Jewish Magic in the Sassanian Period

Irving Teitelbaum
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Abstract
The purpose of the following pages is to illustrate the Jewish element of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls by citing comparative material from Mishnaic and Amoraic sources. Some of this material illustrates the general climate of Jewish thought and practice about magic, while some illustrates specific statements made in the texts. I propose to show the influences of non-normative, as well as normative, Judaism on the AIB.

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IN THE

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by

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has been read and approved by

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In fact that the Pentateuch had been translated into Greek. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to The Dropsie College, under the guidance of President Abraham A. Neuman, for affording me the opportunity to study at the college.
INTRODUCTION

In Babylonia, during the Sassanian period, which commenced with the founding of the Neo-Persian Empire by Ardashir I in 226 C.E. and ended with its destruction by the Arabs in 637 C.E., there thrived a magic lore in Jewish circles as all pervading and potent as that known to the non-Jewish world, which was nevertheless markedly different in character and technique. In spite of the hostile attitude of the sages towards this magic lore, it flourished to such an extent that many sages themselves fell prey to it. In the Talmudic literature of the period we find evidence of the infiltration of the magic lore of neighboring cultures into that of the Jewish world.

As a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great, in the fourth century B.C.E., there had developed an intermingling of the cultures of Greece with those of the ancient Near East. The Hellenistic influence was made manifest in Egypt during the rule of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285 B.C.E. – 247 B.C.E.) by virtue of the fact that the Pentateuch had been translated into Greek. In Palestine this influence was further reflected in the Talmud Yerushalmi and the Midrash, compiled during the Tannaitic period (10-220 C.E.), which were virtual storehouses of Greek words and concepts that encompassed all phases of human activity. The Mishnah, as a matter
of fact, states that R. Simeon b. Gamaliel (2nd century C.E.) felt that books of the Scripture could be written in Greek. Even the Babylonian Amoraic literature records a tradition concerning this Tanna's partiality to the Greek culture. R. Judah (3rd century C.E.) said in the name of Samuel (2nd - 3rd century C.E.) in the name of Simeon b. Gamaliel (2nd century C.E.) that the latter's father's household included 1,000 pupils, 500 of whom studied Torah and 500 Greek wisdom.

It was in the field of magic, however, that little of the Greek persuasion could be found in Palestine. The Tannaim, in their strong adherence to a monotheistic doctrine, were too religiously sensitive to allow any pagan superstition to enter their legal code overtly. And yet, it is possible that the terms מדרון, literally harmers, and הרוח הרