are Ahabiel, Salbabiel, Opiel, names signifying love and its passion (1907, p. 328, no. 80). The three angels and and are found in Schwab’s Vocabulaire, and the latter also in Stübe, I. 56.

5. The line is obscure; it appears to present a dramatic scene in which the sorcerer and his client, in the presence of the adversaries, shall obtain judicial vindication of love from the favoring angels. The reference to Adam and Eve’s offspring has a sympathetic value.

6. assimilation of מְלֹברָט מְלֹבָרָט, as in Hebrew; for the idea cf. 2: 2.

משלי תימד : a common Semitic idiom; cf. Is. 61: 10, Eph. 6: 11; in the Samaritan, ונמר לְלֹחֶשׁ אֲלָבֵהַי אֶמְמוּתָה (Heidenheim, Bibliotheca sam. ii, pp. xlii. 197, § 24); actual investing with “grace” occurs in the newly-found Odes of Solomon, 4: 7: מנה נו לְלֹחֶשׁ מִרְמָתָה.

7. מימיה מיו : again Hebraic. The following word may be a ditto-graph, or a Pael of מִי. For this protection on right and left, cf. 6: 10.

For מִי see to 7: 8. אַלָּאָל, in the Mandaic religion, epithet of the sun-deity (Norberg, Onom., 9, Brandt, Mand. Schr., 31), also found in the Greek magic, Wessely, xliii, 67. It may be a magical reduplication; but cf. the reduplication of sinister in the South-Arabic plural, and the Hebrew בַּלִּים, probably once a divine name—to be connected with Ellil of Nippur?—see Clay, “Ellil, the God of Nippur,” AJSL, 1907, 269.

8. נִבּ עֵד : cf. 15: 2.

דִּיוֹרָה : this spelling occurs also in a neo-Syriac manuscript published by Lidzbarski (Die neu-aramäischen Handschriften der königl. Bibliothek z. Berlin, Weimar, 1896, 447); otherwise דִּיוֹרָה = דִּיוֹרָה. For a discussion of the word and its origin see Nöldeke, Neusyrische Gram., 386.
The same formula in Lidz. 5.

At the end of this line which is on the edge of the bowl, the scribe has attempted to continue and has written a few characters; he then started afresh on the exterior.

9. לְהֵנָּא is used like the Hebrew לְהֵנָּא. The piteous plaint of the sufferer is thus expressed, to move the sympathy of the celestial ones. In the same way the Babylonian magical texts preface their rites with a description of the plight of the patient; also the biblical Psalms often commence in like manner. A similar phrase appears in a bowl of Poggon’s, B 20, but there the reference is to the curses of unfortunate souls which alighted on the living. There may be the reference here to such a ban—of a virgin gone to her death without children. In this case מַה (=

Syriac סה), would refer to the stilling of her “tongue.” (Cf. the magical use of נֶפֶל in a text of Wessely’s xlii, 60 f.). But the repetition in l. 11 inclines me to the view that the virgin who “travails and does not bear” is the wife, subject perhaps to miscarriage or feminine maladies. Then מַה would be from מַה = מַיָּה. “hasten,” and so = “quickly,” cf. Ass. עָשְׂרָה; the word would then correspond to the frequent הַנָּה הַנָּה רָאָה רָאָה as at the end of the Hadrumetum love charm (see to No. 28), and see note to 14: 4.

The verb used for “love” is מְהַב, where we expect מְהַב; cf. Heb. מְהַב. For this triple adjuration, see No. 28.

10. מָלָאְתָה נְבִיָּה: I have tried in my translation to express the difficult word נְבִיָּה, which primarily “body,” comes to mean the essence, essential thing. The reference is sexual, and the word has such connotations (see Jastrow, s. v.).

11. מָלָאְתָה: this appears to be an error for הבולתא, as in l. 9; or possibly ppl. fem. in -תא, “mourner”? מָלָאְתָה מָלָאְתָה ... מָלָאְתָה ... מָלָאְתָה are used correlativelly, and we must suppose a lacuna: as she (was) in the joyless condition of childlessness, so (her future state shall be symbolized by) fresh myrtle for crowns. Some literary form has been so rubbed down as to be almost unintelligible. For this correlation of מָלָאְתָה ... מָלָאְתָה see some, as yet unnoticed cases in the Hebrew, e. g. Gen. 18: 20.1 Myrtle as sacred to the goddess of love (Baudissin, Studien, ii, 198 f.) makes an appropriate simile.

1 See my notes in JBL, 1912, p. 144.
12. This line is provokingly obscure. Since a magical philtre is here prescribed, I venture to suggest that $'s = Latin praeparatum$ (the verb being used by Pliny for preparing drugs, foods, etc.). Or it may be the Rabbinic $אבריאת$, “hash, salad” (which however does not explain the $א$). $טז$ is leaven, which as a ferment would be appropriate to an aphrodisiac. $אפקיה$ is fem. imperative, “press it.” Aphrodisiac herbs, used magically or medicinally, are common in all erotic praxis.
No. 14 (CBS 16917)

Translation

[This bowl] in thy name do I make, Yhwh, the great God. May this bowl be for the sealing of Hormizdûch bath Mehdûch. I adjure thee ......

(2) evil, in the name of holy Agrabis, in the name of MS MS, in the name of SP SP YHWK YHWK, who removed his chariot to (above?) the Red Sea ...... (3) David, the Psalm of the Red Sea. Again I adjure you by him who lodged his Shekina in the temple of light and hail, and his ..... (4) ...... the exalted king. Halleluia, Halleluia. Oh avaunt, oh avaunt, avaunt! And in the name of Michael and Gabriel ...... (5) in the name of Sariel, in the name of Seraphiel, Sûriel and Sarsamiel, Gadriel, Peniel, Nahriel. And all Blast-demons (6) and evil Injurers, whose names are recorded in this bowl and whose names are not recorded in this bowl,— oh, (7) oh, avaunt, sit down there! And ye shall be cast down, sitting within the glowing light and fiery flame (8). Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

A charm for a certain woman, in the name of Yhwh and the angels, against some definite (now obscure) demon in particular, and against the devils in general.
2. Yo: the syllable is Athbash for i; cf. יוהי, Stübe, l. 66 and p. 63. אנדיבים is probably also a mathematical anagram for the divine name or power; cf. Abraxas, = אברכים, etc. (see p. 57, and to 7: 9), of which the present form may be a corruption. The syllable יז seems to have suggested the sea of יז. יז is for יז.

3. The lacuna makes the reference obscure; a reference to one of the Psalms of David, or, by error to the Song of Moses?

4. זה: the Targumic phrase, e.g. Dt. 12: 5.

5. This: hail and fire are frequently found together in the Old Testament as manifestations of the divine presence; e.g. Ps. 18: 13 f. Ezek. 38: 22. But cf. especially Rev. 11: 19: “Then was opened the temple of God that is in heaven; and there was seen in his temple the ark of the covenant; and there followed lightnings and voices and thunders and earthquake and great hail.”

6. All these angel names are found in Schwab's Vocabulaire, our המיסים being probably the same as the המיסים there. For magical references to Suriel, see Lueken, Michael, 71.

7. The sorcerer spares himself the trouble of naming the evil spirits by applying a “blanket” charm to them all; cf. 1: 14.

8. אברכים: evidently a confusion between the passive and the 1st person active.

9. יז: the only instance in these bowls of this rare demonstrative; elsewhere here יז

10. אברכים: probably Etpeel.—For the curse at the end cf. 7: 17.
No. 15 (CBS 16087)

In thy name and in thy word, Lord of all healing, God of love.

(2) Salvation of Heaven for the house of Hormiz bar Mâmâ and for the dwelling of Dôð(â)i bath (3) Marthâ and for Bar-gelâl bar Dôdâi and for Bar-šîbebi bar Cirâzâd, even for all her house and dwelling (4).

Lâs min selîk: watrêfê dâs min menâ

Enaš lâs lâ selîk: watrêfê dâs enâš (5) menâ

Bhybdyn

Wenaš lâs lâ selîk: watrêfê dâs enâš menâ.

I scan and rhyme (?) against you, Spirits and Goblins (6) and Plagues and Howlers and Strokes and Circlet-spirits and evil Arts and mighty Works and Idol-spirits and the evil Lilith (7)..... And I bind you with bonds of brass and iron and seal you with the figure of a seal of fire, ..... (8) ..... And I banish you from Hormiz b. M. and Dôdâi b. [M. and] Bar-gelâl b. D. and Bar-šîbebi b. C. (9) ..... and Mehôi bar Dôdâi, in the

(185)
name of Rophiel and Suriel and Gabriel [and ...] and Rahmiel and Ḥatiel and Suriel ... and Serariel. And by the seal of Yhwh Sebaoth is it established forever. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Commentary

A charm for several persons, whose relations to each other are not definite. They may be members of one household—a kind of Pension. The virtue of the charm lies in the use of a doggerel couplet. The figure in the center of the bowl is a serpent with its tail in its mouth; see p. 54.

1. הורתי: for this abbreviated form of Ahura-mazdah, see Justi, p. 98, the same name in Lidz.

אנהמ, באמה = אמה as in No. 8.

2. מרטא: a Jewish name found in the Gospels and in a Palestinian ossuary inscription (Lidzbarski, Handbuch, 318) = מראת, 8: 5.

3. בנות: a proper name after Arabic formation? בנות = "round lump, excrement," etc. Galal is a biblical name.

4. ברתוב: is a form of necklace charm, see to 1. 6. The mother has named her child after the amulet whose virtue she supposed gave to her or protects the babe.

5. נוה: the Persian Cihrazad; see Justi, p. 163. The נוה is an attempt to represent the Persian hard ch. The name is the same as that of the famous raconteuse of the Arabian Nights.

6. מעה: doubtless referring to Dodai, who appears to have procured the charm for the household.

4. לאס פפיするのが: this and the following line contain a magical incantation expressed in a rhyming doggerel couplet. (In the first occurrence of אספין, the ג was first omitted, then written above, and finally the word was rewritten that there might be no infraction of the charm.) First of all, there is a couplet rhyming at the caesuras and at the end;
then the last line is repeated in 1. 5, introduced by the obscure combination bn3'bn3. A similar doggerel formula is presented by Myhrman in his edition of the Babylonian magical Labartu series (ZA, xvi, 188; cf. Jastrow, Rel., i, 339). It is there called a šiptu, “incantation,” and runs thus (following Jastrow’s arrangement):

\[
\begin{align*}
ki & | \text{rišti libiki} | \text{rišti la libiki} | \text{la libi} | \text{piš} | \text{pišti ša anzišti} | \text{ša anziš} | \text{šu anziš} | \text{anziš.}
\end{align*}
\]

For Greek parallels see p. 61. The repeated šešt of the couplet is taken up by šešš. The roots šešš and šešš may refer to the scansion of the couplet.

5. šešš = the Arabic demon šikk—sometimes interpreted as one-half (šikk) man, one-half demon, but probably a demon of weariness; see Lane, Arabian Nights, c. 1, n. 21, van Vloten, WZKM, vii 180.

6. ייעך: see p. 81; here between categories of maladies, in Myhrman between “devils” and “spirits.”

šebnî: the Targumic šebnî (Jastrow, p. 1510), a feminine ornament, some kind of pendant chain, see Krauss, Talm. Archäologie, i, 204 and note; belonging to the category of šekhe, šekhir, etc., see p. 87 f. Cf. the name above bn3'bn3, where the uncontracted form survives.

7. Brass, lead, fire, all potent against demons. Cf. the “chains of lead,” 39: 4 f. The bonds of hell are called catenae ignea in a Latin charm, Wünsch, Ant. Fluchtafeln, no. 7; also the “adamantine chains” in Paris Papyrus, Wessely, xxxvi, l. 1227 ff.

Salvation from Heaven for Dâdbeh bar Asmandûch (2) and for Sarkôi bath Dâdá his wife and for Hônîk and Yasmin (3) and Kuffîthâ and Mehdûch and Pannôî and Abraham and Šîlâî the children of Sarkôi, (4) and for their house and their property, and that they may have children and may live long and be established, and that (5) no Injurer in the world may touch them.

And in his great name, whereby the holy God is called—wherein are arts (?)—(6) which suppresses darkness under light, plague under healing, destruction under construction, injury (7) under ban, anger under repose: suppressed are all the sons of darkness under the throne of God, in whose (?) name (8) are bound, suppressed Devils; gripped likewise are evil Spirits and impious Amulet-spirits and Names and Princes of (9)
darkness and the Spirit (breath) of foulness and fatigue and the Tormentors of night and day and Curses and Necklace-charms and Words and Adjurations (10) and Knockings and Rites, the Plague and the she-Plague and the voice of Invocation, and the Spell of poverty and Demons and Devils and Satans (11) and Idol-spirits and Liliths and Arts and mighty Works and the seven Tormentors of night and day. They are bound, suppressed and laid, (12) away from Dādbeh, etc. (as in ll. 1 ff.), (13) and from all their house and from their property and from all their abode, from this day forever. Amen, Amen, (14) Selah. “And YHWH said to Satan,” etc.

**Commentary**

A charm for the large family that appeared in No. 12. It contains an extensive and repetitious list of demoniac species.

5. בִּמְשָׁמֶה יִה: I have translated literally; the original form may have been: בִּת רְאָלָה קָדָר הָחְדֶּשֶּׁי לָה "the great name ... which magicians invoke."

6. בִּמְשָׁמֶה: ppl. act.


8. רבָּרִי הַדִּתיָּוָא: cf. the Pauline τοις κοσμοκρατο¬ροις τού σκότους ταῖτον, Eph. 6: 12.

𐐽𐐫𐐷 ֶּ: lit. "foul and laboring spirit" (breath; in Bekor. 44b (an obscure passage) there is a disease or demon called נֶּפֶשׁ, which is interpreted as “asthma” (Jastrow, s. v.). Foulness of breath was cause for divorce, Krauss *Talm. Enc.* i, 256. Cf. the נֶּפֶשׁ רְבָּר בְּרָ שָׁל of 29: 7, which is found in the same passage from Bekoroth.

10. בָּהֲלָה גַּרְזָּה: see pp. 52, 84.

11. מֶשָּׁבֶּה: Af.; cf. English “lay a ghost.”

אֲרָשָׁה דֶּרְמָיִטָהוֹ: cf. the Rabbinic אֲרָשָׁה דֶּרְמָיִטָהו, “genius of nourishment,” and see pp. 79, n. 70, and 86, n. 112.
No. 17 (CBS 2922)

This day above any day, years and generations of (2) the world, I Kômêš b. Mahlaphta have divorced (3) separated, dismissed thee, thou Lilith, Lilith of the Desert, (4) Hag and Ghûl. The three of you, the four of you, the five of you, (5) naked are ye sent forth, nor are ye clad, with your hair dishevelled behind your backs. (6) It is announced to you, whose mother is Palîḥan and whose father (Pe)laḥdad, ye Liliths: Hear and go forth and do not trouble (7) Kômêš b. M. in her house. Go ye forth altogether from her house and her dwelling and from Kalletha and Artašria (8) her children. I have warded against you with the curse which Joshua bar Perôhiha (sic) sent against you. I adjure you by the honor (name) of your father (9) and by the honor of your mother, and take your divorces and separations, thy divorce and thy separation, in the ban which is sent (10) against you by Joshua b. Perâhia, for so has spoken to thee Joshua b. P.: A divorce has come to thee from across the sea. There is found written (in it), ye whose mother is (11) Palîḥan and whose father

(190)
Pelahdad, ye Liliths: And now flee and go forth and do not trouble Kômêš b. M. in her house and her dwelling.

I bind (12) and I seal with the seal of El Shaddai and with the seal of Joshua b. Peraḥia the healer, healing and release from Heaven for Abā and Yazdîd and Hōnîk sons of Kômêš. Thwarted and frustrated are all Injurers, whom we have removed by the ban upon them. Amen, Amen, Selâh.

Commentary

A charm effected by a woman for herself and her children, who appear in two different groups, in the name of Joshua b. Peraḥia. It is an abbreviated and often incorrect replica of No. 8.

1. For the corrupted formula, cf. 6: 5 and see p. 55. The full form appears in no. 16020 (unpublished) “this day out of all days. I Hōnîk,” etc.

2. נמעה, l. 7: the name obscure; cf. קֹומָשָׁא, Justi, p. 165.

3. לְאָבִיב: for this name, frequent in these bowls, and its equivalents, see Nöldeke, Encyc. Bib., s. v. “Names,” § 62.

4. פֶּעְמָט: Peal, the following verbs Pael.

5. For the singular and plural number, see to 8: 2. The word lilith is spelt badly. For the אַבָּרְבָּר cf. 29: 7, and see p. 78; the parallel has אַלֹיוֹ הֵרָבָּר.

6. יתימא: Afel of חָסָמ.

7. אָבֶל, i. e. “bride”; cf. the Babylonian name Ina-ekur-kallatu, cited to me by Prof. Clay.

8. חֵרְשָׁא: a form of Artachṣatha, and cf. Ἀρτάχσαθα, Justi, p. 35.

For “glory” = “name,” see on 8: 8, and n. b. the equivalent πατίρων ὀνόμα, Wisdom, 14: 24.
9. בincinn: f. pl. impr. of בכינס; but see in l. 6. The following is a perversion.

10. לֹוי = לֹא.

11. נַפְשׁוּ = נַפְשׁוֹ, cf. נָפֶשׁ, l. 7, plus conjunction ָּ; for another instance see Glossary; probably a dialectic survival. ָּ appears in the Senjiri inscriptions and the Elephantine papyri.

12. אָמַשׁ: the same title in 34: 12.

נסתה: formation from Pael, = Rabbinic נְסָטָה.

אָמַא: frequent Talmudic name, Seder ha-Doroth, ii, 3-18.

ריי: probably error for ריר, see 7: 3.

13. ברך: Pael, 1st pers. plural.
No. 18 (CBS 8695)

This inscription is yet another duplicate to the three collated under No. 11. It is badly written and mutilated, and would be in large part unintelligible without the other texts. It presents little that is new and a translation is not necessary.

1. The name of Ephrah's father is uncertain. From what appears here, it may be איהו; cf. בראיהו, in Seder ha-Doroth ii, 47. In 1. 9 it looks like איה, i. e. Ayê? But the strokes may be for abbreviation.

2. A prayer for offspring is here expressed.—hypocoristicon for איהו, see 26: 4.

5. 현: again this name differs; but the tradition of the granddam's name is accurate.

6. דובא: ppl. of דובא.
If not an error, this is a further development of a word with a history: *dakdak* = *dardak* = *darak*.

The probable reading is biblical. The dirty habits of these foul demons appear in the Babylonian magic; they are compared to pariah dogs and are exorcised by the spirit of foul streets, see *Utukki* series, B, 46; cf. v. col. 5. l. 21.

8. המתריע: for מ הא.

9. קחדה: if we read so, we may compare the magic formula in *Pesah* 110a, קחדה הת_BINARY (see to 1:6). The verb = קחדה, by transposition, common especially in Mandaic. Lidzbarski in his parallel (see to No. 11) reads קחדה and translates "spring up"; but read there קחדה מ = קחדה.
No. 19 (CBS 16108)

(1) No. 19
(2) (CBS 16018)
(3) (CBS)
(4) CBS 16018
(5) CBS
(6) CBS
(7) CBS
(8) CBS
(9) CBS
(10) CBS
(11) CBS
(12) CBS
(13) CBS
(14) CBS
(15) CBS
(16) CBS
(17) CBS
(18) CBS
(19) CBS
(20) CBS

...
Translation

In thy name, O Lord of salvations, the great Saviour (2) of love.

Charmed and sealed and countersealed is the whole (3) person and the bedchamber of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed (4) Goldsmith, bar Mahlaphtâ, with the seven spells which may not be loosed, and with the eight seals (5) which may not be broken.

In thy name, lord Ibbôl, the great king of the Bagdâni; and in thy name, our lady Ibbôleth, (6) the great queen of the goddesses (she-demons?), and in the name of Ŭalasbôgi the great lord of the Bagdâni; and in the name of Sahnudmuk; (7) and in the name of Ibbôl son of Palag; and in the name of Angarôs; and in the name of the Lord, the Word and Leader and Armasa (Hermes); and in the name of Azpâ and ‘Alîm; (8) and in the name of Nâkderôs the lord of ...; and in the name of Seraphiel, lord of judgment and of (divine) beck; and in the name of the 60 male gods (9) and the 80 female goddesses; and in the name of Ardisaba (or Ardi) the most ancient of his colleagues; and in the name of Anad the great lord ...... (10) cast above (him) iron and bronze, and fastened to him fetters (?) of lead and the 70 exalted priests of Bagdânâ; and in the name of Bagdânâ son of Habâl (destruction). (11) ...; and in the name of Palnini and Mandinsan and Menînâs ...; and in the name of Iras son of Hanas; and in the name of Abrakis (Abraxas); and in the name of Argziel, who is without compassion; (12) and in the name of Arzan and ...; rôs berôs delterôs; and in the name ... to Ariel he sent a message: “Lift up” (?). ... to the great Ruler before him; and in the name of ...; and in the name of lord Ibbôl (13) the great angel of the Blast-demons, and in the name of the great God and the great Lord of the Bagdâni; in the name of Arîon son of Zand: Ye are charmed and armed and equipped.

Against all Demons, Devils and evil Satans, this charm (14) and bowl is sure and its seals established against them, from whose charm none ever goes forth and from whose control none sallies forth.

In the name of these charms are bound there Demon and Danhiś and the evil Lilith (15) which are in the body of this Mešaršiâ, surnamed Goldsmith, b. M., by charms in earth and by seals in heaven.
Again, (ye are) charmed with a charm and sealed a second time away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, (16) etc., Amen.

Again, charmed are the Demon and Devil and Danhiš and Amulet-spirit and Idol-spirit, which are upon the body of this Mešaršiâ, etc., by Ibbôl, (17) and sealed by Ibbôleth.

Again, charmed by Šinas and Manâ, and sealed by fire.

Again, charmed by the great gods and sealed by Arión son of Zand.

Again, charmed by the seal of the family of Ḥanûn, and sealed by the great ... of Zeûza (Zeus).

Again, charmed by the true God, and sealed by the great Ruler (18) who is before him, away from the body of this Mešaršiâ, etc.

In the name of Paṭragenôs, Okinoš (Okeanos), Šunkâ, Kôsâ, Kapâ, Azaziel ...... (19) ...... his constellation (?), that this Mešaršiâ, etc., be sealed from the top (?) of his head to the toes of his feet ...... they shall not be, nor this house of Mešaršiâ, (20) etc., shall they enter nor approach, nor appear therein, neither by night nor by day, from this day and forever. ...........

Commentary

A charm made out for a certain man whose body is infested with evil spirits; with great elaboration of incantations they are exorcised from him and his house. The inscription is thoroughly pagan, and is interesting because of its invocation, for over half its length, of an extensive list of deities. Cf. a similar long list in Wünsch, Ant. Fluchtafeln, no. 4. Unfortunately by reason of the coarseness of the script and its general illegibility, most of these names are obscure. Some of them are definitely Greek,—Zeus, Protagonos, Okeanos, and perhaps the Aeons, male and female, may be made out; several others are of Greek formation. Others again are of Persian origin, and some are purely charm-words, “mystical” names. Some forgotten cult may have given certain of the names; notice the reference to the 70 priests of Bagdana.

2. שהות: error for הוותות.

3. קומת: the word = “stature,” then, as here, “body,” as is shown by the phrase, in a similar connection, in bowls published by Schwab (E)
and Stübe (ll. 56, 64): the demon depart, etc., from the 248 of such a one (the word is not recognized by either editor). The same word occurs in the interesting magical passage in Esr., 13: 18.

The same word occurs in Schwab, G; a frequent Talmudic name (see Sefer ha-Doroth, ii, p. 276).

4. "Kam: this surname appears as a proper name in Hagiga 2a.

"Seven spells .... eight seals": for this cumulative expression, cf. Mica 5: 4; see 5: 2.


6: also below, ll. 7, 16. In l. 7 he is הָרָב, and his consort is "our lady." Professor Clay has cited to me a divine name 249 appearing in a Cassite tablet, in the name 250. In the latter case he is inclined to make the word = Syriac 251, "generation," etc., and so 252. For a discussion of Aeon as supreme deity, god of time, etc., see Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 269 ff. The Aeons appears in the magical texts, e. g. Dieterich, Abraxas, 140, l. 51; 192, l. 21; 203, l. 18. The syzygies of Aeons were male and female—cf. the names in Origen's list at the beginning of his work Adv. haer., and 253 would be a formation to express the female Aeon. Derivation from Apollo also suggests itself, but the feminine is not thereby explained.

6. 비교: Comparing what precedes, the word means some class of deities or demons. In l. 13 255 is a divine name, = the demon in 11: 5 (q. v.). It is then a word like 256, etc., which can be used individually or generically. It evidently contains the Indo-European element bôga, "god." It is difficult to decide whether Bagdana is a propitious or maleficent demon (as in No. 11); in the latter case he is charmed to work the good of the sorcerer's client, as in the Greek incantations, e. g. Hekate. In W. T. Ellis's Syriac text (see § 2) appears "Samhiza the lord Bagdana," or "the lord god?" The spelling gives the vocalization of the penultimate vowel. For S. cf. the Enochian Samaeza.

7. הָנָה: the ending ס- in this and other names recalls Greek formations. May this word = 257?
in Syriac, “logical,” etc., and used nominally = םוֹץ הַוֹרֵקָהוּ. It is here associated with אֲדָמָא, both being names of a potency; the passage is parallel to 2: 2, q. v.

if the reading is correct, the Rabbinic וַדָּרָא, Afel, may give the interpretation,—“leader,” which would be a fitting epithet of Armasa-Hermes, “the shepherd” par excellence. Cf. the idea in the late Hellenistic religion of a deity, especially Hermes, as a guide, ἴδρυμων, of souls; see Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, n. 63 p. 253. It may be noticed that ע is used in the Talmud of a “traditional word or saying” (Jastrow), i. e. = logos?

8. בָּרָא: also 14: 8. In his epithet, אֲדָמָא appears to be used, as in the Syriac, of the divine nod or intimation, i. e. “command.”

9. אֲדָמָא: or the name is to be read מַכְּאָה, מַכְּאָה קֶשׁ; why the fem. מַכְּאָה?

10. In this and the following line most of the words can be read, but in consequence of the failure of the context the text defies interpretation. The three metals may be referred to as having magical properties, and this may give the clue to מִלָּלְתָה אֲדָמָא (מִלָּלְתָה, written first erroneously). Comparing the Mandaic text in 39: 5, K_iWKT sriN^cnKa (ST'Dj?), the equation suggests that our מִלָּלְתָה אֲדָמָא = “chains”; possibly מִלָּלְתָה קֶשׁ “basket,” and here used of a metal cage.

בָּרָא: = “Son of destruction”?; cf. מַכְּאָה, l. 11, וּרְבָּה טוּ, l. 13; these deities are given a parentage like מַכְּאָה אֲדָמָא, l. 7. Possibly מַכְּאָה is the verb used in the Nerab inscriptions, and so = בָּרָא.

11. אַרְיָא: cf. 7: 9. אַרְיָא is found in Schwab, Vocabulaire. Is אַרְיָא “God’s cruel one,” meant?

12. The accumulation of words in ros is a charm formula; see p. 61.

13. מַלְאָא: found also in 34: 8, which determines the reading here.
14. דותית: this obscure demon appears again in I. 16; it is evidently the same listed with the planets in Libzbarski’s Mandaic amulet in the de Vogüé Florilegium, I. 251.

17. מנו: cf. the Mandaic מנו, name of an angel, Libzbarski, Ephemeris, I, 104, n. 2.

אַזָּא: Zeus, = Syriac ז, in Jacob of Sarug (Martin, ZDMG, xxix, 110, I. 50), otherwise מ and מ.

מָנָא = the Mandaic genius Mana? See Norberg, Onom. 96.

זֶה הוּא: the family or school of some magician like that of Joshua b. Peraḥia, see p. 46.

18. גָּאַקְוֶכְה = 'אכארם, the parent deity in magical theosophy (cf. Ea in the Babylonian); see index of Dieterich, Abraxas. The preceding name recalls Protagonos who appears with Aeon as son of Kolpia and Baau in Sanchuniathon’s cosmic genealogy, Eusebius, Praep. ev., I, 10.


מוֹמָה נָא: the same phrase in Pognon B, except that the word מָה, “hair,” appears there.
No. 20 (CBS 16023)

Translation

Tardi bath Oni (2) Hormisdar Tardi. In the name of AAAAAAA, exorcised and sealed (3) are the Demon and the Devil and the Satan and the Curse-spirit and the evil Liliths (4) which appear by night and appear by day, and appear (to) Tardi bath [Oni, etc.]. (5) In the name of Gabriel, Michael, and Rophiel. Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Hallelia, Selah. According to AAAAAA.

Commentary

A charm against ghosts. The interest of this bowl lies in the figure decorating the center. It represents a demon with arms and legs manacled. On either side of the figures is an enclosed space, that on the figure's right hand bearing the inscription אסָר יד, that on its left, אסָר, i.e. prohibition and permission. In the lower part of the body on the former side is inscribed the names of the sorcerer's client. The pictures thus graphically presents the idea that the demon has no power over the lady in question. The picture is of better quality than the inscription, which is very illiterate. The spelling is most careless.

1. The connection of the proper names is uncertain, as also the character of the names themselves. For המישרָר I might compare the Pahlavi Ormazdyâr, Justi, p. 10a.

2. For the repeated א, see p. 60.

3. לָאָמָן: probably an artificial form; cf. לֶאָמָן, שֵׁילָה.
4. מ"ת has Mandaic fem. pl. ending.—In מ"ת the first א has a point over it—to mark error? cf. the Massoretic Nikkudim.

5. שלמה: the first vowel as in Enoch and in Mandaic, representing the Hebrew active ppl., parallel to the equivalent Aramaic form in Raphael.

שלמה: for similar perversions see 24: 4, 31: 8, 32: 12; cf. ἁληγίων in the Paris Magical Papyrus, l. 3032, and שלמה in a Jewish charm, JAOS, 1911, 274.
Sealed and countersealed are the house and threshold of Dōdi bath Ahath from all evil Plagues, from all evil Spirits, (2) and from the Tormentors, and from the Liliths, and from all Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of (3) Dōdi b. A., which is sealed with three signets and countersealed with seven seals from every kind of (203)
Lilith and from all (4) Injurers, that ye approach not to her, to the house and threshold of Dōdi [b. A.], and from all evil Spirits and from all evil Injurers, (5) from this day and forever. Amen, Amen, Selah.

**Commentary**

Three identical bowls, out of the four which were deposited at the corners of the charmed house; see § 8. There are slight variations in the inscriptions; in No. 22 the writer found more room and made a longer inscription. All three are most roughly and illegibly written; the characters 1, 1, 1, 1 are indistinguishable, and D has a peculiar form. The word transliterated נְנִי, 22: 5, is written in a clumsy Syriac script.

An interesting grammatical peculiarity is the omission of ת after a genitive with the personal suffix. This appears at the beginning of l. 3 in No. 22, and throughout, in the same combination, in the other two. This might be taken for haplography before נְנִי; but the same phenomenon appears in the Mandaic bowls published below; see the Introduction, § 5 B.

For the injunction in l. 4 not to approach, cf. the like prohibition in a late Greek charm (Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 294): τοῦ μὴ ἀδικήσαι ἢ βλάψαι ἢ προσεγγίσαι, κ. τ. λ.; cf. also a Syriac charm of Gollancz's, p. 93.
No. 24 (CBS 2926)

Translation

Salvation from Heaven be for Hindû bath Mahlaphta, (2) that she be saved by the love of Heaven from Fever (?) and from Sweating, from (?) (3) ...... Amen, Selah.

Salvation from Heaven be for Kāki bath Mahlaphta (4) that there cease from her disturbing Dreams and the evil Spirit and evil Satans. Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallelui.

Salvation (5) for Zarinkās bath Mahlaphta, that she be saved by the love of Heaven, to wit Zarinkās, that she bring to the birth her child ...... Amen, Amen, Amen, Selah. ......

Commentary

A charm for three daughters of a certain woman, made out in their names severally and for specific maladies. The misspellings are numerous.

1. נינה: the same name appears in 40: 14; it is hypocoristic of ניניתא.

2. נaciente is doubtless fever, in neo-Syriac = malarial fever, cf. the general name for fever with the Jews, נaciente (Preuss, Bib.-talm. Med., 184), and n. b. the disease ašu in Assyrian, Küchler, Beiträge, 131, 197. For the next word the root סס suggests a sweating disease. סס may be another kind of fever. In general see above, p. 93 f.
3. יאכ: also in Hyvernat’s bowl. The name occurs as that of an Egyptian sorceress in a Syriac biography of Rabban Hormizd (c. 600), cited by Budge in his edition of The Book of Governors, i, p. clxiv. Our word is probably the Syriac ℓακα, “pelican,” while the Egyptian name may represent κακή (for a similar adoption of this Greek word, see Payne Smith, col. 3709).

4. For the “disturbing dreams,” see p. 82.

Translation

Salvation from Heaven for Gurói bar Tati and for Aḥath bath Dódá his wife, that there vanish from them in their dwelling the Demons and Devils by the mercy of Heaven. Whoever here has dead, who shall become alive to them here, and shall approach (2) and are found to be (actually) dead—from these you are kept and these are kept (from you). In the name: Thou .... send (to) them, Hadarbadu bar .... (3) .. the contentions of them all. Behold, ..... Blessed art thou, Yhwh on account of the name of ..... (4) Yophiel thy name, Yehiel they call thee, Sasangiel, Yhwh, and so ..... names ..... [Ar]masa Metatron Yah, in the name of Tigin, Trigis, Balbis, Sabgas, Sadrapas. These are the angels who bring salvation to all the children of men. They (6) will come and go forth with the salvation of this house and property and dwelling of his, and of his sons and daughters and all the people in his house—(7) of this Gurói b. T. from this day even for the sphere of eternity. Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluia.

Commentary

The inscription is of interest because it is directed against the apparition of family ghosts. In this respect it is to be compared with No. 39 and Wohlstein’s bowl, no. 2417; see above p. 82.
Tatâ is a feminine name found in Syriac, in Asseman's Bibliotheca Orientalis and Wright's Catalogue of the British Museum; see Payne Smith, col. 1456. Cf. the name, 39: 8.

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The idea apparently is that a message be sent to the dead to cause them to cease their contentions (דבורה) with the living, then one of these departed spirits is named. The name is not recognizable as a proper name, and evidently, as in Wohlstein's bowl, referred to above, it is a fancy name. (There we have such names as Yodid, Muth, Dabti, Ith.)

4. One of the six angels in Targ. Jer. to Dt. 34: 6, along with Metatron, and, in Schwab, Vocab., 145, a companion of M. and prince of the Law.  He is a Talmudic surrogate for ברי, see Blau, Zauberwesen, 131.

The following name is unknown. These angels are invoked as phases or names of Deity; cf. p. 58.

Hermes-Metatron: for the identification, see to 2: 2; here identified with Yah.

5. These magical words are mystical names of the angels; see p. 97. They are dominated by sibilant terminations for which see p. 60.

Mandaic plural spelling.

6. פֶּרֶשׁ = פֶּרֶשׁ.

7. In Syriac פֶּרֶשׁ; also of a cycle.
No. 26 (CBS 3997)

"Hear, Israel: YYYY our God is one YYYY." "According to the mouth of YYYY they encamped, and according to the mouth of YYYY they marched (2). The observance of YYYY they observed according to the word of Yhwh through Moses." "And YYYY said to Satan: YYYY rebuke (3) thee, Satan, YYYY rebuke thee, who chose Jerusalem. Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?"

Again, bound and held art thou, (4) evil Spirit, and mighty Lilith, that thou appear not to Berik-Yahbeh bar Mâmê and this Ispandarmed bath H..dórâ, (5) neither by day nor by night, nor at any evening or morning, nor at any time whatsoever, nor at any seasons whatsoever. But flee (6) from their presence and take thy divorce and thy separation and thy writ of dismissal. [I have divorced] thee, [even as demons write] divorces for their wives and return not (to them). (7, 8) ...........

Commentary

This charm, against the evil Lilith, is introduced by three quotations from the Scriptures. The first is the opening sentence of the Shemâ, which still remains the contents of the Mezuzoth, or house phylacteries of the
Jews. The other two have occurred in previous texts; see 5: 5. Unfortunately the last two lines are too broken and obscure to be read. I have merely reproduced here the evident characters. In the segments of the circle at the bottom of the bowl appear words, some of which are forms of the divine Names הІ, ו, א and אויו (?) and אויו (?)

1. וי: for והי. Cf. the common scribal abbreviation, ו or ו; also such forms as וי and יי, in Schwab O.

2. בי: for רב, as in No. 5.


4. בְּרָבְיָהוּ: there is no doubt as to the reading of this name and it is remarkable enough. The second and divine component of the name—which was an ordinary [יהו, בְּרָבְיָהוּ, or בְּרָבְיָהוּ, has been expanded so as to give the awful pronunciation of the Ineffable Name. We cannot suppose that the name was thus ordinarily spelt or pronounced, but the scribe has taken it upon himself to give this interpretation (מרא) of his client's name. Here then is a clear survival of the ancient magical significance and use of the personal name (cf. Heitmüller, "Im Namen Jesu," 159 ff.), as also of the pronunciation of the name itself. It may be retorted that י—would hardly be used to represent א, and that the original pronunciation was יהוה, not—א (see Arnold's valuable discussion, JBL, xxiv, 152). The latter thesis is right, but I think that the tradition represented here connects with the Hellenistic magic, in which, among various forms, יהו occurs several times (Deissmann, Bibelstudien, 7), although I have not found a case of יהו. Further, in the Talmud (Sanh. 56a) יהו appears as a surrogate for the Name, which Dietrich, ZATW, iv, 27, would vocalize as Yose. Blau (Zauberwesen, 131) objects to א, but adduces from the Mishna, Sukk. 45a, the surrogate וי which he identifies with the Greek magical term ὡς (citing Paris Pap. II. 1896, 2746). This would be further proof for א in the current magical pronunciation. As for וי = א, we have not only the masc. pron. suffix for a parallel but also the plural א represented in the same way in some of our texts, e. g. 9: 6, 12: 1, 25: 5, and also the proper name רַבָּה 31: 2.

1 Also on an Abraxas gem, see Dict. de l'archéologie chrétienne, i, 141.
I can find no other interpretation of this unique name-form. A note upon it was published in the Museum Journal of the University, 1910 no. 2, which called forth some private criticisms from scholars (along with assents), but no better explanation has been offered. (Is there a possible explanation in the אָנָבִי noticed to 7:8?). In the first amulet in my paper “Some Early Amulets from Palestine,” JAOS, 1911, 272, line 16, אָנָבִי is apparently to be read for the divine Name, a proof of western connections for the present form.

דַּאִּשְׂדֵּה: cf. Glossary B for other forms. The name occurs in Ellis 1, where it was first recognized by Levy, ZDMG, ix, 470, 486, its correct interpretation (as Spenta-Armaita, a daughter of Ahuramazda) being given by G. Hoffmann, “Auszüge aus syrischen Acten,” Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, 1880, 128; see also Justi, p. 308. For the mother’s name Prof. Kent suggests to me comparison with Ἐρως, see Fick, Griech. Personennamen, 112.

8. אָנָבִי: cf. 2:5.
Commentary

After the introductory appeal, "In thy name, O Lord of salvations," etc., the inscription for lines 2b-11 is practically identical with No. 2. This portion does not need translation and commentary. The remaining lines, 13-24, are so mutilated or obscure, that I can make out but few connected passages in them, and hence I do not present them.

There are a few slight differences between the parallel texts, this one being probably more correct. The most considerable variation in text is in l. 9, where the sorcerer says that he laid the ban upon Hermon; cf. my note to 2: 6. The same Yezidâd bar IZandîch and his wife Merdûch bath Banâî, appear in No. 7. There they are the subjects of the charm, here Yezidâd operates magic in his own name. Cf. the mutual character of the charm in No. 2. In l. 8 the wife also takes up the exorcism.
No. 28 (CBS 2972)

In thy name, O Lord of heaven and earth. Appointed is this bowl to the account of Anûr ... bar Parkôi, that he be inflamed and kindled and burn (2) after Ahath bath Nebâzak. Amen.

Everlasting presses which have only been pressed upon (?) ..... a man in his heart. (3) Take hrk, and hot herbs (?) which they call sunwort (?), mtln and peppers ..... them and the rites of love which thou (?) hast sprinkled upon ..... (4) She shall sprinkle them upon this Anûr ... b. P. until that he be inflamed and burn after Ahath b. N. ............... and in lust and in the mysteries of love, in order that ..... (5) ..... take pieces from his heart and the charm ..... his name (?). In the name of the angel Rahmiel and in the name of Dlibat the passionate, ..... the gods, the lords of all the mysteries. Amen, Amen, ..... 

Commentary

A love-charm—such is the import of this sadly mutilated but interesting bowl. It belongs to the same class of magic as No. 13, but is more romantic, for there we find a charm for a childless, neglected wife, here one for a passionate woman to bring her lover to her side. For the use of a bowl for such a defixio see above p. 44. The first copyist was able to
read more than I can now, as, since it was in his hands, the bowl has been cracked and then repaired. The lacunae in the text are tantalizing.

So far as the text is legible, the charm which names the two parties adjures the passion of the beloved. Some praxis is described, a simulacrum is evidently used, for "his heart is to be torn in pieces," and on this image is to be scattered some kind of salad of hot herbs expressive of love's passion, while the beloved's name is to be formally pronounced.

Blau has collected the Talmudic material on philtres in his Zauberwesen, 24, 52, 158, 167; n. b. the recitation of Bible verses over the love-apple, p. 52, n. 2 (with literature). In the Old Testament we have mere references to this aphrodisiac (Gen. 30: 14 ff., Cant. 7: 14) without any note as to magical manipulation. For later Jewish use, see the numerous philtres prescribed in Thompson, "Folk Lore of Mossoul," PSBA, 1906-7.

But it is from the classical and Hellenistic field that we have most knowledge of this amatory magic, and the connections of the present text are found in that direction. Of course Theocritus's second Idyll comes to mind, in which the love-lorn maiden casts the various philtres into the fire with adjurations of Hecate. For this classical field I may refer to the monograph of O. Hirschfeld, De incantamentis et devinctionibus amatoriiis apud Graecos Romanosque (Ratisbon, 1863); see p. 42 for aphrodisiac herbs; also see section 8 (p. 233) of Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius.

In the magical papyri numerous erotic incantations are preserved, e.g. in the Paris Papyrus in Wessely, Vienna Denkschriften hist.-phil. Class, xxxvi, l. 2622 ff., xli, p. 52, l. 976 ff. But the most graceful and famous of these charms is that inscribed on a lead plate found at Hadrumetum, N. Africa,—buried in a necropolis, just as our bowl was buried in the earth. First edited by Maspero, it has been since frequently published: Wünsch, CIA, App. continens defixionum tabellas, p. xvii; Audollent, Defixionum tabellae, no. 271; Deissmann, Bibelstudien, 21, and Bible Studies, 271; Blau, op. cit. 96; Wünsch, Ant. Fluchtafeln, no. 5. It is Blau's merit to have specially pointed out the Jewish connection of this text. Now, between this Hellenistic charm and our bowl we find an almost literal

1 I may add now F. Boll, "Griechischer Liebeszauber aus Aegypten auf zwei Bleitafeln," in Sitzungsberichte of the Heidelberg Academy, phil.-hist. Class, 1910, no. 2.
correspondence in the trinity of terms for the passion adjured in the lover. With our invocation that the man “be enflamed and kindled and burn after” the girl, compare the longing of the Greek maiden Domitiana that her lover come ἐρώτα μανήμην βασανίζομεν, or ἐρώτα μανήμην βασανίζομεν, or ἔρωτα ἀγαμπατίστα —repetitions like those in our texts. With this probably technical formula compare the second of the charms cited above by Wessely: May X do naught until ἱλικίεσθαι πρὸς μὲ τὸν δείνα πληροφοραθείσα ἀγαπώσα στερηθείσα επέλει, κ. τ. λ. Also in our l. 4 there is an echo of Domitiana’s wish that he come εἰν τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἐρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, while the formula “to the name,” l. 1, and the use of “heart,” l. 2, indicate Greek connections.

How much Jewish, how much Grecian, the Hadrumetum tablet is, it is difficult to determine. Our text shows manifest ties with the love-magic of the Hellenistic world and is the eastern representative of the philtres of which the North African text is the most notable western example. The spirit of both these texts is Greek rather than Semitic; but the fame of Jewish magic appears to have made its solemn formulas eligible for the desires of passion. Our text, it is to be noticed, is not at all Jewish in religion, is of more simple original type than the African charm.

For the praxis of our text I may compare a Moorish love-charm cited by Doutté, Magie et religion dans l’Afrique du Nord, Algiers, 1908, p. 253: “A woman who wishes to gain the love of a man should procure the following materials from neighbors with whom she has never eaten: coriander, caraway, gum of terebinth, lime, cummin, verdigris, myrrh, some blood of an animal whose throat has been cut, and a piece of a broom hailing from a cemetery. On a dark night she is to go into the country with a lighted brazier and throw these different articles one after another into the fire speaking these words: O coriander, bring him mad! O caraway, bring him wandering without success! O mastic, raise in his heart anguish and tears! O white lime, make his heart wakeful in disquietude! O cummin, bring him possessed! O verdigris, kindle the fire of his heart! O myrrh, make him spend a frightful night! O blood of the victim, lead him panting! O cemetery broom, bring him to my side.” Etc.

1. παρασφυλεθεῖ = τις τὸ διώροι, and see Heitmüller, “Im Namen Jesu,” 95 ff., and his definition of the phrase as indicating “die Zueignung an eine Person
unter irgend welchem Gebrauch ihres Namens” (p. 107, and at length, pp. 100-110). As he shows, the usage before us is not Semitic or even Septuagintal. Cf. also Böhmer, Das biblische “Im Namen,” 4.

2. ἐπὶ οὗ ἔνα αὐτῆς: I translate the words without any certain sense. For the noun ἐπὶ see to 7:1. If ἐπὶ might be read, the reference could be to a moulded (ἐπι-, “press”) figure representing the lover. Below in l. 4 the space before the man’s name may have contained “image of,” or the like. The latter part of the line is most obscure. The “heart” (also l. 5) appears as the seat of sexual affectation. This is a Greek usage, not Semitic (with the possible exception of the Hebrew phrase וָּלֹ בֶּל וַאֲלֵהוּ, used five times with a woman as the object). See Andry, Le coeur, 5, for the Greek idea of the heart as the amatory organ, p. 15 ff., for the late Semitic use. P. 17 he quotes a Spanish Arabic poet who speaks gallantly of being wounded to the heart, but the metaphor is that of a mortal wound.6

3. I translate the ppl. מָשָׂך, as also מָשָׂך l. 5, as imperatives; cf. Rabbinic and Syriac usage.

'חָרְרִי: to this list of aphrodisiacs the clue is given by מָזִי (ְמָזִי = pl. ending, as in Mandaic), which is the piper candidus (Payne Smith, col. 2303); its pungency was evidently regarded as possessing erotic power and symbolism. Then שָׂך, if the reading be correct, and מָזִי are to be explained in the same way from their roots, שָׂך, חָרְרִי, מָזִי, מָזִי, “burn.” מָזִי, מָזִי, מָזִי, מָזִי, מָזִי doubtless lies in the same circle of ideas. May מָזִי נַכְלָל be mushrooms? Loew’s Aramäische Pflanzennamen does not contain these words. The “rites of love” are the magical practices.

4. מָזִי: I compare Syriac מָזִי (sub ḥaw). “boldness, lasciviousness”; the ending da‘a for ayā?

5. יַכְלָל: מָשָׂך מְי לִיַּה: a noun, or better a ppl. like מָשָׂך, l. 3. The phrase is simplest interpreted as a reference to the lady’s slowly tearing to pieces the facsimile of her lover’s heart, with the intent that he perish of love; cf. again Theocritus’s second Idyll.

6 Cf. the phrase quoted in Lane’s Dictionary, 782: “she has overturned my heart and torn my midriff.”
The lover's name is to be pronounced. For the angel Rahmiel see to No. 13.

For the Mandaic forms of Dilbat, a name of the Babylonian Ishtar, especially in her stellar capacity as Venus. For the Mandaic forms, see Brandt, Mand. Schr., 45, 85; also in Hesychius as Ἀρχάνεος, and in Bar Bahlul as Ḥānā. For this form, see Nöldeke, Mand. Gram. § 25. For the Babylonian use see Jensen, Kosmologie, 18, and the latest discussion by Jastrow, ZA, 1908, 155. As the goddess of love her patronage is appropriate. The epithet אסשת (cf. 38: 7) recalls the Babylonian eṣṣu, a frequent epithet of gods, while Ishtar especially appears as the raging goddess, whether of war, in Assyria, or of love, in the Izdubhar epic. The same epithet became the old Arabian name of the morning-star, al-'uzza, (Wellhausen Skizzen, 111, 41, Nöldeke, ZDMG, xli, 710, the identification denied by W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem., 57). The Edessene יִשָּׂר א was originally the morning-star, Lagrange, Études, 135; cf. the Aramaic names מים and יָסָר א (Lidzbarski, Handbuch, 347 f.).

* So also to be explained מים in Schwab, Vocab., 403.
No. 29 (CBS 16055)

[This bowl is appointed in the name of?] (2) Yhwh Sebaoth for the salvation [and sealing? of Metânîš] (3) bath Rêšân ..... (4) ..... and sealed (5) for Metânîš b. R.,—an amulet in the name of Yhwh Sebaoth for Metânîš b. R. And bound (6) from her, from her children, from her house, from all her dwelling, are the evil Plagues and evil Demons and the evil and the decent Lilith and the Necklace-spirits and ... Menstruation and Tormentors and the Hags of the wild and Impurities and Epilepsy (?).

We adjure you (8) whatsoever evil thing lodges in the house and dwelling of Ḥaliphái bar Siššîn ... and Daršî the foreigner and Astróbâ ..... (9) ..... Leprosy, Plague, Stroke, the kindly and ... Lili, and the Demons, ghostly Shades, and all Goblins and evil Injurers whose names I have mentioned and whose names [I have not] (10) mentioned: I exorcise and adjure and make fast and bind and make fast (sic) upon you, in the name of MW, of KS, SS, MŠ, BS, KS, KS, BS, ... (11) I-am-that-I-am, the great God, Mešôtâh his name. He is God, the Lord of all Salvation, whose throne is established between the ethers and his eternity (world?)

(218)
is established for .... (12) in YHWH and for his praise and the faith in him and his service. He is the great, the mighty God.

**Commentary**

A charm made out for two different parties, (1) a woman Metanis and her household, and (2) for several men and their house and quarters. These may be lodgers in the woman's house. One of the men is a "foreigner." The tone of piety in the charm is superior to that of the other texts; the incantation is in the name of YHWH Sebaoth alone, whose praises are dwelt upon in almost liturgical fashion.

1. The charm appears to have a double introduction. Most of ll. 3, 4 is unintelligible.

5. אֱלֹהָ הָאֱלֹהִים: possibly the father's name, Syriac Σεσίνης, "prince." One is tempted to compare the name of the famous Roxane; the masc. parallel Roxanes = Persian Rōšan, Justi, p. 262. But the δ should be indicated.

6. קַבָּר בְּבוּדֵיהוּ: see above, p. 76. ב may be euphemistic and then have developed into a distinct species. Cf. the epithet נָאם in l. 9.

7. סְיפָא: Syriac kepsā.—סְיפָא בְּבֵית הָאָדָם: cf. 17: 3.—סיפָא: Syriac סְיפָא.

8. מַנָּא: one might think, in the context, of abortion. But in the Talmud מַנָּא נִמְלָא is a demon of nervous trouble or epilepsy, Bekor. 44b; see Grünbaum ZDMG, xxxi, 332 for some discussion of the word. Epilepsy was a most common disease in antiquity; n. b. the miracles in the New Testament, and for the Hellenic world cf. Tambornino, *De antiquorum daemonismo*, 57: often equivalent to insanity. It has been generally supposed that the Jews were particularly subject to this disease; M. Fishberg in *The Jews*, London and New York, 1911, denies this, but admits the nervous pathology of the race (chap. xv). Cf. 16: 8 for another disease cited in Bekor. 44.

8. וְיָדוֹ: alongside of רֵד, l. 6; the form appears in the Syriac and Mandaic bowls.

Cf. the Jewish names שַׁנּוּי and שַׁנִּי, Seder ha-Doroth, ii, 348 f. Also in Pognon B (where שַׁנּוּי) it is the name of the parent—mother or father? Is שַׁנִּי an additional name? Of ר SYN we learn only that he is a foreigner. Also בת א is evidently a Greek name.

9. ראיה: the demon offspring of Adam are called נֶן בַּי אָדָם in the Zohar, Eisenmenger, ii, 422.

אֲשֶׁר חֵד: for this formation, see Levias, Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom ... in the Bab. Talmud, § 975. For similar eruptive diseases named in these texts, see p. 93.

אֲשֶׁר: epithet of the goblins; Rabb. שלול, Syr. tellā, “shadow.” Cf. the שלול, Targ. Cant. 3: 8, etc.

The lacuna at end of the line is supplied by help of 14: 6.

10. For the dominance of sibilants in these magical words cf. p. 60. At the beginning and end of the series are characters enclosed in square lines.

11. י: for י בן, as also in the Talmud. There follows a lapse into Hebrew—probably a citation.

שִׁקָּד: one of the seven heavens of Kabbalism.

12. לְהִשָּׁבֵב: for הִשָּׁבֵב? לְהָעַד: it is strange to find this word of magical connotation used of true worship in a Jewish text.
**No. 30 (CBS 16096)**

Bound and sealed are the house and the life of this Iṣpizā bar Arhā, and Yandundišnaṭ bar (2) Ispandarmēd, and . . . bath Simkōi, from the Sun and Heat, from the Devil, the Satan, the male Demon (3) the female Lilith, evil Spirits, the impious Amulet-spirit, the lilith-Spirit male or female; the Eye of man (or) (4) woman; the Eye of contumely; the Eye which looks right into the heart; the mystery which belongs to the evil Potency, that impious lord; from the evil hateful Potency; from disturbing Vision; from evil Spirits; from that impious Lord, in the name of . . . . . . . .

**Commentary**

A charm for two men and a woman from certain specified diseases and demons. The inscription is illiterate and the script particularly difficult, the writer using a very individual chirography; n. b. the ב, the non-distinction of ו and ר. the כ which often consists of but two upright strokes, and the use of one form for internal and finial י except in the word רש, where a finial is used.

1. אצר: for רצי.

2. cf. the Syriac "Ašpāz" for the Hebrew אָשַׁפָּז in Dan. 1: 3. אָשַׁפָּז occurs in Myhrman, l. i, to which I cite the Babylonian
Aspazanda.). The Persian اسپازاندا  is "house," and یاسپازاندا "steward." May it be an abbreviated form of the latter word?

党和国家: cf. the biblical Arab, a post-exilic name.

נייטיחס: so the most likely reading of the name.

2. סיס供水: the characters are uncertain. Cf. Συμεων in a Greek inscription from the Don, = Persian simikos, "silver"; Justi, p. 294.

קנין: cf. the biblical Arah, a post-exilic name.

ט23C"13C: so the most likely reading of the name.


יה23C: the first word is the Mandaic spelling for "the Sun," which also in the Mandaic religion is regarded as an evil genius. אנה = איננה, see Noldeke, Mand. Gram., § 42. Cf. Ps. 121: 6, 91: 6, and see Grünbaum's discussion of the יקנס מירא, the demon of the midday sun, ZDMG, xxxi, 251 ff.

רכעם: an error for איננה (cf. l. 3), or intended for assonance with איננה. Cf. the unabashed spellings in Samaritan literature to produce rhymes. Or is there a play on the roots, and being used in the sense of "name"?—i. e. the named spirits.


סינא: the last two letters are dittography. There follows a list of various kinds of "evil eye," for which see p. 86.

4. עינא והסודנות: so the most likely reading; cf. Lidz. 4, end, עינא והסודנות (14).

"The eye that sees (or of those that see) within the heart" is a reference to the uncanny effect of the evil eye.

In what follows some corrections are necessary. אול = אול; for read as farther on, and correct אול to אול with l. 5. There is evidently a repetition of phrases. The הלח (like the אול ביאו) is the personification of the power operating these psychological wonders. Cf. the Rabbinic הלח (Joel, Der Aberglaube, i, 80), the New Testament הלח עבדי.

הlisten שנות = והוחתמה זו, 24: 4.

At the end of l. 5 comes a long series of characters which do not appear to form words.

1 According to Karmesedin's Lexicon, quoted by Payne-Smith under the latter word; in lingua Nabathaea est oeconomius et viatorum exceptor, etc. Observe the accompanying name אולא.
No. 31 (CBS 9008)

This bowl is designated for the sealing (2) of the house of this Dādbeh bar Asmandūcht, (3) that from him and his house may remove the Tormentor (4) and the Curse and the very evil Dreams. Charmed; fortified and confirmed, (5) corroborated, strengthened and sealed and guarded are these bowls for the sealing (6) of the house of this Dāhbeh b. A., that they may not lodge together (with them). In the name of Yahīhū (7) NHRBTMW, S, MR'S, MRMR, 'oth šāšibboth, Astar, Mūtā. YSHN'H, Ah, Ah, Ah, Ahah, (8) AAAAAAA, Amen, Amen, Selah, Hallulia.

Sealed and guarded shall be the house (9) and wife and sons of this Dādbeh b. A., that there may remove from him and his house the Tormentor and the Curse and evil Dreams. Amen.

Commentary

For a general discussion of the epigraphy and language of this and the following Syriac bowls (Nos. 31-37), see Introduction, § 6. The crosses in 1.8 are the same as those which occur in the center “seals” of these Syriac bowls.

1. "מתים": cf. 8: 1, and see to 3: 1.
2. Dādbeh son of Asmanducht appears also in Nos. 12 and 16. Here the latter name appears in full Persian form, -ducht.

3. חוח = חוח: see to 4:6.

4. מָצָא: see to 4:6.

5. הלל אוֹמָה-מח: מַחְיָלְתִּי with reference to the four duplicate bowls.

6. אֲדוֹהא: a play on the Tetragrammaton, with the three primary vowels; cf. the magical use of the seven vowels in Greek; there אֶזְוּ is also found, Paris Pap., 1. 3019 ff.
This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house and the wife (2) and the children of Dinói bar Ispandarmèd, that there remove from him the Tormentor (3) and evil Dreams.

The bowl I deposit and sink down, a work which has been made (4) like that which Rab Jesus bar Peraḥia sat and wrote against them,—a ban-writ against all the Demons and Devils (5) and Satans and Liliths and Latbê which are in the house of Dinói b. I. Again: he wrote against them a ban-writ which is for all time, (6) by the virtue of TMDG, Atatót Atôt, within T (7), Atôt Atôt the name, a writing within a writing. Through which (words) were subjected (7) heaven and earth and the mountains; and through which the heights were commanded; and through which were fettered Arts, Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and Latbê; (8) and through which he passed over from this world and climbed above you
to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms, a ruin to destruction, and ... to bring you forth (9) from the house of Dinôi b. I., and from all that is in his house, I have dismissed you by the ban-writ. And charmed and sealed and countersealed is it, even as ancient runes fail not, (10) and (like) ancient men who are not ... Again: charmed and sealed and countersealed is this ban-writ by the virtue of YHYHYHYHYHYH, YHYH, YHYH, A'. Amen, Amen, Selah.

(11) Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dinôi b. I. from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be [his wife and son] (12) from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and Curse and Vows and ..... Hallelu, Amen.

Commentary

Nos. 32 and 33 certain practically identical inscriptions, except that they are made out in the name of different clients, and that No. 32 has additional matter at the beginning and the end. This identity is fortunate for the interpretation of the two bowls, for the lacunae in each one can be almost wholly supplied from the other. Also No. 35 is made out for the wife of the client of the present charm. The chirography of all three bowls is the same, being more cursive than the script of No. 31.

The charms effected in this and the following bowl are attributed to a certain master magician, Jesus bar Perahia, evidently the Joshua ben Perahia, who appears in the same capacity in Nos. 8, 9, and 17. Now Joshua ben Perahia is one of the several Zugoth or Pairs, who handed down the tradition of the Law from the Great Synagogue; and he flourished in the reign of Alexander Janneus, in the early part of the first century B. C. The Mishnaic reference to him is found in Pirke Aboth 1: 7, where the following dictum is attributed to him: "Make unto thyself a master, and possess thyself of an associate, and judge every man on the scale of merit."

Further, an interesting Talmudic tradition concerning the same Joshua appears in uncensored editions, according to which he fled into Egypt to escape the cruel persecution instituted by Alexander against the Pharisees, culminating in the crucifixion of eight hundred of that faction, circa 88
B. C. The tradition is of added interest because it connects Joshua with a certain אָקָסְנַיא, whose identity with Jesus of Nazareth is generally recognized.

The passage in Sanh. 107b reads as follows: The rabbis taught: The left hand should always push away, and the right hand receive favorably. Not like Elisha, who drove away Gehazi with both hands, nor like Joshua b. P., who drove off Jesus (in the Munich MS., and in Soṭa יְהוּדַּאֵן שִׁמְעָנוּ, i. e. Jesus the Nazarene)...... How was that? When king Jannaeus killed the rabbis, R. Joshua b. P. and Jesus went to Alexandria of Egypt. When peace was established, Simeon b. Seṭaḥ sent a message to him: From Jerusalem the Holy City to thee Alexandria of Egypt, my sister: My husband is lodged in thee, and I sit desolate.—He (Joshua) arose, and came, and lodged at a certain inn, where they paid him great respect. He said: How fair is this inn (אָקָסְנַיא). He (Jesus) said to him, Rabbi, her eyes (as though by aḵṣanā the landlady was meant!) are too bleary. He replied to him: Thou knave, thou busiest thyself with such stuff! He brought forth four hundred horns and excommunicated him. He (Jesus) came in his presence many a time, and said, Receive me; he took no notice of him. One day he was reading the Shema, Jesus again presented himself, thinking he would receive him. He made a sign to him with his hand, he thought that he had utterly rejected him. He went off and erected a tile and worshipped it. Joshua said to him, Repent. He replied, I have been taught by thee that every sinner and seducer of the people can find no opportunity for repentance. And so it was said: Jesus bewitched and seduced and drove off Israel.

It is of interest that the Jesus of our texts is given a title which became the epithet of the Nazarene Jesus with whom Talmudic tradition connected him: מַכָּנִים, 34: 2, = Ἰησοῦς σωτήρ. Is there in this magical reference to Jesus b. Peraḥia a confusion with Jesus Christ?

We find then in these magical bowls an independent tradition concerning an early hero of the Law, who appears as endowed with magic powers, and who furthermore was able to make the ascent of the soul to heaven. He was accordingly one of the earliest to attain that spiritual

1 See Schürer, GJV, i, 288.

2 The anecdote is found in Sanhedrin 107b = Soṭa 47a; cf. Jerusalem Talmud Hagiga, ii, 2, Sanh. vi, 8. Dalman, in Lablé’s Jesus Christus im Talmud, Appendix, p. 8 ff., gives the texts of the first three passages, with critical apparatus, and Strack, Jesus, die Häretiker u. d. Christen, 1910, § 8, gives the texts from Hagiga, and the Bab. Sanhedrin. Through the kindness of Dr. Julins H. Greenstone, I have also had access to his rare copy of the Constantinople edition, 1585, of Sanhedrin. Dalman quotes the Venetian editions of the two Talmuds, and the Jewish Encyclopædia, s. v. "Joshua b. P." cites the Amsterdam and Berlin edition of 1865 for the passage in Soṭa. On the criticism of the legend concerning Jesus, see Lablé, p. 40 ff., and Strack, ad loc. The Jerusalem Talmud names Juda b. Tabai in place of Joshua (they were contemporaries) and omits mention of Jesus. Cf. Blau, p. 34, for some points of interpretation. The introduction of Jesus is a sheer anachronism.
privilege, which was the claim of apocalyptists from the author of *Enoch* down. See in general Bousset, "Die Himmelreise d. Seele," in *Archiv f. Rel-wissenschaft*, iv (1901), 136 ff., 229 ff. Such a claim is made for Akiba, who alone of four friends succeeded in penetrating Paradise, *Hagiga* 14b (see Bousset, p. 145), and this mystical claim was asserted by the Kabbalists for Moses and especially for R. Ishmael; see full references in Bousset, p. 151 ff., cf. Graetz, *Gesch.* v, 231 and Joel, *Aberglaube*, ii, 35.

The Talmudic tradition has unfortunately not preserved for us enough of the mystical side of the early teachers; Akiba could not have been alone in his mysticism. Joshua was possibly one of the good company of apocalyptists and our magic tradition may preserve a true reminiscence of his personality and claims.

2. אֶבֶן: plural with masc. sing. suffix, as in the texts above and in Mandaic.


4. עָבָדוֹ: a duplicated form of the pronoun, found in the Syriac.

5. כִּי: a preposition appearing in the Rabbinic dialect, not in Syriac.

6. יִשָּׁש: the spelling represents the older pronunciation, the Biblical יִשָּׁש, the Jacobite Yēšū, over against the Nestorian ʾĪšū.

7. רְאֵבִיה: Prof. Roland G. Kent, to whom I referred this word, has published an elaborate study of it in *JAOS*, 1911, 359. He comes to the conclusion that it means "a handwritten deterrent," from dast, "hand" + bhira (Sansk.), "terrifying." The word occurs only here and in No. 33.

8. לַמֵּאָה: see to 9: 7.

9. The same magical reference appears in No. 32. For the practice see the more perfect form in 9: 6.
7. : a unique spelling (occurring also in the parallel, No. 33, along with גון), for the Syriac hennôn. It is an elder form and is to be compared with the Rabbinic זָטִיקָה, see Leviās, Grammar, § 95.

7. : corresponding to both Syriac and Rabbinic forms.

from a denominative verb, arising from the root . Payne-Smith, col. 2181, gives a citation for סָר, = vinxit catenis vel compedibus, with which may be compared סָרֵית, actus ligationis, ib. col. 324. Also cf. , Glossary C.

8. : also found in 37: 11 and in Lidzbarski, Mand. Amulet, l. 33 (de Vogüé volume).

: for the infinitive, cf. 9: 8.

= Syriac aikannâ; the good Syriac מַזְזָא appears in the parallel 34: 4. What follows is not perfectly clear. By the "ancient songs" (まれ rare in Syriac), are meant charms (i.e. carmina), such as the master Jesus b. P. once used. But the following clause remains obscure because of the unintelligible דָּעָה.

10. : cf. the Rabbinic מַזְזָא, which Nöldeke (Mand. Gram., 182) understands as ṣ̂nāšê, not ṣ̂nê. The Syriac rarely uses the plural in the sense of "men."
No. 33 (CBS 16019)

This inscription is practically contained in No. 32, with a change in the name of the client, who is the same as the one in the Syriac No. 31 and Nos. 12, 16.
No. 34 (CBS 9012)

This bowl is designated for the sealing of the house of Mihr-hormizd bar Māmi (2) by power of the virtue of Jesus the healer, by the virtue of my mighty relative. Charmed is the dwelling, and the abode (3) and the house and the wife and the sons and the daughters of Mihr-hormizd, who is surnamed b. M.; charmed and sealed (4) even as Moses commanded the Red Sea and they (the waters) stood up like a wall on both sides. Charmed and sealed, charmed and sealed, (5) by this word which God
laid upon the earth and the trees which... their tops; charmed and sealed with the seal of the mountains and heights; (6) charmed and sealed (with the spell which is) in the heavens and the earth, the sun and the moon, the stars and (zodiacal) signs, and by the word they are charmed and remain in ward. In the name of (7) Michael the healer and Rofiel the reliever, and Gabriel the servant of the Lord.

Charmed and sealed is all evil that is in the body of Mihr-hormizd b. M. (8) and in his house (and) his wife and his sons and his daughters and his cattle and his property and in all his dwelling, by the signet of Ariôn son of Zand and by the seal of King Solomon son of David, (9) by which were sealed the Oppressors and the Latbê. And we have sealed with the seal of El Saddai and Abraxas the mighty lord, and the great seal with which were sealed heaven and earth and all Demons (10) and foul Knots and Latbê, which contend against him. And a seal is this against Harm and Constraint (?), that they shall not at all enter in. And every Damkar and Saït and Sarâ are charmed by the spell of (11) fire and the enchainment of water until the dissolution of heaven and earth. Amen, Amen, Selah. Sealed and guarded be the house and wife and sons and property and body of Mihr-hormizd (12) b. M., and depart from him the Injurer and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and the Tormentor and Damages and Losses and Failures and Poverty.

And sealed and protected be Bahroi bath Bath-Sâhdê from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow and Arts and Practices. And charmed be the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit, who thwarts her in her hand and foot, and may it not approach nor afflict this Bahroi b. B.

Commentary

The text is of the same order as those immediately preceding. At the end the charm is operated for a woman (with a Christian name), presumably the wife of the chief client of the text.

1. התרות: the reading is certain, and the word is parallel to אשתה in the previous inscriptions, but the formation is unique, if it be not an error; י.hot would be a Pael inf.

A Hormizd son of Mâmâ(i) appears in No. 15.
J. A. MONTGOMERY—ARAMAIC INCANTATION TEXTS.

is the same as Mitr-ôharmazde, or Mihrhormuz, the name of the murderer of Chosroes II; see Justi, p. 216.

2. אַנְשָׂא: here applied to the sorcerer, but otherwise of God, e. g. 3: 1, or angels, e. g. Michael, 1. 7. See introduction to notes on No. 32.

אַנְשָׂא (evidently so written) I take to be for אַנְשָׂא, "my cousin." The magical tradition was handed down in the sorcerer's family, cf. 8: 11.

משנה = משנה, but of peculiar formation.

4. מֶשֶׁה: a point over א, also in the same name in 35: 6—diacritical for א?

The charm is the effective one used by Moses at the Red Sea, cf. Ex. 14: 22. See p. 64 for the magical use of such episodes. But the plural וה is a reminiscence of Josh. 3: 16, and indicates conflation of the two narratives. וה is a remembrance of נים, but appears to be a confusion for נים. The plural וה נינながら is Palmyrene and Rabbinic, not Edessene, but is found in neo-Syriac, Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., § 153.

5. אַנְשָׂא: of laying a spell; the same verb for laying a ghost, 16: 11. The Afel is a hebraism. Compare Is. 9: 7: "a word Yahwe has sent in Jacob, and it has fallen in Israel"; i. e. the magical word itself is potent.

UIImageView

The reference of the noun is obscure as is also the meaning of the following verb. There may be a reference to some myth concerning ancient "big" trees; cf. Isaia's denunciation of "everything high and lifted up," 2: 5 ff., and especially his woé upon the cedars of Lebanon and the אלון, v. 13. Then v. 14 is parallel to the ראה והמה of 1. 5. The following relative clause is almost unintelligible. The root רַעַד is found only in Arabic, = "withhold, refuse." The next word I identify with the Biblical רַעַד, Is. 17: 6 (possibly, with some critics, also in Gen. 49: 21). The old tree-myth may have told how the trees flaunted their high tops against the gods. The obscurity of the passage may be due to corruption of the form of the legend. The י of יֹאֵר appears to be used as one of the סְיָמְתִּים points.

6. אָפֵי: n. b. position of the points.

אָפֵי: a reference to the myth of the restraint of the celestial powers; see the discussion on 4: 5, and cf. Is. 24: 21.
7. מְרוֹאֵל: a unique epithet for Raphael. It is a pāw‘el formation from מָרָא, and, agreeably to the etymology of Raphael and parallel to the epithet applied to Gabriel, the participle is used in the sense “to relieve,” sc. the sick. Cf. Baba Bathra 16 b, מְרוֹאֵל הָיָה אֲדָדָא נֵצֶא; “when the day is high, the sick man is relieved.” In the Syriac the Pael came to be used in the sense of “saving,” see Payne-Smith, col. 903.

גָּבִיָּה: Gabriel is especially the messenger of Deity; cf. Luke 1, and Rev. 19: 10, where the angel who calls himself שִׁמְאָהוֹ הָאֶצֶל with the apocalyptist may be Gabriel.

8. מַדָּאָר: Mandaic form. Several phylacteries for cattle are given in Pradel’s collection of Graeco-Italian charms; e. g. p. 18 and references, pp. 125, 127. An exorcism against the “seven accursed brothers” (the Babylonian Seven) who attack and devour the blood of the cattle, is given in Gollancz’s Syriac charms, p. 87. According to the Babylonian magic the Seven Spirits “smite both oxen and sheep” (Thompson, Sem. Magic, i, 33). The mediaeval belief in the ‘hexing’ of cattle still flourishes among the Pennsylvania Germans.

רַב נוֹר: this sorcerer’s name appears also in No. 19: 13, 17, and the two passages help mutually to identify the words.


10. מַעַלֶה (or מַעְלֶה?): “Knots,” i. e. of magical power. The word corresponds to the Arabic ʿukdat.

אָסָא: מַעַלֶה has usurped the radical מ; cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gram., § 33 b.

חָאָס: מַעַלֶה, probably metaplastic for כּוֹצָה.

אָסָא: for the prosthetic vowel see Nöldeke, Syr. Gram., § 51, Mand. Gram., § 24 (n. b. the equivalence of מַעַלֶה and מַעַלֶה, as in Mandaic). The word may mean ugliness or some more specific malady. Cf. the charms in the Greek magical papyri for obtaining good looks.

The parallel מַעַלֶה must also mean some kind of malady, and may be identified with the Assyrian kamtu, “misery” (Muss-Arnolt, Dict. 366), which is to be connected with the Hebrew and Aramaic root וַסְג, “compress” (with dissimilation of the dental); probably some form of contortion.
the first word is evidently an absolute infinitive from לָע, plus 아 ( = me‘ıl̄a = me‘ł̣a, cf. the noun me‘lıa). For this formation with final 아, Nöldeke offers a Mandaic instance, Mand. Gram., 250, last line, Ἀγαθή. In the form הנק (if ı is to be read) doubling of the second radical appears; cf. the Mandaic form סָדֶן, cited by Nöldeke, ibid., 249, ad infra.}

כְּלָלִי: all three words are obscure. The second may be the word of the Krē to Is. 28: 15, "scourge." The third may be the Rabbinic אֱל, "prince, demon"; or the Hebrew šērah (also Aramaic) "chain, necklace," cf. the magical אֱלָה. But diseases are apparently intended (cf. מֵאֵשׁ above), and we may identify מֵאֵשׁ with the Syriac Śātţā, "eye-tumor" (Payne-Smith, col. 4904), and אֱל with the Syriac אֱל (ib., 4316), "diarrhoea." The third may then be understood as a formation from מָכַר, "pierce," of taf'al form, —tankar = tamkar (cf. Delitzsch, Ass. Gram., § 59), = dāmkār. With the root meaning of perforation, cancer or the like may be referred to. The absolute forms are used, as proper names.

11. אֱלָה: fire and water are potent over demons. יַסֵּל: a collective form in -ן. Cf. the catenis igneus in Wünsch, Ant. Fluchtafeln, no. 7.

דָּמַר גֵּרְתִּים: the demons are to be bound till the end of the present aeon; then will begin a new order, which will include the final destruction of their power; cf. 2 Pet. 3: 12: αἰώνα ἐπικίνδυνος λυθῆναι; also Enoch.

12. נְאָה: "loss"; see Jastrow, p. 393. Payne-Smith, col. 1118. For the personification of all kinds of losses, see p. 94.


13. נְאָה: epithets of the Lilith, who is also the Witch, who can "bind" the limbs of her victim; see No. 42 and p. 78. Superior points for the feminine suffix are used here as also in No. 35.

14. נְאָה: switchings by demons are a common theme of magic, see 1: 10; compare the Christian hagiological legends.
No. 35 (CBS 16097)

Appointed is this bowl for the sealing and guarding (2) of the house and sons and property and body of Mäidücht (3) bath Kumböi, that she may be guarded from Demons, Plagues and Devils and Satans (4) and Seducers and Diaboli, and from any Vows and Invocations and Rites of mankind; in the name of (5) ārṣī, ardi and màrī; Michael and Nûriel and Saltjel and Mantariel and Ḥithmiel. (6) And they were commissioned along with Moses to wardship, and they will guard this Mäidücht b. (7) K. from all hostile Devils and affrighting Demons, and from every Curse and Vow of mankind, of men (8) and of women, and of Idol-spirits who (are known) and who are not (known) by name. And in the name of ..., Ḥamariel and Sariel (9) ..... of Yah-Adon-Ḳamya; nāyā, δ, δ! Commanded, commanded is it in the name of these angels and letters which will guard (10) and seal this Mäidücht b. K. from everything evil, for the ages
forever, Amen. Sealed and guarded is Maiducht b. K. from (11) the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow; and charmed the Tormentor and Lilith and Ban-spirit who thwarts her in her hand and foot; and may it not approach Maiducht (12) b. K.

And guarded be the house and wife and son and property of Dinoi son of Ispandarmêd from the Tormentor and evil Dreams and the Curse and the Vow. Amen.

**Commentary**

Largely a replica of No. 34. It is made out for the wife of the client of No. 33, who is himself given a little space at the end.

1. מַעְרַה: noun of intensive formation; cf. the charm εἰς φροίρης, Reitzenstein, *Point.* 292.

2. מַעְיֹוהַ: for the the first element Маи see Justi, p. 187. The name also appears in the unpublished No. 16093.

3. מְסִרֵה: cf. קָשָׂאכָה, קְזַבָה, קְוֵבִאָפְס, Justi, p. 165.

4. מִטָּלָה: (a plural-point is not visible) a peculiar formation, evidently to be connected with the theme מַעְיֹוהַ, מָכָּבָה, מְסִרֵה, מְסִירֵת, "go astray"—hence "seducing spirits," corresponding to the words before and after. The form may be explained as a P'illel participle, with rejection of prefix. Cf. 2 Ki, 22: 19 ff., and the πνεύματα πλάνως καὶ διδασκαλίας δαιμονίων of 1 Tim. 4: 1.

5. מַעְיֹוהַ: some of the characters are uncertain, but the word is sufficiently clear. It appears in Syriac only (in the singular in -ōs) in the Arabic lexicons; see Payne-Smith, col. 868.

6. מַעְיֹוהַ: evidently the same as the common מַעְיֹוהַ. Notice the distinction made here between diabolic arts and human machinations.

5. For the assonance, see p. 61. Letters and angels are practically the same; see p. 99. Of these angels, Nuriel is one of the archangels (also Uriel), Manṣariel and Ḥithmiel are unique, Šaltiel is listed by Schwab as a form of Saltiel. These were Moses' guardian angels, and so can be effective for the present client.
No. 36 (CBS 2933)

... designated is this bowl ... turned away ... (2) of that Murderess, daughter of Murderess. Go away, go away, and depart from before ...

The lord (3) Šameš (the Sun) has charged me against thee, Sin (the Moon) has sent me, Bel has commanded me, Nainai has said to me, and ..... and Nirig (Nergal) (4) has given me power to go against the evil spirit, against Dô dib, whom they call the Strangler, who kills the young (5) in the womb of their mothers, and they are called “Slayer,” and their fathers “Destroyer.” Go from the presence of these holy angels (6) that sons may come to birth to their mothers and little children to their fathers. Because he has given me a name by which I shall drive thee forth, Evil Spirit. Go from the presence of (7) [these angels] and depart from this engraved seal, and go to the bridal chamber and eat...; moreover drink a libation and [depart from ... daughter of ...]-izdûch and her ..... (8) Amen, Amen, Selah.

Commentary

This inscription has a twofold interest. Its magic purpose is the insurance of a bride against the goblin which would destroy her powers of motherhood; the evil spirit is invited to go to the bridal chamber and there
partake of a certain food and drink, which it is to be presumed, would in some way incapacitate his powers; the text is badly obscured, but enough survives to recall the book of Tobit and the charm Raphael performed against the demon which haunted the chamber of Tobias's bride. Magic is full of this lilith witch who destroys love; for an early instance, cf. the *Maklu*-series, iii, 1 ff.: "The witch ...... who robs the love of the enamored man, ...... of the enamored maid. Looking at her he feels her lascivious charm. She looks on the man and takes away his love; she looks on the maid and takes away her love." Cf. Nos. 13, 28.

The other feature of interest is that the charm is given as though from the old pagan deities, the lord Šameš, Sin, Bel, Nannai, and Nirig, the ancient Nergal. All these except Nannai survived as evil spirits,—the spirits of the seven planets—in the Mandaic religion (see Norberg, *Onom.*, s. v.v.), but the present charm confesses their benevolent power and is also without any Mandaic trace. (This more antique aspect of these deities appears in the early Mandaic amulet published by Lidzbarski, in the de Vogüé volume, where, 1. 247 ff., "Samiš, Bel, Nirig and Kewan have strengthened him.") It is a relic of the religion which survived to a comparatively late date in Harran. The charm is given in the form of an oracle from these deities according to ancient magical use; see p. 100. For these Syrian deities see the list given by Jacob of Sarug, edited by Martin, *ZDMG*, xxix, 110-131, and in general for the material Chwolson, *d. Ssabier u. d. Ssabismus* (1856). For the use made by the Harranian pagans of "magic, conjurations, knots, figures, amulets," etc., see Chwolson's extract from the Fihrist, *ibid.*, ii, 21; for their use of oracles, p. 19.

1. דאשׂ: מ for מ, see § 6.

2. For the demon's artificial names, see p. 77.

2 f. יד: in the Mandaic יד is the epithet of the Sun, e. g. *Ginza* r., p. 23, 1. 15, ed. Peterman; for יד, cf. Mandaic יד, מ.

דר: י is more likely than י, and we obtain a form of Sin in the Syriac. The Mandaic has both י and ידר.

יב: a dialectic form of יב (Mandaic). For analogies in neo-Punic names (יב, יבש, יבש, יבש), see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 289; *CIS, Inscr. phoen.*, no. 869; and in Syriac the deity Bèducht (Bel's or Beltis's, daughter), see

Nanna: the ancient Babylonian goddess Nanna (see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens u. Assyriens* i, 76 ff., 252, 266), daughter of Sin. See at length for the later character of this deity G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 130 ff., 151 ff. (for later literature, Roscher’s *Lexicon*, s. v. “Nana”). She combined both Venus- and Diana-like characteristics, and thus appears on coins with a crescent on her head (*ibid.*, 152). This lunar characteristic doubtless explains the gender of the deity in our text, where as the verb shows, he is masculine. In his history the moon god has vacillated between the two genders, and while in later religion the moon’s character has generally been defined as female, nevertheless in the Harranian religion the moon was androgynous; see the excursus by Chwolson in his *Ssabier*, i, 399 ff. (Hence the Latin writers express this Mesopotamian deity by *Lunus*.) It may be noticed that in the reference to Antiochos Epiphanes’ raid upon the temple of Nana in 2 Mac. 1: 13, 15, there is found in the Alexandrine Codex the masculine variant *Nanaov*.

4. ρωβή: the name is obscure, probably equivalent to *םִּדְרוֹנִי*, 37: 10, 9. v.

חניקה: the normal feminine of this formation, as against *תִּנְפְּסא*. The same evil spirit, חניקה תִּנְפְּסא, “Strangling Mother” (of babes) appears twice in Gollancz’s Syriac charms, pp. 81, 83 (in *Actes* of the 11th Congr. of Orientalists, sect. 4). And the like epithet is found in the Greek amulet published by Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 298, for Baskania, the Lilith-witch, who is charged with the same murderous functions: ἱρκίω σε, Στραγγαλία πολύμορφη, ἥ επερχόμενη ἐπὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία, ἦσε ἱερὰ χείρα σιδηράν καὶ σίρες τὰ παιδία καὶ κλέπτες αὐτὰ καὶ τελευτῶσιν. And there follow immediately “the names of the holy angels,” just as these are referred to in l. 5. See notes on No. 42. With Στραγγαλία cf. the demoniac maladies πυγαλίων and παθοπνίκτημα cited by Roscher, *Ephialtes*, 55, 59.

אָבָּא רֵרָה = אָבָּא רֵרָה 37: 10, 18: 6, with assimilation of the dental to p.

פְּסָחַה: Mandaic form of the fem. pl. The best interpretation of the line is that the mischief wrought to the embryo was charged to the parents who so gained the ill-fame of infanticides. Cf. Ginza ii, 98 (ed. Norberg):
“hence have arisen the abortive ones who make abortions and destroy the foetus.” The epithets are in the singular, being used distributively.

5. סלעב: i.e. the deities mentioned above; see above pp. 97, 99.


7. הכה: the antecedent is uncertain; probably the charm has been abbreviated.


8. הכה is the common Syriac term for the marriage chamber, or the nuptials in general. The imperative is apparently addressed like the preceding imperative to the demon who is bidden to go, if she dare, to the wedding, and there partake of the magic foods prepared against her.


10. רוח: the spelling represents the Syriac fem. impr.

11. רוח: probably a Persian feminine name in -duch, the bride's name to be filled out here. The following word is obscure, the missing radical may be ס.
No. 37 (CBS 2943)

Designated is this bowl for the [salvation and] healing (2) of the house and threshold, the wife, [the sons and] daughters, the cattle, (3) [and all that] is his, and whatsoever shall belong to Zāroi son of ... (4) ... confirmed by the virtue of the word of God, the Mystery of heaven and the Mystery of the assembled waters and the Mystery of earth, (5) ... of this house I will enjoin all that is in it,—Arts and the Tormentor (?) (6) ... [and the Image-spirits] of idolatry, and all the Legions and the Amulet-spirits and the Ishtars and all the Demons ... (7) ... and all mighty Liliths. A word ... I declare unto you, which receiving ... the mysteries of Angels in wrath coming against him and with sabres and sword standing before him and ready to kill him. (9) ... against the word heard (?). He sits in the house, eating and devouring, drinking and quaffing, ... (10) [a slayer of ?] children is he, and Master named; ... is he, and Jinn (?) named. Peace ... your father ... (11) ... Peace from the male Gods and from the female Ishtars. And victorious peace is set in ..., and destruction is set in the fire ...
A badly mutilated bowl with much of the inscription illegible. It is of pagan origin; in the name of God the Mystery of heaven, water and earth, it concludes with a *pax vobiscum* from the gods. The expression “victorious peace,” l. 11, recalls the standing Mandaic doxology, “Life is victorious,” and the threefold division of the universe may be from the same source. The charm is against a murderous house spirit and is in part parallel to No. 36; here the demon is masculine and is represented as carousing upon the blood of his victims. The quarterings of the circle or seal in the center contain letters of the Tetragrammaton—apparently ה.

1. דרמא: a Persian word noted by the native Syriac lexicographers, and neo-Syriac; also in Pognon B. See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, 127.

2. רו: cf. Zaroes, name of a Magian, and Zaro, in Firdausi; the present spelling substantiates Zar- against other readings; see Justi, p. 383.


5. רמוא: the Rabbinic-Mandaic preposition of plur. form, ‘*elawe*, but with suffix attached as to a singular form; cf. *בננה*, “his sons.”

6. יא: for יא: the incantation *heard?* The following ppls. represent the carousing of the demon over the flesh and blood of his victims. These realistic descriptions were in themselves regarded as prophylactic. יא appears to be denominative verb from a noun in י, formed to rhyme with יא.

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לינ: probably לינ, jinn, see p. 80.

מא: Mandaic “your father.”
No. 38 (CBS 2941)

Charmed, armed and equipped are the house, (2) the dwelling and mansion and barn, and the sons and daughters, (3) and the cattle and household vessels of Hinduithâ (4) bath Dôdâi and (of) Mârâdâ, even her husband and her sons and daughters.

Charmed art thou, (5) Lilith Yannâi, and all thy Broods, even the three hundred and sixty (6) Broods, by the word and command of the angel Negoznâi, by the mysteries and ordinance (7) of the living God, in the name

Exterior

ק"ה (15)

Translation
of the virtue of strong and mighty Deity, and by the seal (8) of the angel Be'ôdâî, whose word none transgresses.

Charmed are all the Gods and Temple-spirits and Shrine-spirits and Idol-spirits (9) and Ishtars from the body of Mârabbâ and Zâdûyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduithâ, and from Hinduithâ and from her house and her bed and from (10) their [wives] and their sons and their daughters and their cattle.

Charmed and confined and restrained and hobbled is the mighty Istar ...... (11) and the three hundred and sixty Broods, which I have dismissed from her one after the other.

Charmed are all the Amulet-spirits that dwell in the houses of men and waste them; (12) charmed and hobbled and suppressed and covered and squeezed under the foot of Mârabbâ bar Hinduithâ and under the foot of Zâdûyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduithâ, (13) and under the foot of Hinduithâ b. D. And life, abundance, health and arming and sealing and protection be to their body, and their wives and their sons and their daughters and their cattle (14) and the people of their houses, both those entering and departing with Mârabbâ and Zâdûyê and Dazaunôyê sons of Hinduithâ, and with Hinduithâ b. D. their mother, and her daughters.

Exterior
(15) Holy (?) ......

Commentary
For the language and script of this and the following Mandaic bowls, see § 7.

A charm executed in behalf of a certain woman and her husband. The sons with their families are included by name. The charm is particularly addressed against a specified lilith, with whom "the mighty Istar" who is named later, may be identical.

1. "House, dwelling," etc.: these four terms occur in Lidzb. 4 and 5. The הֵֽלִּֽשָׁ֣י (which is found in the Mandaic literature in the original meaning) is here reduced from the sense of "temple, palace," as in Babylonian, to that of a private mansion. The word also appears in Hyvernat, l. 15. In 40: 4, מַעֲנִּֽיָּ֣ה is the cattle-barn; in general perhaps "outbuilding."
2. מין for the plur. w. suffix, see Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 144.

3. מיך: "cattle"; it occurs in the sense of "wild beast," in 39: 6; singular מיך.

*םיה: the singular would be the equivalent of the Assyrian *ānu*, "vessel," = Heb. יא and Arabic *ināš*.

The word is otherwise unknown in Aramaic, having been replaced by the derivative *mān*. In the Talmud vessels are favorite abodes of the demons. One is tempted to regard the word as a plural of יא, "sheep," but for the following "of the house."

*םיה: i. e. "Indian woman"; cf. היד, תור, 24: 1; 49: 16.

4. "הרו = מר = מאר = מאר, "lord" + *Adda*; a form of Hadad; or the first element may be the deity Mar, Bir, etc. (see Clay, *Amurru*, 95), so that the name is equivalent to the ancient Damascene name בֶּר (as in Pognon’s Zakar inscription), the Biblical Benhadad. With inexact construction, M. is the husband. For א both, and," cf. l. 14.

6. נַחַה: so the probable reading. Notice from the erasure that "lilith" and "angel" are interchangeable titles for this being. Cf. the Lilith

82. מִן: of same root as מָכֲרַה, with assimilation of י with ה; see Nöldeke, p. 44. The original formation is that of the Syriac noun *pākadtā*.

8. נַחַה: a corruption of בֵּיתא?—For נַחַה and בֵּיתא see p. 72 f.

The second word is supplied from 40: 4.

9. מִן, i. e. מָכֲרַה, in l. 12 with the second א caretted; an old theophorous name = אב + מ (or רמא + מ ?)

*םיה: Persian Zādōē, see Justi, p. 378, quoting a name of the fifth century.

*םיה: Persian name of a Syrian monk of the seventh century, *ibid.* 82.

10. מִן: original root מָכ (see Nöldeke, § 45); the verb is found in the bowls of Pognon and Lidzbarski, and defines the word as used in the Mandaic literature, thus relieving Nöldeke’s doubt. Cf. a like series of passive ppls. at end of Lidzb. 4.
the reading is almost certain, but I cannot identify the root; probably an error for מְסַדָּרִים, as in 40: 21.

אָרָם: a denominative from אָרָמ, = Rabbinic אַרָם. cf. the Arabic ragala, “strike, tie (a sheep) on the foot.” The word occurs in Lidzb. 4.

11. שְׁבוֹקָה: the passage is identical with 40: 22, except for the latter’s reading, שְׁבוֹקָה, “which I have dismissed from him”; the present text is to be so interpreted. For the form see Nöldeke, § 170.

כֹּסְרֵבָתַה = 40: 23. For the fem. pl. in נ, see ibid., 162.

12. מְסַדָּרָה = מְסַדָּר, cf. ibid. 63; the Pael in 7: 17.

מְסַדָּרִים: I can suggest only the root סְדָר, found in the Rabbinic סְדָר, “olive-press”; but according to Nöldeke, § 45, ס is persistent in Mandaic.

אָרָם: error by dittography for אָרָם.


אָרָם: for אָרָם see Nöldeke, § 222.—For omission of relative after הָנָּה see p. 39.

14. אָרָם: with change of construction from the preposition לְ; cf. Nöldeke, § 222.—For omission of relative after הָנָּה see p. 39.

15. (Exterior) לְ is sure, perhaps לְ.
No. 39 (CBS 9005)

Health and arming and sealing and protection (2) be for ... and the body and soul (3) and the unborn child and womb of Bardesa whose mother is the daughter of Dâdê. (4) Charmed are the Sorcery-spirits in stocks of iron; charmed the Lilith (5) in chains of lead; charmed the empoisoning male Devils and charmed the empoisoning female Liliths; (6) charmed [the arts of?] evil men and hostile Beasts, (7) and evil Mysteries and the (magic) Circle of malignant Masters and Sages and Doctors, and the melting of Wax figures (8) of him who is alive: from the unborn child and womb of Bardesa whose mother is Termè b. D.

Charmed the Lilith that appears to her (9) in ...; charmed the Lilith that appears to her in [shape?] of Tâtâ her sister’s daughter; charmed all the defiling Ghosts (10) that have entered, which appear to her in Dreams of night and in Visions of day; charmed and sealed with the seal of (11) King Solomon.

Again: Health and arming and sealing be for the womb and the parturition of Bardesà (12) whose mother is Termè b. D.

(248)
A charm for a pregnant woman. I may compare the mortuary incantation published by me in *JAOS*, 1911, 272, no. 1, which includes prayers for the unborn child, הָלְיוֹ, of the petitioner. From I. 4 the present charm is very similar to that in Pognon A.


4. אָרָבָא: also Pognon A. In the Mandaic appear the אָרָבָא, "sorcerers," Norberg, *Onom.*, 110. For the meaning cf. Ass. sāhiru; in this sense the root is not otherwise found in Rabbinic and Syriac.

5. סִינָקָא: the Syriac סִינָקָא was used for "lead" and "tin," according to the Syriac lexicographers, who postulate a distinction between abārā and abrā, or abārā and ebārā but dispute which word is applied to which metal (Payne-Smith, col. 19). Both lead and tin were used in magic, the former especially in the καταδεξομεν, like the love-charm from Hadrumetum, the Cypriote defixiones (*SPBA*, xiii, 160, etc.), and cf. Index to Wessely, xlii, μόλυβδον, *et seq.;* tin was equally used, like all the metals, *ibid.*, κασοτεραπυ, and a case in the Testament of Solomon where tin is atropaic, *JQR*, ix. 584. Hence we cannot positively decide whether our abār is lead or tin; but the weight of the former metal may better suit the symbolism of the language.

As to the meaning of the Assyrian abar Assyriologists are at variance. Lenormant, in *TSBA*, vi, 337 f., 346, argues correctly from the alloy mentioned in iv R no. 2, rev. 17, that abar = lead and anaku = tin. However Sayce, *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 60, denies that the Sumerian or Assyrian word for tin is known. Lyon, in his *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, 53, 82, makes anaku = lead (cft. Heb. רוּב) and leaves abar untranslated. Hilprecht and Haupt, on basis of chemical analysis, find that abar is used of magnesite, Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 80 ff., 83. רוּב, the Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic נברא, is "lead." The Syriac 'anṣka is "tin," whereas its Hebrew equivalent רוּב, "plummet" rather suggests the heavier metal lead. The Hebrew for "tin" is הָלְיוֹ, which however in Zech. 4: 10 may rather be "lead." This confusion between lead and tin in the same word is paralleled by the ambiguous use of plumbum in Latin;
p. nigrum is lead, and p. candidum tin; see Pliny H. N., xxxiv, 47 (ed. Weise, 1841); so also in Arabic. The different vocalizations 'abra and, חכם vs. 'abərə, and Heb. 'anək vs. Syr. 'ān'ka, appear to be attempts at differentiation. חכם, apparently "lead," appears in W. T. Ellis's bowl-text, which I have edited in JAOS, 1912, 434.

5. אפרים: amendment after Pognon's parallel, but with the form found in l. 6.

ל' א: an inadvertent repetition.

6. אפרים ב for the adjectival formation, see Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., § 105.

אפרים ג: possibly absolute pl. (-a from -an); or a masc. plural form, cf. אפרים ח, 38: 11.

7. אפרים ה: (n. b. construct) for אפרים כ, as in אפרים ז, see Nöldeke, ibid., § 46. I interpret the word of the magic circle, part of the dreaded arts of the necromancer; see p. 88.

אפרים י: sorcerers are by tradition "Doctors."

אפרים ק: may be inf. Peal of אפרים ל, or better, in agreement with the context, Pacl ppl. plur; i. e. "dissolution," or "dissolvers." פ is "wax" in Rabbinic, "pitch" in Syriac and Mandaic, at least according to the references in Payne-Smith and Norberg. "Pitch" might be the translation here, but comparing the plural with the Greek ἑσπερί and the Latin cerai, I have related the word to the well-known use of wax in Hellenistic magic. Any plastic substance might be used for these simulacra of the enemy in Babylonian sorcery. Tallquist enumerates clay, pitch, honey, tallow, dough (Malkhu, 19, and see his note to ZAL. LU, p. 119); so also Fossey, Magie ass., 80. Wax does not seem to be identified among those substances, though Jastrow and Thompson speak of wax as used. Assyrian kiru or kiru (see Muss-Arnolt, p. 432) = pitch. Is the Latin-Greek word from the same origin, the term having undergone extensive modification in meaning? Its etymology is uncertain, see A. Walde, Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch', 1910, s. v. cera. For the use of wax in western magic, see the ample notes and bibliography in Abt, Die Apologie d. Apuleius, 82.

אפרים ר: cf. the isolated instance given by Nöldeke, p. 344.
8. אַזִּים: the first letter is conjectured from a mere remnant; possibly אָפֵוָא?

9. In this line a definite family ghost appears. אַזִּים is used in like sense in earlier bowls, e. g. 7: 14. The word before אַזִּים is unintelligible.


10. אַזִּים: I connect this, as a participle, with the root סָנ, Arabic סָנָה, which does not appear as a verb in Syriac; from it comes the Syriac סָנָה, "dirt," and with the same is to be connected the Hebrew סָנ, "shoe." The same word, masc. and fem., occurs in Pognon A, p. 40, which he would derive from סָנ "hate," but without explanation of the form. It might, if a singular instance, be an error for אַזִּים. However n. b. that in Sachau’s Elephantine papyri occurs the metathesis סָנ for סָנ, Pap. 57: 2, 58: 16.

לְבַע: 3d fem. pl. of לְבַע.

אַזִּים: a mistake, corrected by the next word. The same note is to be made upon לְבַע in l. 11.

11. סָה: doubtless = סָה, "again," so often found on our bowls. Thus Nöldeke’s explanation of סָה in the Mandaic literature (*Mand. Gram.*, 204) is confirmed.— הַרְמַלֵא for the form, see *ibid.*, § 67.
No. 40 (CBS 2971)

Translation

In the name of Life!—that health (2) and armament be to the body and wife and male sons (3) and female daughters, and the house and...
abode, the mansion (4) and the barn of the cattle, the ass, bull and goat, the property of (5) Xârō bar Mehanōš, from Life.

I swear and adjure you (6) by Life.

..............................................................

*(12) and I have broken you in the gate of Xaro b. M., the man and his wife. [Health and protection, etc., from] the Liliths, when they appear in the house of Xaro (13) b. M., from Life. And health and armament and healing and guarding [be to ] the male sons and female daughters and the house (14) and dwelling and mansion and the barn of the ass, bull and goat, the live (?) property of [Xaro b. M.], from Life. And health and armament (15) be to the body and the male sons and female daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion of (16) Merâthē daughter of Hindū, from Life. And health be to the body of Xârō ... and the wife and male sons [and female daughters and the house and dwelling] and mansion and building and cattle (17) of Xaro b. M., from Life.

Charmed art thou, Lilith Buznāi, and all the goddesses ... and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (18) by the word of the granddaughter of the angel Buznāi, by the adjuration (?) of Life, and by the command of ... who is (?) with the mighty Buznāi, (19) by the seal of the angel Darwā (?), whose word none transgresses. Charmed are all the gods ... and] temple-spirits and shrine-spirits (20) and goddesses from the body and the wife and sons and daughters and the house and dwelling and mansion and barn of Xaro b. (21) M. Charmed, shut up and confined and hobbled is the Ish[tar] ..., and the three hundred and sixty Tribes, (22) which I have dismissed from him ... one after [the other. Charmed] are all Amulet-spirits which lodge in their houses (23) and devastate them. Charmed [and hobbled] and suppressed and covered is the Satan (?) and the Plague ... [from] the body (24) of the man and his wife ... and the male sons and the female daughters, (25) the house and dwelling and mansion and the barn for cattle, of Xaro b. M., from Life. (26) And Life is victorious!

COMMENTARY

A long and repetitious charm for a certain man and his family and property, including the several kinds of live-stock. About half of the inscription is found on the exterior.
1. With the same invocation begin the sections of the Ginza, also some of Pogon’s bowls.

254 UNIVERSE MUSEUM. BABYLONIAN SECTION.

For 1 of purpose, see the like phrase in Pogon, e. g. no. 14, and Nöldeke, Mand. Gram., § 293.

4. as the regimen shows, the barn.

i. e. hemrā, also cited by Syriac lexicographers, see Payne-Smith, ad loc., and used as a collective plural, Nöldeke, Syr. Gram., 91. The following word was written אנהו, ֳ was then caretted above, and finally the word rewritten.

For 1, cf. Nöldeke, ibid., § 47. The word is used like the Talmudic אשת, “private property,” see Jastrow, Dict., s. v. In l. 14 it is supplemented apparently by אנהו, = “livestock.”

5. evidently an old Persian name in Koseform; cf. Aseri, Xšayarša, Artaxsathra, Justi, pp. 12, 173, 34. The א in אנסד, here and again below, represents the vowel of the prefix, before the vowelless first radical.

A. Meh = Mithra, plus Anōš, a Persian genius, Justi, pp. 208, 17.

The long period which this phrase concludes is paralleled below.

6. the ancient and full form of the preposition appears in Pogon B, but not in Nöldeke, under § 159.

Cf. the Greek ἵστι, representing, as in the English “swear on the Bible,” the primitive action of laying the hand on the sacred object.


18. This antagonism of Buznāi’s granddaughter to herself is evidently a case of casting out devils by Beelzebub. The sorcerer affects that he has received from one of her brood the proper charms by which to bind her. Observe interchange of אנסד with אנהו.
"by that which is upon," i.e. "by the adjuration of" Life. For the redoubled preposition, see Nöldeke, § 231 b. For the phrase, see to l. 6.

for the sing. with ἐν—, see ibid., § 146.

but a feminine is demanded.

in agreement with the Syriac; cf. מנה, 16: 6; in the Ginza, מנה.

the same doxological formula in Pognon, B, no. 22, and Lidzb. 5.
APPENDIX

No. 41 (CBS 179)

This text is unique,1 being inscribed on the top of a human skull. Enough is legible to indicate that it is a magical inscription, doubtless of the same order as those on the bowls. The skull is remarkably well preserved, and though badly shattered, almost all the pieces have been recovered. But the text is sadly worn and obscured through the shaling of the surface, and only a few detached words are legible. There are two inscriptions, one running across the length of the left-hand side of the top, from front to back and also filling up some space in the forward part of the right-hand side. The other, shorter, inscription is at the back of the right-hand side, at right angles to the central suture.

In the first line of the longer text are visible the words, מרדכי בנו שאול; in the second ר復ך, indicating an address to the evil spirit. The following names are visible: מרדכי, cf. 5: 1; (?) מרדכי بن שאול, also spelt מרדכי, "Mordecai ben Saul"; and a woman’s name (evidently the wife of the first-named man—.DataGridViewColumnHeadersHeightSizeMode can be read in one place), סם, so the almost certain reading. I take the name to be a feminine hypocoristic in -di to be connected with Cathaspar, in the Excerpta barbara to Eusebius (ed. Schoene, i, app. 228), one of the three Wise Men, the later Gaspar (Caspar, Jaspar), connected by philologists with the Old-Persian Windafarna; Justi, p. 368.

The use of a skull for recording a magical inscription opens up an interesting line of magical practice. The skull has become part of the stock apparatus of the necromancer, and its use in that connection is typical of his power over the dead, while the presence of the gruesome object adds to the awe in which he is held. But all through magic runs the morbid theme of the use of mortuary remains. In the Greek love charms, the texts are buried in the graveyard; in the magic brews for compelling love,

1 This statement must now be qualified, as I learn through Professor Ranke that two similar skulls are in the Berlin Museum.

(256)
human bones are used, and in a late Arabic charm a broom from a cemetery has efficacy in bringing the beloved to the lover’s side (see to No. 28). Cf. the burial of Pognon’s bowls in a cemetery. Primitive animistic beliefs have survived, which connect the skeleton with the world of spirits; it is a material point d’appui, and the skull is especially preferred as the most striking and perhaps most durable part of the anatomy. It may be noticed that in Arabic the word for skull is also used of the soul (Wellh. Skizzen, 3, p. 161,164). There is a reference in the Talmud to the necromantic use of a skull; Sanh. 65b: “there are two kinds of necromancy (בָּשָׁלוֹן), the one where the dead is raised by naming him, the other where he is asked by means of a skull (הַנִּשְׁאוֹלָה בָּשָׁלוֹן).” Joel (Aberglaube, i, 44) thinks this refers to some artificial skull-shaped object; but our actual skull illustrates the practice noticed in the Talmud. The use of skulls (calcvaria) in classical magic is also vouched for in the Apology of Apuleius; see Abt, p. 141. For this practice of “speaking skulls,” we may note its special vogue among the Sabians; see Chwolson. Die Ssabier, ii, 150, and Dozy and de Goeje, Actes of the Leyden (6th) Congress of Orientalists, ii, 365 f., cf. 293.

But the skull was also efficacious as a prophylactic object. James of Edessa notes that a dried human head was used by the heathen Syrians as an amulet (quoted by Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 362, referring to Kayser’s edition of the Canones, p. 142). Especially as part of the skeleton was it efficacious against the evil eye; see Seligmann, Der böse Blick, ii, 141, who notes the use in Italy of a tiny skull-charm against the Jettatura, and also the use among the ancient Taurians and the tribes of Caucasus of the heads of enemies stuck on poles as a prophylactic; also Elworthy, The Evil Eye, 340, notes the use of skeleton-like figures as talismans in Italy; he finds the same talisman in classic times, comparing King, Gnostics and their Remains, 213 (ed. 2, 180). The skull therefore falls into the general category of frightful or obscene objects, which had the power of repelling the evil eye in particular and evil spirits in general.

2 Dr. Speck, of the Museum, informs me that the North American Indians carefully preserve the skulls of the animals they hunt, as a means of the reincarnation of the beasts, and I understand like customs are found over the world.
No. 42

Towards the close of my work on this volume, Professor Richard Gottheil, who had several years ago thought of publishing the bowls, kindly forwarded me some notes and transcriptions which he had made in his preliminary essays. Among the papers was the copy of a text which is not now found in the Museum. It differed so radically from the other inscriptions that I inquired of Prof. Gottheil if it was taken from a bowl. He replied that he knew of no other source whence the text could have come into his set of papers. Accordingly on the hypothesis that the original text was once in the Museum, I venture to publish Prof. Gottheil’s copy, and do so the more readily because of its interesting character and the illustration it affords to several points in the texts above. It contains a form of the Lilith legend, widespread in folklore, and a bowl would have been a perfectly proper place for a text of this prophylactic character. I have not however included the text in my Glossaries.
Accompanying the text are given some inscribed designs and phrases. A rough figure of a hand (prophylactic against the evil eye) contains the Aramaic legend:

אֲנָא מַלְעַיְיוּ דַוִדֶה קַא (א) = אֲנָא מַלְעַיְיוּ דַוִדֶה קַא שָנְבַּה בְּהַשַּׁנְבַּה בָּשָׂא

“I am the seed-producer (?) of Joseph; when I come, an evil year cannot prevail over him,”—a play of thought between Joseph as controller of the fertility of Egypt and the fertility of the family, and as a good omen for the expectant mother.

A “David’s Shield” contains in the center אֲנָא דָוִיד הָרָחוֹת, a fanciful form of Adonai, on the left hand מַלְעַיְיוּ מַלְעַיְיוּ, “Satan,” in another division ובאֲנָא and nearby בּוֹרְא אֶת, to be found in Schwab, Vocab. Another species of the shield more roughly designed contains אֲנָא in the center, flanked with ב, etc. and שֶנָבַה שֶנֶבֶת and שֶנָבַה שֶנֶבֶת לְמַלְעַיְיוּ לְמַלְעַיְיוּ on either side. The changes are rung on the possible mutations of פַּל and the scripture Dt. 28: 10 is cited. Similar charms against the Lilith are to be found at the end of Sefer Raziel and in Buxtorf’s Lexicon, s. v.

**Translation**

Shaddai

Sanui Sansuani Semmiglaph Adam YHWH Kadmon Life Lilith

In the name of Y" the God of Israel who besits the cherubs, whose name is living and enduring forever. Elija the prophet was walking in the road and he met the wicked Lilith and all her band. He said to her, Where art thou going, Foul one and Spirit of foulness, with all thy foul band walking along? And she answered and said to him: My lord Elija, I
am going to the house of the woman in childbirth who is in pangs (?), of So-and-so daughter of Such-a-one, to give her the sleep of death and to take the child she is bearing, to suck his blood and to suck the marrow of his bones and to devour his flesh. And said Elija the prophet—blessed his name!—With a ban from the Name—bless it!—shalt thou be restrained and like a stone shalt thou be! And she answered and said to him: For the sake of Y" postpone the ban and I will flee, and will swear to thee in the name of Y" God of Israel that I will let go this business in the case of this woman in childbirth and the child to be born to her and every inmate so as do no injury. And every time that they repeat or I see my names written, it will not be in the power of me or of all my band to do evil or harm. And these are my names: Lilith, Abitar (Abito?), Abikar (Abiko?), Amorpho, Hakaš, Odam, Kephido, Ailo, Matrota, Abnukta, Satriha, Kali, Batzeh, Taltui, Kitša. And Elija answered and said to her: Lo, I adjure thee and all thy band, in the name of Y" God of Israel, by gematria 613, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the name of his holy Shekina, and in the name of the ten holy Seraphs, the Wheels and the holy Beasts and the Ten Books of the Law, and by the might of the God of Hosts, blessed is he!—that thou come not, thou nor thy band to injure this woman or the child she is bearing, nor to drink his blood nor to suck the marrow of his bones nor to devour his flesh, nor to touch them neither in their 256 limbs nor in their 365 ligaments and veins, even as she is (== thou art?) not able to count the number of the stars of heaven nor to dry up the water of the sea. In the name of: 'Hasdiel Samriel has rent Satan.'

**Commentary**

Only a few detailed notes are necessary. Of the terms at the beginning, סמלננה and סמלן are common in childbirth charms (see Schwab. *Vocab.*, s. v.). The second is erroneously explained by Schwab; it is סמע, the inscribed Name, cf. the סמע ... נילך in 11:9. סמי and its reduplication סמני probably mean "divorced."

N. B. the order of Adam, Yhwh, Kadmon.

(מייסקאר איה (תקוא) is obscure to me. The root is probably used in the Syriac sense of mourning, hence supplicating; or cf. Heb. לו, "writhe," as well as "dance."
I would read as ʿayyōn hē reson, the first as the indefinite pronoun fem. quaequae, the last as representing the Greek ἑαυτη, which is commonly used in the papyri, the actual name being inserted upon use.

Of the names of the Lilith the second = Abatur the Mandaic genius (see Glossary A); but the possible reading of the copy, Abito, may be preferable, in view of the Greek parallels; see below; the third is the Greek ἀμορφος.

613: the figure is the gematriac sum of 'the Lord God of Israel,' as also the number of positive and negative commandments of the Law. As Mr. A. Simon, Harrison Fellow of the University, has suggested to me, the preceding abbreviation stands for ל GLint ה. The "256 limbs" are 248 in Jewish lore. For the 365 ligaments, cf. the identical expression in a charm given by Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 205.

The 10 Books of the Law are the double of the Pentateuch; cf. the Eighth Book of Moses in the Leyden MS. which Dieterich has published at the end of his Abraxas.

The very ancient use of epical narrative as an efficient magical charm was described above p. 62; thus the mere narrative of a demon's power, as in the case of Dibbarra, is potent, or, à fortiori, the relation of a triumph over the evil spirit from some sacred legend. In the present case we have the added virtue of the revelation of the demon's names, and she swears that whenever they confront her, she will retire; the knowledge of her names binds her (cf. p. 56).

Dr. M. Gaster has published in Folk-lore xi (whole number xlvi), 129, an interesting paper entitled 'Two Thousand Years of a Charm Against the Child-Stealing Witch.' The latter uncanny spirit has already met us in several of our preceding texts (Nos. 11, 18, 36, etc.). Dr. Gaster surveys a wide material of European and Semitic forms of this magical narrative, all of which have evidently the same root. He draws on Slavonic, Roumanian and modern Greek legends, and cites one of Gollancz's Syrian charms, a collection to which I have had frequent occasion to refer,1 and also quotes

1 In Actes of the 8th International Congress of Orientalists, Sect. 4, p. 77. Most of these charms are in the narrative style. Cf. also a similar Syriac charm given by Hazard, JAOS, xv, 286 f.
in translation a Jewish charm of the same order from the *Mystery of the Lord* (in the Hebrew מFolderPath, a book I have not been able to obtain).

This Jewish legend is almost identical with ours. It is considerably shorter, concluding with the names of the Lilith and a direction to hang up the names in the room of the woman concerned. The names are almost identical with those in our text; they are: Satrina, Lilith, Abito, Amizo, Izorpo, Koko, Odam, Ita, Podo, Elo, Patrota, Abiko, Kea, Kali, Batna, Talto, Partasah. My form Amorpho is probably older; Koko ဗြီနှင့် may be preferable to my Kaš.

In both these Jewish forms Elija and the Lilith are the actors. In the Syriac legend quoted by Gaster from Gollancz, it is a saint Mar Ebedishu and the Evil Spirit in the likeness of an ugly woman who are the characters; the latter has for one of her names that of "the Strangling-mother of children" (cf. above to 36: 4). In the European Christian legends, the benevolent actor is the Virgin, Michael, or a certain saint bearing the name Sisoe, or Sisynios. These names are derived from the Jewish סתיי הנני, as Gaster suggests. In the Greek legend the spirit is Gylo, the earlier הנלי, which appears also in the magical papyri. In all children are the object of the fiend's ravages, in one case the charm is for a boy afflicted with cataract.

There are some other simpler forms of this legend contained in Greek manuscript amulets which were not accessible to Dr. Gaster. In his *Poimandres*, p. 298, Reitzenstein publishes a text which is the earlier prototype of the Roumanian folk-legend published by Gaster, p. 132. It reads: "When the archangel Michael came down from heaven, there met him the impure spirit with her hair down her back and her eyes inflamed. And the archangel Michael said to her: Whence comest and whither goest thou? The impure one answered and said to him: I go to enter the house as a serpent, dragon, reptile, I change into a quadruped, I go to make the plagues of women, to humble their heart, to dry up the milk, to raise the hair of the master of the house ..., and then I kill them. For my name is called Paxarea. For when the Holy Mary bore the Word of Truth

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2 Wessely, Vienna Denkschriften, xlii, 66, also Ἰνδον, Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 298. For Gello = the Assyrian Gallu, see Frank, *ZA*, xxiv, 161.
I went to deceive her and . . .? . And the archangel Michael seized her by the locks on the right hand and said to her: Tell me thy twelve names. And she said: I am called first Gelou, second Morphous, (third, etc.) Karanichos, Amixous, Amidazou, Marmalat, Karane, Selenous, Abiza, Ariane, Maran. Wherever are found my twelve names and thy name, archangel Michael, and thy name Sisinios and Sinodoros, I will not enter into the house of such a one.” Compare also the amulet given on the preceding page in Reitzenstein (p. 297), lacking the reference to the Virgin, the demon enumerating her plagues.

A similar legend, in large part identical with both these just named, is given in the Greek-Italian charms published by Pradel. In this Michael descending from Sinai meets the hag Abuzou* and the demons cast out of heaven. He inquires where she is going; she answers she crawls into houses like a serpent, dragon, etc., to bring all evils on men, to dry up the mother’s milk, to wake the children and kill them. Then, evidently a Christian accretion, she causes faction in the church, sends floods, destroys ships. Michael asks her her name, which is Pataxaro. He asks for her many names. She swears by the throne of God and the eye (= eyes) of the Beasts (cf. the oath in our text) that she will tell the truth. She then gives forty names, the first two of which are Gilou, Morphou.

The legend sometimes ran out into the line of particular diseases, e. g. cataract, as in one of the Roumanian forms; or Beelzebub and other demons are named, as in an amulet in Vassiliev, Anecdota byzantina, i. 336. But the story of the wife-hating, child-murdering hag is the original element, as Gaster points out.

We thus possess forms of the legend in Hebrew and Syriac, in Greek texts of eastern and western Europe, and in modern Roumanian and Slavonic folklore, while the heroes of the epic include Elijah, Michael, Christ and various saints known or obscure. The persistency of the form appears also in the charm names. To compare the lists in the two Hebrew texts and in the two of Wendland and Pradel respectively and in Gollanç

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* Cf. the early Christian myth of the devil’s wiles, Rev. 12.
* The same number is found in the Hekate-Isis legend.
* Griechische u. süd.-italienische Gebete, 23.
* The Avezuba and Avestitza in Gaster’s Roumanian legends.
(Syriac), we find that the initial Hebrew Lilith = Greek Gelou, or Gilou = Syriac Geos, doubtless = Gelos. The second in the Hebrew, Abito (Abitar?) = Apiton the ninth in the Syriac; the third, Abiko (Abikar?) = Abiza or Abuzou in the Greek texts, and as we observed above Avezuba in the Roumanian. The fourth Amorpho (in our text) = Morphous or Morphou having third place in the Greek texts, and Martlos, 4th in the Syriac. Amorpho is doubtless the Greek ἄμορφος, "shapeless," and our Jewish text alone has preserved the correct form. Eilo and its obscure predecessor in the Hebrew may be found in Pradel's Morphillaton, and the latter's Phlegumon may translate the Hebrew שפ.

It is impossible to place our phylactery genealogically in such a mass of interrelated material. The Jewish text doubtless depends upon Greek tradition with its magical name Amorpho and its transliteration of ἄείβα, while the later Greek forms have borrowed from the Hebrew in St. Sisynios. But the source of the legend is the common property of mankind, with roots as ancient as the Babylonian Labartu and Gallu. A child-killing demon which sucks babes' blood, etc., is found in Africa; see Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection, i, 285, a reference pointed out to me by Professor Jastrow. In the Hellenistic magic a classical form of such legend was established out of all the elements that were brought together in that age, and this spread again assuming its variant forms among the peoples and faiths. If our text actually came from Nippur, it is of interest as the earliest form of the Jewish legend and as one which can be dated with approximate accuracy.

Corrections and Additions

P. 20, line 4: read "Berlin" for "British."
P. 20: add to the list of published Mandaic bowls the two photographic plates of bowls (plates 1, 2) in J. de Morgan, Études linguistiques, vol. v, part 2, of his Mission scientifique en Perse.
P. 105, line 20: the Koran gives to the Mandaeans the same privileges as the Jews and the Christians (see 2: 59; 5: 73; 22: 17).
GLOSSARIES

GLOSSARY A

Personal Names and Epithets of Deities, Angels, Demons, etc.

GLOSSARY B

Proper Names of Men and Women

GLOSSARY C

General Glossary
Prefatory Note

Glossary C is arranged according to roots, the other two consonantically. The former indexes only the common nouns.

The citations of other authorities can be understood from § 2. The two publications of Pogon's are cited as "A" and "B", and Pogon's full glossaries will serve to locate all words of his texts. Where lines of texts are given, the reference is to the spiral line if facsimile is given, otherwise to the lines of the printed text. I have not thought it necessary to give the line citation for proper names even in my own texts, as they can be easily identified.

Under Glossary B, the following abbreviations are used: d. = daughter of, f. = father, h. = husband, m. = mother, s. = son, w. = wife.

Where a word appears in my text the first citation may be referred to for any treatment by the editor; references are also added to further discussions in the Introduction. Notes are occasionally added to words found in texts of other editors.

In Glossaries A and B all the occurrences are given with the exception of a few common divine names like מַתָּן; in Glossary C only typical citations and peculiar forms; also it has been the aim to give citations from the three dialects.

(267)
GLOSSARY A

PERSONAL NAMES AND EPITHETS OF DEITIES, ANGELS, DEMONS, ETC.

- *evil deity*: Pogn B.
- *evil deity*: Lidz 4. 5 (for these two names, see to 11: 5).
- *Destroyer 3.*
- *divine name?*: 7; Myhr.
- *Abatur, Mandaic genius*: Ellis 1 (תורה א); Wohls 2417 (סומך); see p. 96.
- *evil deity (Apollo? Aeon?)*: 19.
- *feminine to above*: ib.
- *epithet of God*: 8.
- *mystic name*: Schw F.
- *deity or angel*: 19.
- *“the holy Agrabis”*: 14.
- *Adonai*: 34; Pogn B.
- *Ramiah angel*: Pogn B; Lidz 1.
- *neb<label>alangel*: 19.
- *neb<label>al deity?*: 19.
- *ghost*: Wohls 2417.
- *God*: 18.
- *divine name*: 13.
- *mystical name?*: Wohls 2422.
- *mystical name*: 5.
- *God*: 7, 16, etc.
- *Elohim*: Ellis 1; Hyv.
- *angel*: 10.
- *Ellis 1 (but see to 11: 4).*
- *name of Gabriel*: Wohls 2422.
- *El Shaddai*: 8, 34, etc.
- *demon (bath Imma)*: Wohls 2426.
- *name of demon*: Wohls 2416 = Stübe (see p. 77).
- *a genius*: Lidz 5 (“anathema”).
- *deity*: 19.
- *deity*: 19.
- *demon*: Schw F (see p. 25).
- *Satan*: Montg.
- *epithet of angel (“charmer”)*: Schw, PSBA, xii, 298.
- *Wohls 2422 (= אבּוֹדָא?).*
- *angel*: Wohls 2416.
- *Okeanos (?)*: 19.
- *series of mystical names*: Schw F.
a deity: 19.

בittel = Bel: 36.

ם"ת=_bel: 19.

psn ק"ד: Schw N.

^K''n ק"ד: Schw N.

變得 ק"ד: Schw N.

^K''n ק"ד: schw N.

DIBAT = Dilbat, goddess of love: 28.

mother of demon: Schw G.

DILBAT = Dilbat, goddess of love: 28.

mother of demon: Schw G.

DILBAT = Dilbat, goddess of love: 28.

mother of demon: Schw G.

DILBAT = Dilbat, goddess of love: 28.

mother of demon: Schw G.
angel: Wohls 2416 (for Stübe's, הָאַרָאָיִא).

angel: 35.

(דִּבְּאָם) angel: Pogn B.

deity: 19.

see "eleven names" following: Schw G.

ghosts: Wohls 2417.

Yahwe passim.

angel: Pogn B; Lidz 1.

angel: Pogn B.

ib.

angel, or divine name: 25.

lilith: 38.

angel, or divine name: 25.

angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

Mandaic divine name: Pogn B.

an angel, with "eleven names" following: Schw G.

the "heat" demon: 30: 2.


Leviathan: 2.

demon: 37.

angel: Wohls 2416.

angel: Pogn B.

the Destroyer: 9.

angel: Schw G.

Metatron: 25; Wohls 2416.

Michael: 34, etc. (see p. 96 f.).

Signs of Zodiac: 4.

the Word: 27, 19, 2 (see to 2: 2).

데 terminology: 11.

Mandaic genius: 19; Wohls 2422.

deity: 19.

Mandaic genius: Pogn. B.

angel: 38.

Wohls 2416.

angel: 14.

Schw PSBA, xii, 298.

god Nannai: 36.

deity: 19.

Nirig: 35; Wohls 2416 (see p. 96).

Nirig: Ellis 1.

name of God: Ellis 3.

(Manî) Moon: 34, Wohls 2416; Pogn B.

etc. angel: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

Sin: 36; Montg.

Satan: 2, etc.; אַנֵטָא, 19; cf. בעיתונין.
angel: Wohls 2416.

ל^נמיהא ג-signed: 8; zum 8.

ונז ו: 8; zum 8.

angel: Schw N.

"the Prince": 5, 7 (see p. 97 f.).

angel: 15; Schw I.

angel: 14.

Ssmo angel: 15.

Nniv angel: 8.

ב'^ה^ג genius or angel: Schw F.

Genius or angel: Schw F.

Ss*;v angel: Wohls 2416 (see Wohls p. 27, and Bousset, Arch. f. Rel.-wiss., iv, 268).

сыיעו: angel: 7; Myhr.

Istar, Mand. evil deity: Pogn B (a she-angel, nos. 14, 15); = name of lilith?: 38, 40.

"Barrenness": 11.

angel: Wohls 2416.

ךלעךמ form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

ןו^נ^◁ deities: 19.

idem.

father and mother of demons: 8 (variants in 17).

ךח"ל"מ deities: 19.

מת^דב genius: 8.

ב^נ^די נ^די for Piриawis, Mand, genius: Pogn B.

ךלעךמ form of Raphael: Lidz 1; Pogn B.

ךלעךמ angel: Wohls 2416.
Shaddai: 8; Myhr; 8 שאר מ, 7. Myhr
angel: Schw N.
angel: 35.


Also eleven names of angel in Ellis 3: מזריח, ברבכה, בכלה, סכללו, מלאך, מרכז, מרכז (בברכה, בכלה, סכללו, מלאך, מרכז, מרכז), א_iffי, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון, אחרון.

In Schw M a list of mystical angel names: מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך, מלאך. Names of ghosts, some cited above, Wohls 2417. For a lilith's names, see No. 42.

SOME KABBALISTIC FORMS OF התה etc. (see p. 60 f.):

תהל, Schw Q; ו, Schw O; ו, ib.; את, Hyv; מ, Ellis 4, Hyv; ו, את, את, Stübe, l. 16; סcdf, ib. l. 28; עד, ib. 7: 8, Stübe, l. 15, cf. 13: 7; את, את, 7: 12; ואת, את, 31: 6; ואת, את, 14: 2.

Atah א, Stübe, l. 29; eman, 5, center; Stübe, I; Stübe, l. 35, 20: 2, 5.

Atat, Stübe, l. 15; עד, ib. 15: 2; עד, ib. 29: ע, etc. 29: (Atbash), Stübe, l. 66. Cf. also 1: 13, 24: 4f, 3: 6, etc.
GLOSSARY B

PROPER NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

Abba s. Zawithai: 2.
Abba (a sorcerer?): 7, Myhr.
Abundah d. Pušbi: 5.
Abuna s. Geribta: 2.
Abraham (the patriarch): 8, Schw O; s. Dadbeh: 12, 16.
Adam; bc 30: 10; bc 13, Pogn A.
Adak s. Ḥathoi: 6.
Adur yazandur; Pogn B (for first component see Justi, pp. 5, 51; the second error for Yazandad?—see ib. 146).
Izdanduch m. Yezidadda: 7, 27.
Azia m. Maria: Litz 3.
Ahḍabui s. Aḥathbu: Wohls 2422.
Aḥathbu m. Aḥdabui: Wohls 2422.
Aḥathardābe, Aḥthadabhe d. Imma: Wohls 2426, 2414.
Aḥath-rabta m. Farruchiro: Pogn B.
Aḥṭaḥemena m. Dade: Pogn B.
Ukkamai f. Zuṭra: Schw F. Imma m. Ḥisда Schwo E; m. Osera: Schw G.
Amṭur d. Solomon: Schw I.
Oni Harmasdar Ṭardi m. Ṭardi: 20.
Anur.. d s. Parkoi: 28.
Anos m. Zadanoš: Pogn B.
Anosai d. Mehinducht: ibid.
Aniše (error for previous name?) ibid.
Aniša, ibid.
Anošta, ibid.
Anuth-haye d. Sebre-le-Yesho: ibid. ("vessel of life").
Astroba: 29.
Asmin d. Idi: Wohls 2417.
Asmanducht m. Dadbeh: 12, 16, 31, 33.
Aspenaz m. (?) Gaye: Myhr (see to 7: 4).

Osera s. Osera and Imma: Schw G (see p. 83).

Aphadoi s. Dawiwi: Pogn B.

Ephra s. Saborduch: 1, 13; s. Ihi: 18.


İşpandoi w. Ephra: 18.

Açaçovo, 26: 5, 11 (32, 35), 30 (30) Işandarmed m. Yandundişnâ: 30; m. Dinoi: 32, 35; m. Behd, dar: Ellis 1.

Ardoi s. Hormizdurch: 3; s. Gayye: Myhr.

Arba f. (m.) Işpiza: 30.

Arion s. Zand: 19; 34 (sorcerer or deity?).

Artaşria s. Komes: 17.

Işpiza s. Arha: 30.

Aşer f. Bosmath; Schw F; H.


Ethroga m. Kûkai: Pogn B (“citron”).


Babanoš s. Kayyonta: 9; s. Mehanos: Pogn B.

Bab, better Be(h)din f. Babai: Wohls 2417 (see Justi, p. 347 b).

Sama: 1, 13; m. Geyambuch: Pogn B.

Bahrad: Ellis 1 (see G. Hoffmann, Ausz. aus syr. Acten, 128).

Bahrezag d. Kawaranoš: Pogn B.

Bahro d. Bath-sahde: 34.


Banai m. Merduch: 7, 27.

Bahro? perh. “son of praise” (artificial name of sorcerer?) Schw G.

Barbabe m. Yazid: Pogn B.

Bar-gelal s. Dodai: 15.


Bar-haye: Rodw = Hal = Schw C (so Chwol CIH, 112; cf. Talmudic name Yish).

Baruk-aria (Farruch?) s. Reshindurch: Schw M.

Berikyahbeh s. Mamai: 26 (artificial form).

Barkita m. Abba: Stübe.

Bar-mesosia: Hal, Schw C. (cf. my note on Schwab E, § 3; a master magician, with artificial name?).

Bar-mištael: 7, Myhr (see to 7: 13).

Bar-šibebi s. Tshehrazad: 15.

Bosmath d. Ašer: Schw F (biblical).
Dazaunoye s. 'Adwitha: 38.

Dachtanbe: Duchtanb e. Kumai: Pogn A (p. 18).


Dinoi s. Ispanarmed: 35.


Denduch d. Chosriduch: ibid.

Duroth: Durdach d. Geloia: Pogn B (Nöldeke, for Adhurduch).

Darši “the foreigner”: 29.

Hadista d. Miria: Schw M (biblical Hadassa).

Hindu (Ibn?): Hindu d. Mahlaphta: 24; m. Marathai: 40; m. Mehperoz: Ellis 3 (see above, § 3).

Hinduita d. Dodai: 38.

Honik s. Dadbeh: 12, 16; s. Komeš: 17; s. Aḥath: 16020 (unpub.).

Hormiz H. r., dora m. Ispanarmed: 26.

Hormizs m. Mama: 15; s. Mahlaphta: Lidz 5.

Hormizdach m. Ardoi: 3; d. Mehduch: 14.

Zadbeh s. Denarta: Pogn B (Nöldeke, from Azadbeh).
Aramaic Incantation Texts.

J. A. Montgomery

Zadoi s. Newanduch: 10; 'Adwitha: 38.
Zadanfarruch s. 'Adwitha: 38.
Zadanoš d. Anoš: Pogn B.
Zawithai m. Ibben: 2.
Zutra s. Ukmai: Schw F
(John 19:34, see to 32).


"Habib: no. 2924 (unpub.).
Hawwa (Eve) wife of Adam: 13; m. Sišin: Pogn B.
Hališayi Tufri. S. Sišin: 29.
Hmri. S. Emme: Pogn B (no. 19).
Enoch the patriarch: 4.
Hanan, the house of: 19.
Hisdai s. Ama: Schw E.
Hathima m.: Pogn B.

Taši m. Guroi: 25.
Tšerazaž m. Bar-šihebi: 15.

Joshua, Jesus, s.
Perāhia, traditional sorcerer: 8: 9; 17; 32; 33; 34 (see to 32).

Yazid s. Komes: 17.
Mehroda: Pogn B (cf. 
\[\text{Pogon} = \text{Wardan}, \text{Justi}, \text{p.} \]
351).

Mihr-hormizd s.

Mamai: 34.

Mehrikai s. Ku\text{\i}zag:
Pogn A (from Mithra\text{\i}kana, s. 

Justi, p. 214).

Mazdanaspas s. Ku\text{\i}zag: Lidz 4 (see Andreas ad 

loc.).

Mahlephone s. Dade: Pogn B 

(but Nö\text{\ö}deke, \text{Malmfleth}).

Mahlaphta m. Komeš: 17;
m. Me\text{\c{s}}\text{\i}sh: 19;
m. Hindu, etc.: 24;
m. Path\text{\i}shpta: Pogn B;
m. Hormiz: Lidz 5.

Mahlath m. Aglath: Schw P 

(biblical).

Mehlaphta s. Rakdata: 
Pogn B (but Nö\text{\ö}deke, \text{Malmfleth}).

Maiducht d. Kumboi: 

35, no. 16093.

Malkona s. Ma\text{\k{s}}ath: Schw P.

Mamai, Mama: 
m. Geyonai: 8;
m. Hormiz: 15;
m. Berikyahbeh: 26;
m. Mihr-hormizd: 34;
m. Tim-

athoez: Lidz 2.

Mask\text{\t}ath m. Malkona: Schw P 

(“olive-gleaner”).

Mesorta m. Ku\text{\i}ai: Pogn B.

Marabba s. ‘Ad-

witha: 38.

Marada h. Hinduitha: 38.

Mordecai s. Saul: 41.


Maria d. Azia: Lidz 3.
Mirā m. Hadista: Pogn M (= Miriam?).

Māriam: Schw Q.

Meršabar f. Kayyoma:

Pogn B (= frequent Syriac name, Justi, p. 206).

Marath m. Rašnoi: 8 (= following name).

Martha m. Dədai: 15.

Marathai d. Hindu: 40.

Moses (the lawgiver): 34, 35.

Mīsha... m. Denarta: Pogn B.

Muškoi d. Simoi: Myhr.

Mešaršia s. Mahlaphta: 19;

Porath: Schw G.

Methanis d. Rešan: 29.

Nebazach m. Ahath: 28.

Newanduch d. Pushbi: 5;

d. Kaphni: 10, 11; m. Behdanduch: Ellis I.

Noah (patriarch): 10.

Nana d. Kethima:

Schw L; Nanai m. Ahathābon: Pogn B.

Sebre-leyeshu f. Anuthhayeh:

Pogn B (w. Pogonon = “his (my?) hope is in Jesus”).

Sama(i) m. Behmanduch: 1, 13.

Simoi m. Muškoi: Myhr.

Simkoī m.?: 30.

Sumaka s. Kušanta:

Pogn A (with Pogonon = "Sabbath-daughter").


Kāyoma s. Meršabor: Pogn B (a Syriac name, Payne-Smith, col. 3538; cf. the following).


Rabbi father of a sorcerer: Hyv (artificial name?).

Robkai: Pogn B (= Heb. הבקש).

Rustaum s. Churai: Pogn B.


Rešan m. Methaneš: 29.


Rešinduch m. Baruk-aria: Schw M.

Hēšen, Ḥāšmonai Rašnoi d. Marath: 8; m. Yazdoe: Pogn B.

Saborduch m. Ephra: 1, 13.

Sahduch m. Farruchan: Lidz 1.

Saul (?) f. Mordecai: 41.

Šili s. Šarkoi: 12, 16.

Solomon (the king): Schw I, Q (スタイル), Hyv; f. Amtur: Schwab I.

Solomon (the king): 34, 39. Ellis 1; Lidz 5.

Širin m. Saradust: 9.

Šarkoi m. Kaphni: 10; d. Dada: 12, 16.

Šiše d. Beth-Asia: Pogn B (compare the following).

Sisin m. Haliphai: 29; m. Yazid: Pogn B; d. Hawwa: ibid.; undetermined ibid. (= 60?).

Seth (the patriarch): 10.

Terme d. Dade: 39.

Tata niece of Bardesa: 39.
father: pl. אביו 36: 5.
be behind, tarry: Af. Wohls 2417.
father: Pogn B.
be behind: Pogn B. do: 8: 3, Stübe 58.
oh: Hal.
be behind: Pogn B.
oh(?) : Schwab F.
as: 32: 9.
tree: 34: 5.
which is not Schw M.
there is: 37: 3; are in him, Pogn B.
עיב = Talm. וא = אבocado, Lidz 4.
is not: Pogn B.
error for following npis?: Schw G.
eat: 36: 7; whoever (f) eats, Pogn B.
unto, 1: 15 (see י). god: 7: 4; ... 14; pl.
5 (also Glossary A).
goddess: Wohls 2417: 5, Wohls (א) 2422,
(or, curse?). deity: 38: 7.
Af. teach: Hal; Pogn; דובכלא, ib. (Pogn as from 니).
if: 2: 3; repeated, whether ... or, Ellis 1.

mother: 8: 4, 38: 14; plur. ephah, 36: 5.

whether parallel to cattle, possessions, Schw M.

be true: Hof, Schw M.

Amen: e. g. 14: 8, 15, Pogn B (see p. 63).

faith: 29: 12.

denominative of artisan (?) in 38: 3, who ever has worked for you, Pogn B.

say, command: 2: 3; Etpe. 30: 7; Etpe. 37: 5.


tree-top?: 34: 5.


yea: 34: 5, Pogn B (see p. 63).

vessels: 38: 3.

vessel: Schw F.


anger: Schw F.

over? Schw R.

" ("nâ° and "iïś") man: 1: 12, etc.; constr. 7: 13, 38: 8; pl. 7: 15, 38: 11.

man: 3, 6, Ellis 5.

woman, wife: 31: 9, 32: 1; 9: 4; 3: 7; 15, etc.; ephah 3: 3; ephah, Lidz 2; 25: 3; 38: 15; 35: 8.

heal: w. suf. 1: 15; Etp. 7: 14; Wohls 2422; plps. 1: 3; Lidz 1c.

healing, etc.: 1: 3, 13: 8; pl. 3: 1, etc. (see p. 129).

myrtle: 13: 3, Pogn B.

hall: 12: 13.


bind, charm, of magic: 4: 1, etc.; 19: 14; Af. 37: 5, Pogn B; ib. (see p. 52).

bind, charm, of magic: 4: 1, etc.; 19: 14; Af.

spell: 3: 1.

ditto? Ellis 3, Wohls 2422 (but see Fränkel ad loc.).

ditto? Ellis 3, Wohls 2422 (but see Fränkel; is the form a confusion with or feminine of מַדִּיתוֹם).

wood: 38: 2.

moreover: 3: 11, etc.; 3, Schw I.

turn away: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

darkness: Schw F.

epithet of כְּהִי 7: 11.

praeparatum?: 13: 12.

keys: Pogn B.

trap: Wohls 2417.
Aramaic way: Hal 3.
Aramaean (so read in Pogn B, 27, ext.).
earth: 2: 2; אָרְחָא, Myhr', Pogn B.
fire: 8: 14.
same ditto: 14: 7; Pogn B.
same sign of accus.: Schw M (Heb.).
come: 8: 9; Af. אָרְחָא, 9: 7.
place: 9: 8; נָהֲרָאָּו אָרָה one after the other, 38: 11;
in: passim; בּ, י, בּ, etc.

an interjectional call for divine help, in אָרְחָא עָמָן אָרְחָא, Pogn B (cf. the Syriac root; Pognon, "male dici tion").
be ashamed: impv. пл. מָרְחָא, Pogn B.
come in: מָרְחָא Schw G.
plunder (?) : 5: 3.

cleave: Pogn B 11, some form of evil:
Schw L.
case, abandon: impv. 7: 15,
pass. part. 17: 13, act.
ъ Pogn B; Pa. undo: 17: 13, 7: 13 inf.; Etp. Schw I.
because of: 11: 8 (cf. מָרְחָא).
egg: Pogn B.
evil: 8: 16, etc.
malady: 34: 7.
these ditto (?) : Schw L.
house, family: בּ, בּ, בּ 12, 2,
Etp. 3: 7, etc. (see p. 79).
muzzle: 2: 11, Lidz 4.
swallow up, destroy, Etp. 3: 7, 9: 6.
pillow: Lidz 5.

a goddess of censing, embalming (?), Wohls 2417.

ask: 4: 6; נא, act. ppl. f., Pogn B.

husband: 8: 13, etc.

class of demons (see p. 80): 2: 3; in Pogn B, בָּרָאָה, בָּרָאָה, בָּרָאָה.

שָׁנָה, Syr. אָר הָבָּב: Wohls 2422, 34: 8, 37: 2.

herd: Pogn B, no. 27 (so understand).

son, passim; Heb. ב, 41; plur. c. g. אָר ה, 1: 9; plur. w. suffix בָּנָה, 11: 9, 29: 6, 38: 4.

daughter: Ellis 1; const. ב, 36: 2, Mand. מֵא, 38: 4, אָר ה. Pogn B (אָר ה, ב component of name Pogn B, ?); plur. מָב, 3: 3.

מָּלָע, voice, 16: 10. אָר ה, demons, 29: 7.

apart in ב, 19: 15, Pogn B.

the open country: 17: 3, 29: 7.

Pa. put outside: Pogn B.

אָר ה, bright, of angels: Schw I.

create: 2: 2, Myhr.

hail: 14: 3.

flee: Ellis 1: 8.

bless: 25: 3; Pa. רָכָא רָכָא Pogn B (= מְפַלָּת ?).

lightning: 12: 8.


proud: Schw M.


back: 8: 3.

lintel: נָבָא, 6: 4.

knead: 12: 5 (of magical operation).

be strong: Pa. מַגֵּר, 30: 5.


Mand. מַגֵּר, מַגֵּר, מַגֵּר, strong: 3: 2, 19: 13, Pogn A, B.

might: Schw F.

great: 5: 3, וַה הֶרֶם נְזַה Schw F.

woven headdress: Lidz 2.

wall up (against demons): 17: 8.


eruption, noise: Pogn B.

color, form: וַיַּלְכֶּל Myhr.

body: Hal, Schw Q; נְזַה, term for a man's inamorata, 13: 12.

rob: Pogn B.

inhibit, ban: 7: 13, Pogn B.

ban: 7: 13.

magical condemnation: Montg.
(magic) divorce: 8: 7 (q. v.).

Gukaean: Pogn B.

great: Schw F.


rock (?) : Pogn B (so Pognon; or of the magic circle?).

spheres Stübe 58, Pogn B.

to ספנ נונכ ה: Pogn B.

ditto: שפנ, 6: 11.

(from הונע?).

to ספנ, Lidz 4.

 engrave: רע גול, ח, 9.

şimול ? Wohls 2422 ("good works").

completion: רע נמיי ונפ Schw F.

Jinn: Hyv, prob. 37: 10 (see p. 80).


polished armor: 2: 1, 17: 3.

an itching disease: Wohls 2422.

north: Pogn B.

bone, body: 7: 17.

Pa, chain: Pogn A (root פ"כל ?).

body: Stübe.

relative particle, passim; with following half-vowel, יד, e. g. ריבני. In Mand. יד for י, 38: 12, 14. Pogn A, p. 13. Used to resume a preposition, Pogn B, no. 12, l. 6 (For omission of the particle in genitive construction, see p. 39.).

mine: כבירי, on my own part, 2: 5; as ריבי, his, 30: 4.

ditto: 7: 12; in order that, 28: 4.


clinging, haunt, of demons: 11: 6, Pogn B.

see ע"ב on account of:

בבר see ע"ב.

pasture land: Ellis 3.

chariot-driver: Pogn B.

(angelic) cohorts: 8: 14.

justice judgment, of the last day: 4: 4, 19: 8, Wohls 2417.

dwell: היר, Ellis 5. (וּכְו) Myhr.

dwelling-place and its precincts: 32: 11, 38: 2, Lidz 4 (ךְֶּוָ),

ditto: 29: 8.


ditto: Schw E, Hal.

tread down: imprv. רשת Lidz 4.

evil-doing: Lidz 4.
chase: Pogn B.
fear: 1: 12, Peal and Pael, Schw F.
terrifying: 35: 7.
flash: 35: 4.
devil: 1: 7, 39: 5, etc. (see p. 74).
name: 28: 5.
draw up: Pogn B, Etpa.
relier, epith. of Raphael: 34: 7.
place in Babylonia: Hal.
blood: Schw M.
be like, appear in disguise, of spirits: Ña lleva impf. Pogn B, Etpa. 1: 12, etc.
likeness: 6: 4; plur. Ña lleva, 39: 9 (see p. 82).
sleep: Wohls 2417.
be astounded: Stübe 47.
a disease (stä): 34: 10.
(ור) Ña lleva east: Wohls 2422 (so Fränkel), Ña lleva, Pogn B.
ban-writ: 32: 4, etc.
ditto: 18: 6, Lidz 5.
ditto: Pogn B.
healing: 37: 1, Pogn B.
south: Wohls 2422.
true: 7: 13, 18: 8 in Pëtûra, Lidz 5.
be like, appear in disguise, of spirits: Ña lleva impf. Pogn B, Etpa. 1: 12, etc.
likeness: 6: 4; plur. Ña lleva, 39: 9 (see p. 82).
sleep: Wohls 2417.
be astounded: Stübe 47.
a disease (stä): 34: 10.
(ור) Ña lleva east: Wohls 2422 (so Fränkel), Ña lleva, Pogn B.
ban-writ: 32: 4, etc.
ditto: 18: 6, Lidz 5.
ditto: Pogn B.
healing: 37: 1, Pogn B.
south: Wohls 2422.
true: 7: 13, 18: 8 in Pëtûra, Lidz 5.

יו honey: 12: 5.

ב victorious: 37: 11; 1, 40: 25, Pogn B, Lidz 5.

ס נפים victory, etc., parallel to אמות Pogn A, B.

ל ה pour: 12: 5.

י时限 hair: Pogn A.

ד resound: 6: 11.

כ resonance: 6: 11.

ס Pa. designate (of setting apart the magic bowls): 3: 1, 31, etc.; invite: Pogn B.


י psalm: 14: 3.

מ a precious stone?: Hyv.

ל harlot: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

י hairs, used in magic?: 7: 13 (see p. 153).

בע foul: Pogn A.

כ blast: 12: 8; plur. blast-demons 14: 5, 19: 3, 13: 4, 38: 2, Pogn B.

ז equip magically: 4: 6, 19: 13, 31: 4, 38: 2, Pogn B.


יו seed: Schw I, Hyv.

יו posterity: 1: 8.


Nan hide: Etp. Schw I.


the destroyer 9: 8;

travail of a woman, 13: 11.

injury, destruction:

Schw F, G, N.

ditto: 7: 16.

ditto: 32: 8, 37: 11.


ditto: 32: 8.

embrace, cherish, of angels:


one: 4: 1; 11, Ellis 3.

one another: 31: 6, Pogn B.


(magic) circle: 39: 7.

precinct, property: 40: 4.

w. ἀνωτάτῳ, livestock.

new: ἀνωτάτῳ, ἀνωτάται Pogn B; f.

ἀνωτάται 13: 11.

Pa. show: 37: 7, Pogn A, B.

guilty: Schw F.

serpent: plur. ἀνωτάται, Pogn B.

without: Schw I.

precinct: Schw P.

quick! magical interjection:

ἀνωτάται, ἀνωτάται, ἀνωτάται ἀνωτάται ib.; ἀνωτάται Stüße 14; ἄνωτα Schw N (between angel-names), Pogn B, no. 5, end; cf. ἄνωτα.

a skin-disease: Wohls 2422.

see: 30: 4. Pogn B; Etp.


ditto: 30: 5.

sin: 1: 3, 4 (of demons).

sinner: (? Schw M.

sin: Schw PSBA, xii, 299 (see p. 86).

pluck away: Lidz 4.

a demon: 8: 2, 8, 12; ἀνωτάται, 17: 4.

switch, plague: 30: 14.


living: 38: 7. 30: 8; pl. life: 30: 1, 38: 13 (see Glossary A).

animal: 7: 14.

ditto Hal; pl. ἀνωτάται 39: 6, ἀνωτάται 38: 3, Pogn B.

healing: Schw H.

Pa. make strong: ἡ τελείως pass. 31: 5. (ἄνωτα, ἀνωτάται, Schw F ?).

power: 2: 1, pl. ἀνωτάται 2: 2; ἀνωτατέκα 37: 4.

a skin-disease: so read in Wohls 2422 for "τ" (Fränkel, ἀνωτάται).


marriage chamber: 36: 7.

sickness: Schw F.

milk: Pogn B.

dream: 6: 10, 31: 4. 39: 10, etc. (see p. 82).

arm: 19: 13.
weak: Pogn B, Lidz la.
father-in-law: Pogn B no. 29
(but read מיהא). mother-in-law: Ellis 3.

Aramaic Incantation Texts. 289

name of a place: 5: 4.
do violence: 2: 10.
leave: 13: 12.
wine: Hyv, Pogn B.

name of a place: 5: 4, 10.

father-in-law: Pogn B no. 29
(but read 'Sion ?).

mother-in-law: Ellis 3.

name of a place: Hal, Schw E. (Hal. identifies with an

Arabic place-name; Schw

with a place mentioned in

Jer. Sheb. viii, 5).

twist: Pogn B.

a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

lay waste: 38: 11, Pogn B.
sword: 37: 8.
terrify: 8: 7.
a kind of spell: Stübe 25.
a pungent herb ?: 28: 3.

ban: pass. ppl., 7: 17, Pogn B.
curse: Montg.

anathema: Schw M.
ditto: 2: 6; also 2: 6 with a place mentioned in

Jer. Sheb. viii, 5).

anathema: Schw M.
ditto: 2: 6; also 2: 6 with a place mentioned in

Jer. Sheb. viii, 5).

an anathema: Schw M.
ditto: 2: 6; also 2: 6 with a place mentioned in

Jer. Sheb. viii, 5).

enchant, poison: 7: 13 of water (see p. 84).
black arts: 5: 2, 33: 8, etc., Pogn B (see p. 84).

blaspheme: 8: 16.

sharp: 7: 17.

enchant, poison: 7: 13 of water (see p. 84).
black arts: 5: 2, 33: 8, etc., Pogn B (see p. 84).

blaspheme: 8: 16.

sharp: 7: 17.

enchant, poison: 7: 13 of water (see p. 84).
black arts: 5: 2, 33: 8, etc., Pogn B (see p. 84).

blaspheme: 8: 16.

sharp: 7: 17.
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beseelement: 9: 11.

(? ) ditto: 34: 1.


ditto: Pogn B.

KDinn(?) ditto: 34: 13;

Dinn(?) ditto: 34: 1.

j'"Dinn(?)

ditto: 3: 1.

Nnnnn ditto: Pogn B.

ditto: Pogn B.

Nnomn ditto: Pogn B.

'3t3 gazelles: Wohls 2414.

dip: Schw F.

seal: Ellis 1.


(by) good: 29: 9.

Pa. defile: Pogn A.

false deity: pl. Wohls 2422, ib. 2426.

the deluge: 10: 5.

Af. frighten away: 7: 17.

disturbing: 30: 5.

trouble: Schw I.

tear, pluck: 18: 6 ppl. of a lilith.

talon, toe: 19: 19;

Pogn A, B.

agitation: Lidz 4.

etc. some part of the heart: 11: 7 and parallels.

stop up, of the ears: Lidz 4.

interjection: 14: 7.

bring: Pogn B, no. 28.

dry up: Pogn B.


on side of, Schw E; ré, per, 8: 13; hand ?; Schw E, Q.

give: 36: 4, Ellis 1.

day: 4: 4 (of judgment).

day-time: 3: 3, etc.;

Pogn B.


parturition: 39: 11.

sea: 7: 12, 8: 9, 14: 2, Pogn B.


17: 8; with 8: 12. So understand Schw I: 5 (not "water magic").

exorcism: 1: 12;

Lidz 5.

ditto: Schw I.

right-hand: 6: 10, Pogn A.

south: Pogn B (with

A disease: Wohls 2422,

Schw G (who reads

— the preceding is misspelling for this, plus

and).

burning, of fire: 4: 7.

glory = name: 8: 6.
glorious, of the Name:
Lidz 5.

throw: 32: 4, Lidz 4. pierced
with a lance ?, but see
Lidz, and cf. יַע.

the Law: Hyv, Michael
prince of the L.

javelin: 11: 7 and par-
allels.

Jordan (mystical river):
Pogn B.

month: 6: 5, Pogn B.


howler (class of demons):
15: 6, Myhr 2, Schw G
(see p. 81.).

inherit: כֹּה? Ellis 5.

sleep: 6: 10.

sit: 13: 7, etc.; impf. 1st per.

bowstring: 2: 5.

Af. put in pain:
Pogn B, Lidz 2.

pain. sickness: Wohls
2422, Pogn B.

prevail: יַעַבָּר impf. Pogn B.

press down (technical phrase
for the bowl magic): 4:
1, 38: 12, impv. מָחַשׁ לְבָר
Lidz 4; Etpe. 6: 9.

term for the bowl: 6: 1,
etc.; יִיבָשׁ הֲלֵבָר (?) 28:
2; step of a throne 12: 6.
deceive: 32: 9. Pogn B.

so: 16: 8.

לְחָמָה
7: 9?

artificial parallel to מֻדָּר
Lidz 5.

pitcher: Pogn B.

star: 4: 4 the 7 stars; 34: 6;
Hal. Schw E.

hold: מִילָח inf. 4: 1.

arrange: כֶּנְיָה 1st pers. 15: 5.

residence: Pogn B.

planets: Ellis 3 (see § 3).

stone, as charm: Ellis 3 (read
אֶחָד?).

tooth: Lidz 4.

too all: 7: 6 (both forms), etc.;
everyone, Lidz 2.

garland: 13: 11.

daughter-in-law: Ellis 3,
Schw G.

bitch: Schw L.

clear Etpa. return: Pogn B (see him
p. 20).

priest: 19: 10.

magic ?: Wohls 2426.

magical practice: Stübe
2.

so: 3: 11; therefore, 9: 7,
there, 25: 1.


abridge, blame: Pogn B.

congregation: לְבָר Wohls
2422 (see p. 79).

incantation) bowl:
7: 13, 31: 1, Pogn B
(כּוֹס), Lidz 5.
fem. 7: 9, 10; 7: 9, 10; 7: 9, 10.
17: 10; 7: 9, 10 to me, Pogn B.
etc. In composition,
and passim in Mandaic with verb and
pronomin suffix, e. g.
I have divorced
her, 32: 9; for יִסְדָּה, 19: 10;
with verb to denote pur-
pose, לַחֲמָה, Pogn B, no.
23. l. 45, 46 (cf. יִסְדָּה).
not, passim; in Mand.
compounded with following
word, e. g. 38: 8, לַחֲמָה. (עָנָי)
labor, asthma? ? יִסְדָּה
16: 9.
לַחֲמָה, לַחֲמָה, לַחֲמָה
heart: 28: 5, etc.;
לַחֲמָה 11: 7 and parallels,
19: 18.
לַחֲמָה be clad: 2: 2, 8: 3; Af. 13: 6,
Pogn B.
לַחֲמָה see לַחֲמָה.
לַחֲמָה be attached to: שְׁאָר
לַחֲמָה of demons, 6: 3, Pogn B.
לַחֲמָה company: Pogn B.
לַחֲמָה curse: Stiibe 4, Pogn B, Lidz
2 לַחֲמָה, they cursed him.
לַחֲמָה a curse: 5: 1, 31: 4,
Pogn B; Ellis 3; Lidz 5; Schwab M pl?
לַחֲמָה (see p. 84).
לַחֲמָה ditto: Lidz 5; Pogn B.
לַחֲמָה species of demons: 20;
לַחֲמָה 3.
לַחֲמָה Pa. soil: Lidz 5; Pogn B.
לַחֲמָה food: Schw F.
enchant: 5

species of demons: 9, 7, 32:
5, 7, 33: 5
34: 9, 10
Pogn
Lidz
Montg.

night: 1: 13, etc.; א' לילה
Pogn B.

male counterpart to lilith: 8: 21, etc.

lilith: 1, 8; pl. א' לילות
and א' לילות; n. b. לילה, 13: 3, 6 (see p. 75).

impv. ה, recite, repeated term in magical formula: Hal.

tongue: 13: 2; tongue of curses, charms, etc., 4: 1;
Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 88).

sickle, weapon of angels: 7: 17.

rotten: Pogn B.

remove: מימן, imp. fem., 17: 11.


die: מות, ppl. Wohls 2417.


ditto: Wohls 2422.

killer, fem.: מותין, 36: 5.

hair: מונאש, Pogn B.

brain, head: Schw F.

strike: ppl. pl. משים 6: 4;
Etpe. 18: 7; Lidz 5.


ditto: 40: 8.

Pogn B,
Lidz 1c.

Pogn B (see בארפז).

Mahoza: Pogn B.

chance on, reach: Pogn B; Af. bring, 25: 5. In Pogn B
コミオニ (מהו) , from what?

I pray: Wohls 2417.

Mand. מים, water:
Heb. מים, מים, מים, מים,

a disease, Wohls 2422
(see p. 93); א' מים יצאה 18: 6;
my w., Pogn B; מים of the
heavenly sea, 8: 14.

kind, species: 1: 8; species of
magic, Ellis 5.


Pa. speak: ppl. Schw G.

Mand. מילת; pl. מילות, Mand. מילת, word, especially
of incantations: 6: 12, 12: 9, 34: 5, 38: 6,
Pogn B. (see p. 85).


be full: מילוי, 12: 7.

flood: Pogn B.

angel, passim as title of evil
spirits, 4: 1, 37: 8, 38: 6,
Wohls 2422 16; of deities, 36: 5.
female angel = goddess: Pogn B, no. 15 of Estera; in his no. 14, ḫalu, prob. fem. form (Pogn “queen”).


king: 34: 8 of Solomon; Hyv of Michael; ib. male of God (Arabism? — so Nöldeke, p. 295); 11: 5, 18: 4, k. of demons.

queen: 19: 6, q. of goddesses.

kingdom: Wohls 2417.

 gen. mix from, passim; ? Schw F, Schw H, w. 1 assimilated 13: 6, 17: 1, 17: 5; from me, Lidz 5, 19: 6, ditto, Pogn B. = מָשֶׁךְ, Wohls 2426, and his note p. 29.

Pa. ordain: Schw F, arrange 15: 5.

portion. in marriage: Pogn B.


intermediate (of the middle of the three spatial regions): ערָא שָׁמֶךְ מְשָׁרָה, but see Nold. Mand. Gram. 84, n. 2.

bitter: 2: 3, 4: 4, epithet of devils and charms.

bitterness: Pogn B, and plur.

lord: of deity 19: 5; as human title, Pogn B, and Schw E; of the sorcerer Lidz 4; construct רבי, Hyv, gen. רבי, 18: 1; his lord, 12: 6; pl., מְשָׁרָה, Pogn B, 28: 5.

stress, our lady 19: 5; lady of dead and living Wohls 2417, Pogn B.

rebel: Schw F.

rebel: 1: 9.

oil: Schw F.


move, etc.: Stübe 62.

Pa. excommunicate, expel: Pu. מַעֲבָדָה, Hal = Schw E, מַעֲבָדָה Schw M; see Lidz’s note on מֵאָרָה in Lidz 2.

(? ) excommunication?: Ellis 3.

vow, ban, in magic: 5: 2, 7: 13, 32: 12, Lidz 4 (see p. 84).

he is (?): Hal.

Af. make clear, name (?): 7: 9.

light: 16: 6, also عشرות Pogn B.
tremble: Pogn B; Pael pass. ppl., Halévy (see § 3).
commotion: Pogn B.
Aramaic, in? in תמרע in??, Schw R.
rest: 16: 7, Schw E.
fire: 8: 13, 14: 3; charms of fire 15: 7, 34: 11; Gabriel prince of fire, Hyv; light, in א recibir: 1: 9.
pepper: 28: 3.
depart: Etpe. 5: 1.
constellations: 34: 6, Ellis 3, Schw G.
class of evil spirits: 7: 11, 14: 6, מונע 23: 4 (see p. 75).
come down: 8: 7, 12: 5; Af. 2: 6, 27: 9 (of angels, curses).
Pa. guard: 7: 9, 35: 6; Etpe. 10: 3, 32: 11.
guardian: Wohls 2417, Pogn B.
guarding: 35: 1, 38: 13. Pogn A.
wardship: 35: 6.
before: Schw F.
Pa. butcher: Pogn B.
stranger: Pogn B.
bite: Schw L, Q.
Pa. prove, try:白斑 she has proved, Pogn B.
trial: Pogn B.
take up: 4: 6, 28: 3, Pogn B; impv. f. pl. מיעל 17: 9.
Nisan: Wohls 2422 (see p. 55).
blow with the breath: Schw F, of demons blowing on the brain.
fall: impv. אתל Wohls 2414. Pogn B.
ba יים a disease: 29: 7.
go out: פות 3: 11; impv. פות 36: 2, פות 8: 10, פות 17: 6, 7; Af. מוסקניא מוסקניא 7: 12; inf. מוסקניא 9: 8, w. suff. 32: 8.
Af. put to flight: מובחר Schw F(?), see § 3.
wrangle: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.
be victorious: Hal, of a star; שית_ste Schw I.
victorious: Schw I.
libation: 36: 7.
Pa. perforate: Pogn B.
woman, female: 30: 4, nfl:(Ellis 1, Schw M; נמשק למשק (most common form, sing. and plur.) 6: 3, 8: 2, 37: 10; נמשק למשק 8: 8; נמשק נמשק, plur. נמשק נמשק, Lidz 4. 39: 6,
Pogn A.


go astray: 1: 9.

Lat. situla?: Schw F, bis.

a satan, Satan: 2: 3, 5: 4, etc.; אמארא מנח 19: 3, 40: 8; plur. 35: 3.

writ: מ"פ מ"ד 26: 6.


cover: 37: 8.

look at: Pogn A, of the demon's glance; Schw I.

Af. commit offence: 4: 2, 5 (inf. אמארא מנח); אמארא become wise Stübe 48.

poverty: 34: 12, Lidz 4, as object of exorcism; 16: 10, genius of p.


turn away: 8: 13.

Af. walk: 12: 6, Pogn B.

numerous: מני מני pl. Schw Q.

stocks, for the feet: 39: 4, Pogn A מנהרי במארא.

bases, of the world: Pogn (p. 77).

close up: מindhoven המ HomeComponent 38: 10, מ недо מ HomeComponent 40: 21.

Sodom.


seducing spirits: 35: 4 (see p. 80).

mare: Wohls 2414.

in 'מיא דר, Red Sea: 34: 4.

end: Schw F, מדרהלה עלים.

seize: Pogn B, Lidz 1a.

put a cover on: pass. plp. סס עשת סס עשת 38: 12; Pa. 7: 17, Pogn B.
5: 2, 39: 6, Pogn B (cf. [אונית]).

_hatah: Lidz 4.

מוה: Pogn B.

 hềBUF 8: 3.

inujlip: Lidz 4.

אזהר: Lidz 4.

אזהר species of demons: 7: 11.


אזהר pl. secret arts? Ellis 3.

 proficient make: 12: 6; of a magical work 9: 2, 32: 3; Pa. use as a servant, Pogn B.

 proficient servant: 34: 7.

 proficient magic practice: Schw F (for this and following terms, see p. 51).

 proficient ditto: 32: 3.

 proficient ditto: 9: 1, etc., Pogn B, Lidz 4 מאמצ; of the Jewish cult 29: 12.

 proficient ditto: 34: 13, Ellis 3, Schw F, M, Stübe 10.

 proficient pass over, transgress: 32: 8; 1: 9, 7: 3, 6: 11.

 proficient across: 8: מaceutיר מיאא מַעַר, מַעַר 17: 10.

 proficient grain: Hyv.

 proficient passage: Pogn B.

 ומה in, soon: Schw M.

flammatory eternity, with עלוע: 2: 15.

flammatory time: pl. עלועי 26: 5.

flammatory ditto: 6: 6, Pogn B.

flammatory go away: 5: 1; Af. 7: 17.

flammatory untou: 4: 4 =ตนה 19: 19; with inf. 34: 11; דע as long as, Hal.

flammatory lock of hair: Pogn B, Lidz 2.

flammatory Pa. help: Schw I.

flammatory embryo: 39: 3, Pogn B.

flammatory bird: 7: 14.


flammatory so Hyv in 1. 4; read [אמס].

flammatory distress: Lidz 4.


flammatory strength: 6: 11.

flammatory strong: fem., epithet of Dilbat 28: 5, of deity 38: 7; of spirits and witches Pogn A, B.

flammatory sheep: 40: 4, 14.

flammatory Etpa. persist: 34: 10.

flammatory ממה in ממה, Schw R.

flammatory seal-ring: of the sorcerer: 17: 12, Ellis 1, of Solomon 34: 8, of God 8: 11, ring of fire 15: 7.

flammatory ? 32: 10 = 33: 12.

flammatory eye, the evil eye: ממה ימכים ממה 5: 4; Lidz 4, ממא מאממ, Ellis 5; various possessors of the evil eye 30: 3 (see p. 89).

flammatory temple: Pogn B; class of evil spirits, 38: 8, 40: 19, Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 72).

flammatory enter: ממה 29: 20 = ממה 30: 10; ppl. ממה 38: 14.
stand: 8: 14.

depth: Pogn B.


a herb used in magic: 28: 3.

necklace charm or spirit: 7: 11. 29: 7. Myhr 6;


dust: Wohls 2417; = Heb. , . Montg.

magical knots, as class of demons: 34: 10 (see p. 88).

uproot: Hal; Pa. 8: 15; Etpa. 9: 6.

barrenness, spirit of: 11: 3.

scorpions: Pogn B, no. 27 (Noldeke).

west: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

sweet: Ellis 5.

a kind of disease: Schw G (see p. 93).

be: 7: 17. Lidz 5.

darkness: Pogn B; plur. Montg.

flee: 7: 11; impv. 3: 11; Ellis 1, thereof Lidz 5 (cf. hal).


oppres: ppl. 34: 9. of a class of demons.

ten: 3. Ellis 3.

old: Pogn B.
a Mand. genius: Pogn B, the 3 Uthras.

and: מֶשֶׁל 17: 11 (see מּוֹד), מְאָבִיר, see under וְרֵי (see p. 105).


encounter: 2: 2.

plague, class of evil spirits: 7: 14, 15: 6 (see p. 92).

fem. of above: Wohls 2426, 16: 10.


scatter: 8: 2, in a magical phrase.

potter: Pogn B.

torr potter's vessel, of the bowl: 9: 1, 32: 3, 33: 1.

banish, divorce: 9: 9, 15: 8, etc.; Af. Lidz 5 (see to 8: 7).

exemption: 17: 12.

divorce-writ: 8: 7, etc.

Pe. and Pa. bind: Pogn B.

divide inheritance: Pogn B.

half: Pogn B.

mouth: 13: 1, Lidz 4; 14: 5, 20: 5.

face: מַכֶּס, Schw F.

inc in: תּוֹרִי, wohls 2414.

break: 7: 17.

cut: 28: 5; Etp. מְצִית Pogn B.

command: 36: 3; Af. Lidz 4; .

(Etp. 35: 6.

command: 38: 6,טֹמֹק (w. suff.) ib.

ward, imprisonment: 34: 6.

burst open: מַכֵּס 6: 11.

Af. break, annul: inf. מִימְשָׁר Stübe 1, 44, מְפָר Ellis 3.

scatter, bewilder: 7: 16.

iron: 2: 1, 15: 7, 38: 5, Schw I.

flee: Schw N. Hyv 14, Stübe 49; also prob. in מִימְשָׁר 1: 10.

determine, of a decree: Lidz 4.

shrine-spirit: 38: 8, 40: 19 (see p. 72).

person: Pogn A, of demons.

separate: מְכַה, 17: 13. 1st per. plur?

deliverance: 4: 5.

Af.-Hof. ppl. of the pronounced Name: שְׁמַה מַמָּרָה, Hal; שְׁמַה מַמָּרָה, Lidz 5; of angels מַמָּרָה מְפָר Stübe 59; Af. in Schwab 1, warn?

Euphrates: Schw G.


break, annul (charms, etc): מְפָר Pogn B, of the magic divorce 11: 7.

annulment: Pogn B.

word: 37: 7.


Schw Q, see Ellis 3 (p. 72).


dip: Schw F (?).

finger: Schw F.

mutter: Schw F.

bind, with a spell: 6: 6, 7: 2, 29: 5.

draw, depict: 11: 9 = Ellis 1.

figure, on a seal: 15: 7.

obey: var. impv. 8: 10.

stink: Pogn A.

ray of light: 7: 5 plur.

glory: 12: 7.

scourge: 1: 10, Lidz 4.

north: Wohls 2422.

morning: 26: 5.

cleaven: א振り אפלמ עפרמ (hoofs), Pogn B; Etpe. 6: 11.

side: Schw G.

 unpopular part. in אסאא, 7: 14, 17: 12.


receive: 6: 11, 37: 7, Pogn B; impv. אבריל Ellis 1, Lidz 5.

counter-charm: 6: 2, 32: 8 (see p. 86).

against him: Schw E.

tomb: Wohls 2422, Pogn B.

ditto: Pogn B, no. 5.
voice: 7, 11, of the client
13: 9, of the witches Lidz 1a; אָמַר הָאָשֶׁר the magical invocation, 16: 10 (see p. 84).

amulet: 2: 1, 10: 17, 29: 5, Ellis 5 (see p. 44).

vault of heaven?: Pogn B (zodiac?, see Payne-Smith, col. 3650).

= אָמַר ? contortion: 34: 10.

possession: 2: 5, 34: 3 (the Mandaic use for "cattle" not assured, in 34: 8 ֵי may mean small cattle).

person(?): כְּנֵי רַמֵּי Schv I.

cold: Pogn B.

call, name: 16: 5, 36: 4. ילעERG demons read the inscription, Ellis 5 (see § 3); Etpe. 3: 2, Pogn B.

magical invocation: 7: 11, 16: 10, Pogn B, Lidz 4 (see p. 84).

ditto: 35: 4.

ditto: Pogn B.

chance upon: 18: 10, Ellis 3.

mishap, pollution: Schv G, l. 8 (so possibly, see p. 92).

approach: 6: 10, etc.

near, neighbor: Ellis 3, Hal, fem. אַרְבָּעָה, Schw G.

battle: Lidz 1a.

flee: 18: 9 = אָמַר Lidz 5 (metathesis of עֵקֶץ).
shake (?) : Lidz 4.

�ו תד : Lidz 4.

spirit, of man: אט הח Breitbart Pogn B, plur.

script: Lidz 1a, Pogn A; gen. of evil spirits, 8: 16, etc.; plur. in man: Schw F, 16: 8, etc., as masc. 30: 3, cf. Ellis 5 אט הח Breitbart: Lidz 4 (see p. 74).

perfume: Pogn B.

high: 14: 4, Pogn B.

height: plur 9: 6, 34: 5.

ditto: Schw G.

ditto: 32: 8, Pogn B.

mystery, of magical rites: 6: 11, 7: 13, 28: 3, 37: 4, etc. (and see p. 85).

name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 10.

have compassion: 13: 4; אט הח Breitbart (? ) Schw L; ppl. loving Schw I.

love of God: 3: 1, 11: 2, Schw E.

love of love rites, 28: 3.

name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 11.

be far: ppls. אט הח Breitbart Schw G, חיר Hal; Pa. 14: 2 Lidz 4; Etpe. 8: 17, Lidz 4

crop ?: Hyv.

chariot: 8: 13.

ditto: 14: 2, 25: 2, Pogn B.

cast down: 9: 1, Pogn B.

act. ppl. 6: 4, 8: 17; Etpe. 14: 7.

( the divine) beck: 19: 8.

one endowed with the evil eye ?: Pogn B.

trample: 1: 10.

reptiles: 7: 14.


evening: 26: 5.

name of a place or sanctuary: 19: 12.

evil: Ellis 5.

will, pleasure: 12: 6.

encamp: 2: 7 (but cf. 27: 11).


le crachet a été craché?: Pogn B.

dance, of angels: 12: 8.

firmament: 8: 9, Stübe 61; Mand. אט הח Breitbart, pl. the seven אט הח Breitbart, Pogn B.

authority: Stübe 61; הרט in center of bowl No. 20.

signing, of a name: אט הח Breitbart, Schw I.

Heb. relative: אט הח Breitbart, Schw M; magical element, see p. 60.

seven hell? 6: 12.

burn: 28: 1.

class of amulet-spirits: 15: 6 (see p. 88).

plague, plur. class of demons: 12: 4, 10, 15: 6, 35: 3. Hyv (see p. 92).

road: 5: 4.

Aραμαϊκος: 8: 3, 19: 4, 4: 4, etc.; Mand. aραμαϊκος, Pogn B.

seven: 7: 17 of angels, Hyv of spells.

oath: Schw I.

seven, fem.: 6: 8.

dismiss, divorce: 17: 2, 32: 9, 40: 22. I have divorced her; Pa. Pogn B.

divorce: 8: 13, plur. 9: 5.

break: Schw G.

“nid”?: Schw F.

cease: Schw E, Wohls 2426.

residence?: Schw I.

dissolve like water: 2: 11; burn, 28: 1.

disturb: 1: 11.

commotion: Pogn B.

seven, etc. disturbing: 24: 4.


Pogn B, etc.; (read ?) Schw G, etc. (see p. 73).

she-demon: 7: 14.

throw down: Pogn B, so 36 in Stübe 50?

send: 36: 3, Pogn B (also Peil forms).

form of magic (see p. 86).

sender: Pogn B.

be equal: in ppl. נאום, like; Pa. set: 37: 11, Pogn B.


eye-tumor: 34: 10.

crawl, of witches: Pogn B; rub (? ) ib.


leaper, ephialtes: Pogn A (see p. 82).


overthrow: inf. שמה, Pogn B.


worship: 8: 14.

burn, with love: 28: 1.

consumption: Schw G (see p. 93).

the ether: 29: 11.

slumber: 7: 16, 8: 11.

black, of a kind of demons: Schw G (see p. 80).

emancipate: demons who are not מטיחר Schw I; Schw R.

11 : 8; Af. set down 34 : 5.
lay a ghost 16 : 11; lay a spell 34 : 5.

Shekina (הֲנַה) bedchamber : 7 : 7.
8 : 5, 19 : 3.

find: Etpe. 8 : 7.

haunter, species of demon, so Noldeke to Hyv, ZKF
ii 296, perhaps better read

Shekina : 14 : 3. Shekina
Nolleke et alii.

abode, of demons: Ellis
3 (Halévy, 'moisheh).

dwelling: 34 : 2.

foetus: Pogn B, Lidz 1b
(Nolleke, exortion).

flame : 14 : 7.

send, send away: 8 : 3. Hofal
8 : 13; Mand. לְשׁה, Etpe.

af'elah, Etpe. Af. halévy,
inf. שָׁלַה: Pogn B.

sender: Pogn B.

rule: שָׁלַהוּ, לְשׁהוּ, מְשֹׁה.
Peil 6 : 10. Peil
Stübe 51.

ruler: 11 : 5, 19 : 12, 17.
Lidz 4.

send forth: Schw F.

deliver: Lidz 4.

Wohls 2417.

initiatory rites, in
magic: 12 : 9, 16 : 10, 35 : 4.
Hal, Schw E, M, Stübe
2; סּחלפּ Pogn B (see p.
85).

ghost, or demon : 8 : 2, 8, 12,
17 : 4.

name, passim: plur. תֹּפֶת:
9 : 6, 6 : 14, 6.
Ellis 3.

Shekina et alii.
Schw G, et alii 16 : 8;
Mand. שָׁלַהוּ שָׁלֲהוּן
38 : 7. plur.

בָּשָׁלַהוּ; in the name of (deity, angel,
soorcerer, or the charm-
words following, e. g. 6 :
7), passim; n. b. לְשׁהוּ,
28 : 1, מְשֹׁה, 95;
of whatever name 1 : 13.

lay waste?: whence Schw I.

heaven: 9 : 6, 11 : 2 (= God),
etc.; see Schw I, אָּשֶׁר
Schw Q, שָׁלוּ ה בָּשָׁלַהוּ.

hear: 8 : 10, 1וּת, 8 : 3;
Mand. שָׁלַהוּ אָּשֶׁר
I heard Lidz
1a שָׁלַהוּ שָׁלֲהוּן
ib., Pogn B.

impv. ib., Etpe. מְשֹׁה,
ib., Pa. inf. שָׁלַהוּוּ, משׁה
8 : 7.

guard, keep: 5 : 3.

serve: Stübe 60.

sun: 28 : 3, שָׁלַהוּ שָׁלֲהוּן
30 : 2.
(cf. Glossary A).

ban: Hal, Lidz 4. שָׁלֲהוּן
et alii.

epithet of lilith 34 : 13,
35 : 11, Etpe.
Wohls 2426.

ban: 8 : 6; plur. שָׁלֲהוּן
Schw I, et alii Stübe 12.

change one's place: 36 : 2;
bewilder, make mad: 7 : 16.

year: 6 : 5, plur. שָׁלֲהוּ שָׁלַהוּ
(see also שָׁלֲהוּ, שָׁלַהוּ).

hour: 4 : 5, שָׁלֲהוּ שָׁלַהוּ
26 : 5.

mocking mischief of de-
mons: Schw G, cf. שָׁלֲהוּ,
Ellis 3 (see § 3).
satyr, species of demons: 5: 4 (see p. 80).
satyr a fever(?): 11: 3.
Hyv, read Ṣṭḥ. 6: 4
abasement(?): Schw F.
excommunication Stübe 12 (see p. 53).
DESTROY: inf. Ṣṭḥ. 7: 17; come forth: Schw M.
pl. the Arabic šīk-demon: 15: 5.
Deposit, of the bowl-practice: Ṣṭḥ. 32: 3, 33: 1.
take off: 11: 8, Lidz 5.
strike. 11: 6, Lidz 5.
blow, affliction, a method or result of magical practice: 12: 9, Ellis 5, Stübe 2, Wohls 2426, 2414 Σελαθία Lidz 4 (see p. 86).
Ditto: 16: 10.
vermin: 7: 14.
firm, of charms: 3: 1, 13: 8, Lidz 5.
authority: Schw I.
spell: Schw G, with Ṣṭḥ. Schw I, end.
prince: Schw I.
loose, dwell: 12: 2, 34: 11, 12 impv. pl. Lidz 1b, with suff. Lidz 2, ditto
fem. Ṣṭḥ. Schw Pogn B, e. g. no. 15; Af. to lodge, 14:
3; Etpe. be loosened, 19:
Hyv, Pogn B Ṣṭḥ. 14:
diarrhoea: 34: 10.
tribe, of demoniac species:
7: 17, 38: 6, 40: 17 the 360 species (cf. p. 80).
chains: 39: 5.
Enchainment: 34: 11.
six: 11: 9.
60, in enumeration of demons, etc.: 19: 8, 38: 5, Lidz 4. Hyv.
break: 40: 12; Etpe. 40: 12, Lidz 1a; Pa. 12, Lidz 2.
Ark (Noah’s) ark: 10: 5.
military division: plur. Ṣṭḥ. 13: 1, of demons.
again: 2: 1, Ellis 1; 39: 11, Lidz 5.
out of: 9: 5.
bull 40: 4.
under: Schw F, Ṣṭḥ. under the hand 7: 12 Ṣṭḥ. 16: 6; Mand. Ṣṭḥ. 38: 12, Ṣṭḥ. Pogn B.
inferior: Pogn B, see to

loss, damage: 34: 7 (see p. 94).

abortion: 11: 4.

the hang (?) : Schw F.

three: Pogn B, ašken 300
38: 5; ašken 17: 4, 8: 3.

third, fem.: 6: 8.


see to.

eight: 8 spirits, seals, 19: 4,
Schw E, F, Pogn B.

PRONOMINAL FORMS

1st per. masc: 2: 1, 5, 4: 6, etc.; masc: 11: 1, Pogn B; ni: 14: 1.

1st pers. pl. masc: 1: 14.

2d per. f. masc: 26: 3, 8: 8, 15 (or. plur. ? q. v.), ašken 38: 4.

2d pers. pl. m. and fem. masc: 19: 13; ašken: Schw F; ašken: 4: 7;
ašken: 8: 8; ašken: 8: 8, 17: 3(?).

3d pers. (also demonstrative): ašken 8: 7, etc., 32: 4; ni: 39: 8; as copula ašken ašken: 9: 1, 32: 3;
ašken Schw F; ašken: Ellis 3.

Schw Q.

Demonstrative, masc. nir: 8: 16, 10: 1, Ellis 5, Hal; ni: 3: 5, 7: 16, Stübe 43 (these forms in stereotyped phrases, cf. 16: 8); ni: 3: 6, 28: 4, 31: 28: 16: 8; ni: Pogn A; ni: (Syr.) 31: 1, 2; ašken: Schw F;

Demonstrative fem. ašken: 1: 4, 35: 6, ašken Lidz 5.


Indefinite (ד) : 2: 2, 27: 5, Pogn B; מ, in ašken, ašken, ašken, Lidz (see these prepositions).

those who (?) : Wohls 2414.

= 5: 2, Mar, 2: 3, 12: 10, 29: 8, 8, Pogn Ellis 5.
GENERAL INDEX

Abraxas 57, 99, 151
Abatur 71, 96, 261
Adam 166
Aeon 198
amulets as objects of exorcism 87
angel of death 79
angels
  = charm words 86
  evil 79
  = gods 79, 97, 99, 241
  invocation of 57 f.
  mystical names of 97, 197, 208
Arabisms 24, 85, 102, 105
Arabic magic and demonology 44.
  80, 187
archangels, Michael, etc. 96.
  ardat ili 76
armament, magical 137
Armasa 99, 123
ascent of the soul 227 f.
assonance, magical 61, 185 f.
Asshur 21
Athbash 60, 184
attestation to magical texts 48
Babelon, E. 18
Babylonian magic 42 f., 47, 55 f.,
  58, 59, 62, 64, 69, 73, 82, 85.
  87, 91, 109 f., 152, 187
Bagdana 171, 198
barbarous words 59
baskania 68, 78
Bel 239
beasts exorcised 44 f.
Berlin Museum 19 f., 21
beth-el 72
Bibliotheque Nationale 18, 19, 21
binding in magic 52, 85
black arts 84
blanket formulas 82, 120
blast spirits 80
Borsippa, 21
bowls and bowl magic
  age of 14, 102 f., 116
Arabic 14, 21, 44
  description of 13 f.
  forged 14
  origin 50, 57 f., 68, 100, 106 f.,
    116
praxis, 40 f., 51, 53, 162
Mandaic 15, 20, 21, 30, 37 f.
  244 f.
as objects of exorcism 88
paleography of 27 f.
provenance of 14, 16, 43
Syriac 15, 16, 21, 32 f., 223 f.
brass in magic 137, 187
British Museum 13, 16, 17, 18, 21
(309)
Casanowicz, I. M. 21
cattle in magic 49 f., 234, 242, 246, 253 f.
Charles, B. B. 44
charms, etc 86 f.
children in magic, s. women
Christian magic and demonology
67, 90 f., 99, 107, 115 (s. New Testament)
Christian names 50
Chwolson, M. 17, 18, 27
circle in magic 42, 88, 152, 250
Constantinople Museum 13, 15, 21
constellations, zodiacal 135 f.
countermagic 53, 83, 137
cultus 51
curses, magical 84
dastabira (Persian) 228, 52
date of bowls, s. bowls
David 184
Day of Judgment 135, 235
demonology in New Testament 78, 91 f.
demons and demonology
= shedin 73
= depotentized gods 70
divorce of 158 f.
= ghosts 75
good 76, 151
haunts of, s. haunts
= idols 72
insanity caused by 153
king of 74
legions of 80
metamorphosis of 153
murderous 238 f., 240, 261
names of 68, 77, 81, 158, 171, 262
number of 71
threatening of 131
devils (devin) 73 f.
Dilbat 217
diseases
as objects of exorcism 89 f., 171, 189, 205, 219, 234, 235
female 94
s. eye, fevers, skin
divorce, magical 158 f., 172
dreams 82, 206
duplicate texts 42, 145 f., 167 f., 203 f.
eclectic magic 58, 64, 106 f., 115
Egyptian magic 53 f., 55, 58, 59, 62, 64, 91, 114
ekuru 72
El-shaddai 191
Elija 259 f.
Ellis, T. 16, 18, 23 f.
Ellis, W. T. 21
empusa 78
enmity exorcised 87
Enoch 124, 134
epesu 51
ephialtes 80, 82
epic in magic 62, 65
evil eye 88, 89, 222, 257
evil angels 79
evil spirits 74
excommunication in magic 53
exorcism 51 f., 55, 68 f., 83 f., 89 f.
(s. amulets, bowls, diseases, enmity, poverty, sin)
exorcists 46 f., 233
eye diseases 93

facere 51
familiar (spirit) 142
fevers 93, 171, 205
figures, use of in magic 53 f.
fire in hell 131
fire in magic 122, 187, 235
formulas, 61, 85, 185 f., 199
Fraenkel, S. 20

Gabriel 96 f., 234
galli 262
garment, magical 123
gello 68, 78, 262
gematria 61, 261
ghosts 43, 72, 75, 82 f., 157, 201, 207, 251
ghul 81, 157
Gnostic terms 151
God, gods 56 f.
gods depotentized 70
Gottheil, R. 20, 258
greyayard magic 43 f.
Greek magic 43 f., 53, 55 f., 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 69, 82, 85, 87, 91, 107, 111, 113, 197, 214
Greek names 50
Grünaum, M. 19
Gula (goddess) 129
gylo 262

hair in magic 153
Halleluia 63, 202

Harran 101, 123, 239
Halévy, J. 17, 18
haunts of demons 76 f.
in deserts 78
in house 76, 143
in shrines 71
heart in magic 216
Hecate 58 f.
hell, 131, 144
herbs, magical 182, 216
Hermes 99, 113, 123 f., 150, 208
Hermon 126
Hillah 16, 17, 21
Hilprecht, H. V. 41
house magic 42 f., 49 f., 177
hydromancy 40 f.
Hyvernat, H. 19, 21, 41

idols as demons 72
incantations 51, 52, 56, 139
incubi and succubae 78, 82
insanity caused by devils 153
 invocation
of gods, angels, etc. 57, 95 f., 107
in black magic 84
iron in magic 53, 122
Ishtar 70, 245
ištarati 71

Jackson, A. V. W. 22
Jesus Christ 227
Jewish magic 50, 106 f., 108, 112, 149
jinn 80, 105, 157
Joshua (Jesus) b. Peraḥia 226 f., 46, 159, 161, 225
kabbalism 65, 114
Khuabir 20
king of demons 74
King, L. W. 21
kiru 250
knots, magical 88

labartu 68
lamia 78, 81
Layard, W. 16
lead in magic 187, 249
legions of demons 80, 179, 244
letters, magical, 59, 163
Leviathan 125
Levy, M. A. 17, 27
Lidzbarski, M. 20
lilith 68, 75 f., 110, 117 f., 156 f.,
   158, 209 f., 235, 245, 259 f. (s. witch)
Logos 123 f.
losses exorcised 94
love charms 178 f.
love of God in magic 129
love magic 44, 178 f., 213 f., 238
Louvre 18, 19, 20, 21
Lycklama museum 19, 21

magic
   assonance and rhyme in 61,
   185 f.
   clients of 49 f.
   epic in 62
   figures in 53 f.
   fire in 122, 187, 235
   Great Name in 131
   invocation as form of 84
   rites of 52, 85, 216
   personality in 48, 66, 112
   praxis of 51 f.
   propitious days for 55 f.
   reciprocal 47
   and religion 57, 65, 111
   Scripture quotations in 62 f.
   sealing in 53, 130, 191
   s. Arabic, Babylonian, Christian,
      Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, New
      Testament, Persian
manit 52, 84
Mandaic religion 39, 71, 96, 239
   texts 20, 21, 37 f., 244 f.
Manichean script 34
Markaug, B. 19
marriage charm, 238 f.
Mazzikin 75
Metatron 98, 113, 208
Michael 96 f., 98
Moon 222, 239
Montgomery, J. A. 21
Moses 47, 107, 233
murderous demons, s. demons
museums, s. Berlin, British, Con-
   stantinople, Lycklama, Penn-
   sylvania, Washington, Win-
   terthur
muštalu 152
Myhrman, D. 20, 145
myrtle 181
mystery rites in magic 52, 85, 243
   mystical words and meanings 59 f.,
   176
mythical and apocryphal allusions
   64
names

personal 49 f.

of demons 59, 261

of gods, angels 56 f., 58 f.

as charms 85 f., 111

Nannai 240

necklaces as charms 87 f., 186 f.

New Testament magic 75, 78, 91 f., 107

Nippur 13, 16, 21, 103, 113, 129

Nirig = Nergal 171, 239

Noah 166

Nöelke, T. 19, 20, 110

Okeanos 200

orthoepy 61, 222

Pahlavi 14, 20, 22

Palestinian dialect 29, 131

parakku, pairika, 73

patkara 72

Pennsylvania, University of 13 f., 20

Persian magic and demonology 55, 70, 116

personification in magic 58, 89 f., 94 f., 99, 111

Peters, J. P. 13

planets as evil spirits 71, 135

Pognon, H. 20, 41

poisoning exorcised 84, 153

poverty exorcised 94

praeparatum 182

praxis of bowl magic, s. bowl magic

punctuation 29, 32

Rabbinic texts 27 f., 117 f.

Randall-MacIver, D. 13

Ranke, H. 21

Raphael 96 f., 234

rhyme 61, 185 f.

resurrection, charm for 160

reversal of charm 63

Rodwell, J. M. 17, 18, 24

rubric for magical rite 175, 182

Samhiza 198, 271

sappu 88

Satan, Satans 79

satyrs 80, 140

Schwab, M. 18, 24 f.

Scripture quotations 62 f., 109

sea, spell of 125

sealing 53, 64, 130, 191

Selæoth 149, 151, 164

shedu 73, 110

Selah 63

Seth 166

seven in magic 75, 79, 139

Seven spirits 79

Shemâ 62 f., 209

sibilants in magic 60, 220

s'ilat 157

simulacrum in magic 176, 216, 250

sin exorcised 86, 111

šiptu 51, 109

sixty as sacred number 71

skin diseases 93

skull in magic 21, 256 f.

sleep exposed to magic 143, 153

Solomon 53, 64, 80, 173

sons of light 119
sorcerers, evil 83, 250
spirits
  evil (*rušin*) 74 f.
  familiar 142
  seducing 80
Stübe, R. 19
Sulzberger, M. 44
Sun 222, 239
syllables, magical 60
Syriac texts 16, 21, 32 f., 223 f.

*tabiʿu* 142
Talmud, magic and demonology in
  40 f., 43, 46, 49, 61-64, 71,
  77, 85 f., 108, 119 f., 139, 143,
  173, 189, 214, 219, 257
threatening of demons 131
three hundred and sixty 71
tin in magic 249
Tonks, O. S. 22

*ʿumra* 51
*utukki* 54, 68, 73, 75, 110
vampire 81, 157
vows, magical 84
Washington National Mseuem 21
water in magic 235
wax in magic 250
Winterthur Museum 19
witches, witchcraft 78, 235, 261 f.
Wohlstein, J. 19, 23
women and children, objects of
  charms 49, 77, 238, 240, 249,
  259 f.
words, magical 51, 57 (s. incantations)
YHVH 56, 60, 150, 210, 224
*zakiku* 80
Zeus 200
Zimmern, H. 110
zodiacal constellations 135 f.
GREEK WORDS

ἀγγελὸς 79, 91, 198
ἀλεξανδρα 63, 202
ἀμνι 63
ἀνάθεμα 84
βασιλεῖς 176
δαίμονες, δαιμόνια 74
δείνα 261
διάβαλοι 80
εἰς τὸ ὄνομα 215
ἐκκλησία 79
ἐπίκλησις 52, 84
ἐπωθαί 62
ἐφιάλτης 80, 82
καταδεικνύω, defigere 52
κατάδεικνυμ, defixio 44, 53, 54, 85, 111
κατεχόμενος, κάτοχος 79
κηροὶ 250
λόγος ἱερὸς 51, 84
ὁρκοὶ 84
πάρεθρος 142
παταχρα 72
πράγμα, πράξεις 51
σαλα 63
σῆμα 73
στραγγαλία 240
σώζειν, σωτηρία, σωτήρ 53, 129
ταχὺ 60, 181, 184
τίτλοι 86
τελετή 81, 85 f.
φαρμακοτοιοί 84
φιλακτήρων 44
χριαία 51
Prefatory Note

The concave spherical surface on which the bowl texts are inscribed precluded their reproduction by photography. At the best only a half of the text can be obtained satisfactorily by the camera, as the pair of photographs at the end of the Plates will show. Accordingly the texts had to be copied by hand.

Soon after the bowls came to the Museum, Professor Jastrow, of the University, and Professor Gottheil, of Columbia, undertook their publication. They secured the services of Mr. Horace Frank, Architect, for autographing the plates, a considerable sum of money being raised to meet this expense. Subsequently Drs. Jastrow and Gottheil gave up their plan of publication, and when Professor Hilprecht, then Curator, put the bowls into my hands, I fell heir to Mr. Frank's labors. I found he had prepared about 75 plates, but of these I have been able to use only 23, covering my Numbers 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 17, 24, 28, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40. His other plates were copies of broken and mutilated bowls which were not worth publishing (see Introduction, § 1). It appears also that not all the good texts were placed in his hands, or else that he did not complete them all.

There is only one drawback in Mr. Frank's excellent reproductions, one which however does not impair their accuracy. Working without much direction and knowing nothing of the language, he often broke a word at the end of the line and carried it over to the next. I have seen no reason to repair this technical error in his copies, but have guarded against it in the work of the later copyists.

There thus remained of the texts which came to be included in this publication twenty-five which still required autographing. Shrinking from this tedious mechanical labor, especially after an expert hand had preceded me, I was very glad to avail myself of the kind cooperation of Professor
Gordon, Director of the Museum, who offered me the expert services of his staff. Consequently, under my direction, the remaining copies were prepared by Mr. William C. Orchard (Nos. 1, 5, 7, 10-15, 19, 21-23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35), and by Miss M. Louise Baker (Nos. 20, 26, 30, 33, 39).

The style of Mr. Frank's copies conditioned those for which I am responsible. He had abandoned the spiral arrangement of the originals and made his reproductions in straight lines. This method may be faulted as not giving the exact form of the original, but this demerit is small as compared with the advantage to the scholar of having the whole text lying before him at one glance without his being under the necessity of turning a bulky volume around and around to follow the spiral career of the text. I was therefore quite satisfied to retain this method of reproduction.

It may be remarked that all my decipherment was made entirely from the originals; only after my own work was finished did I compare Mr. Frank's copies. In a few cases I was able to improve his facsimiles, in several cases his copies, which were made when the texts were fresher and more legible (they have manifestly faded under exposure to light), have helped me correct or enlarge my readings. The other copyists also worked independently, and then we compared our respective results. The cooperation of others, expert copyists, with the author has thus tended to a full control of the accuracy of the facsimiles and transliterations.

I have finally to speak in the highest terms of the artistic and pains-taking labors of these two gentleman and Miss Baker, whose assistance has afforded me so great relief.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>PLATE</th>
<th>CATALOGUE NUMBER</th>
<th>SIZE (cm)</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8693</td>
<td>6.5 + 17</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with two holes. Written inside and out in large coarse script, .5 cm. average height, rude spiral design in center.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2945</td>
<td>7.2 + 17.4</td>
<td>Broken and mended. Fair, large characters. .4 cm. in height. In center two large figures, one in reverse position to other; one of which appears to be making a sign with his hand (as against the evil eye?), probably the sorcerer, the other with feet hobbled, the demon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>2963</td>
<td>10.3 + 20.5</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with a segment 6 + 12 cm. missing. Flat boss. The rim of the bowl has a double edge. Fair characters, .3 cm. high. In the center figure of a demon, armed with helmet and a sabre and spear in either hand, and his feet manacled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>2923</td>
<td>7.5 + 17.3</td>
<td>Broken and mended, small segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In the center figure of the sorcerer waving a magic bough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT</td>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>CATALOGUE NUMBER</td>
<td>SIZE (cm)</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2952</td>
<td>7 + 18</td>
<td>Slightly broken and mended, with small fragment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a demon with four arms and one leg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2916</td>
<td>6 + 15.8</td>
<td>Perfect bowl but for a fracture which does not touch the text. Small circle in center. Characters .3 cm. high, rather crabbed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16007</td>
<td>5.6 + 15.7</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with a square fragment of text missing. Fine, clear characters, .2 cm. high. In center circle with cross.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>9013</td>
<td>8.5 + 16.6</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with two small fragments missing. Characters, .2 cm. high. In center obscene picture of a lilith with hands and feet bound.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9010</td>
<td>6 + 17.7</td>
<td>Perfect bowl. Characters much obliterated, .4 cm. high. Circle in center. On exterior four short lines in Hebrew.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16014</td>
<td>6.9 + 14.2</td>
<td>Broken and mended with segment missing. Characters .4 cm. high. In center monstrous figure with owl-like head and apparently several breasts, presumably a lilith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16022</td>
<td>6.3 + 16.1</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with three fragments of the text missing. Characters carelessly written, .3 or .4 cm. high. In center rude design, probably of a lilith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT</td>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>CATALOGUE NUMBER</td>
<td>SIZE (cm)</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9009</td>
<td>7.2 + 17.7</td>
<td>Perfect bowl. Characters .4 cm. high, coarse but distinctly formed. In center a demon, with beastlike face and arms and feet bound. Endorsement on exterior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8694</td>
<td>7 + 16.2</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with small piece missing. Coarse, clumsy characters, .6 cm. high. In the center a clumsy figure of a demon with caterpillar-like arms. Text continued on the exterior for 6 lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16017</td>
<td>6.8 + 18.7</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with missing segment. Characters .4 cm. high, in a good hand. In center a lilith with hands and feet manacled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16087</td>
<td>7.3 + 17.2</td>
<td>Broken and mended. Characters .4 cm. high. In center figure of a serpent with its tail in its mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2920</td>
<td>6.8 + 16.3</td>
<td>Broken and mended. Characters coarse, .3 cm. high. Rough circle in center.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2922</td>
<td>7 + 15.7</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with a segment missing. Characters coarse, .4 cm. high. In the center the circle and cross, formed in a peculiar way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8695</td>
<td>7.2 + 16.1</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with fragment of about 5 cm. square missing. Coarse characters, .4 cm. high. In center rude and faded design—of a demon?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT</td>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>CATALOGUE NUMBER</td>
<td>SIZE in centimetre, height by diameter</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.6 + 17.6</td>
<td>Broken and mended. Characters crabbed and obscure, closely written, .3 cm. high. Circle and cross in center.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16023</td>
<td>7 + 17</td>
<td>Broken and mended, fragment missing. Large, coarse characters, .6 cm. high. Large figure of a demon manacled, with a circle in his breast bisected by two lines. For the magical words accompanying see commentary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16054</td>
<td>6.5 + 17</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with two fragments missing, a small one in the text. Script large, .8 cm. high, and rude. In center a rectangular figure divided into three squares, in one of those at the end two large markings like letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22-23</td>
<td>16006</td>
<td>6.5 + 16</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with two fragments missing. From the same hand as No. 21 and with the same design, the markings in the square suggesting a face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16090</td>
<td>7 + 17.2</td>
<td>Broken and mended. From the same hand as Nos. 21, 22, and with similar design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2926</td>
<td>7 + 16.8</td>
<td>Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Coarse script, .7 cm. high. In the center a figure of rude concentric circles with radial lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT</td>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>CATALOGUE NUMBER</td>
<td>SIZE (in centimetres, height by diameter)</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16009</td>
<td>6.9 + 17.2</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with four fragments missing. Coarse script, .5 cm. high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3997</td>
<td>6.9 + 15.5</td>
<td>Broken and mended. Script .4 cm. high. In the center a rough circle bisected by two lines, in each segment a magical word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16041</td>
<td>5.6 + 16.6</td>
<td>Broken and mended with two considerable fragments missing. Script fine and fair, .2 cm. high. In the center a circle with cross.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2972</td>
<td>6.5 + 16.5</td>
<td>Broken and mended, four fragments missing, the text much blurred or obliterated. A fair script, .3 cm. high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16055</td>
<td>6.8 + 17</td>
<td>Broken and mended, one fragment missing. Bold and well formed characters .5 cm. high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16096</td>
<td>6.5 + 16.8</td>
<td>Broken and mended, small fragment missing. Script .3 to .4 cm. high. In center rude figure of a lilith with tresses flying and hands and feet bound.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9008</td>
<td>6.6 + 16</td>
<td>Perfect. Syriac script, .3 cm. high. In center a circle divided into four squares each with a cross in it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16086</td>
<td>6.9 + 17</td>
<td>Broken and mended, one large and one small fragment missing. Same script and design as in No. 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT</td>
<td>PLATE</td>
<td>CATALOGUE NUMBER</td>
<td>SIZE (in centimetres, height by diameter)</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16019</td>
<td>6.2 + 15.5</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with two considerable fragments missing. In center cross with circle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9012</td>
<td>7.5 + 17.5</td>
<td>Broken and mended. Design as in Nos. 31, 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16097</td>
<td>6.5 + 16.1</td>
<td>Broken and mended, two small fragments missing. Design as in No. 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2933</td>
<td>6.3 + 15.4</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with about half of the two lines on the margin missing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2943</td>
<td>6.5 + 17</td>
<td>Broken and frequently repaired, much of the margin missing and a large part of the text obliterated. The script the smallest in the Syriac bowls, .2 to .3 cm. high. In the center circle and cross, each segment containing presumably letters of the Tetragrammaton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2941</td>
<td>7 + 17</td>
<td>Broken and mended, with several small holes. Mandaic script average character about .2 cm. high. Small circle in center. A brief phrase written radially near the margin on the exterior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9005</td>
<td>6.8 + 17.2</td>
<td>Broken and mended, some fragments missing. Script larger and coarser than in No. 38, .3 cm. high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>36-38</td>
<td>2972</td>
<td>7.3 + 17.2</td>
<td>Broken and mended, some large lacunae. Script as in No. 39. The text covers also most of the exterior. Circles in the center.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURE FOR TEXT 8.
EXTERIOR
EXTERIOR

[Image of an ancient inscription or seal]

[Text in an ancient script or language]
until now, do not ask me to deliver this document to you.

then, do not ask me to deliver this document to you.

1:30 PM, Dec 1st, 2023.
גְּדוֹלָה הַמִּשְׁפַּטָּה בֵּינֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁפַטִּים בֵּין-ה-נְפָרָה
5. מִשֶּׁה-הֶזֶּה 6. מִשֶּׁה-הֶזֶּה 7. מִשֶּׁה-הֶזֶּה 8. מִשֶּׁה-הֶזֶּה
13. מִשֶּׁה-הֶזֶּה

בִּנְפָרָה סְטָרִים וְמִשְׁפַּטִּים בֵּין הַנֶּפֶרָה.
प्रत्येक चार जी एको नियम से व्यक्ति उपायको लागि र उन रास्तालाई मात्र राख्न सिन्न हो।

उनको नियमलाई हामीले लागि र उन रास्तालाई मात्र राख्न सिन्न हो।

उनको नियमलाई हामीले लागि र उन रास्तालाई मात्र राख्न सिन्न हो।

उनको नियमलाई हामीले लागि र उन रास्तालाई मात्र राख्न सिन्न हो।

उनको नियमलाई हामीले लागि र उन रास्तालाई मात्र राख्न सिन्न हो।
This image contains a portion of text from a historical or academic publication, likely related to an artifact or document from the University Museum's Babylon section. The text is in a mix of languages, with some Hebrew and possibly Babylonian inscriptions. The content appears to be part of a larger artifact illustration or transcription.
םיינכט לסופי. הניא דוגמא לוחמה דומיא תליה. 34

32:2
33:3
34:4
35:5
36:6
37:7
38:8
39:9
40:10
41:11
42:12
43:13
44:14
EXTERIOR
FRAGMENTS

INSIDE

OUTSIDE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Square Script</th>
<th>Mandaic Script</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \alpha )</td>
<td>( \beta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \gamma )</td>
<td>( \delta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \epsilon )</td>
<td>( \zeta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \eta )</td>
<td>( \theta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \iota )</td>
<td>( \kappa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
<td>( \lambda )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \mu )</td>
<td>( \nu )</td>
</tr>
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<td>( \xi )</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \omicron )</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \pi )</td>
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<td>( \omega )</td>
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<td>( \psi )</td>
<td>( \psi )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \omega )</td>
<td>( \omega )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### III. COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR SYRIAC SCRIPT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>מ</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>ד</td>
<td>מ, finial מ</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>א</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>וה</td>
<td>ו</td>
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<tr>
<td>א</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>א</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- "ditto" indicates a repetition of a previous symbol.
- "finial" indicates a terminal marking.

*Source: University Museum. Babylon. Section Vol. III. Plate XL.*
INTIOR OF INSCRIBED BOWL PHOTOGRAPHED FROM OPPOSITE POINTS.
Montgomery, James Alan (ed.)
Aramaic incantation texts
from Nippur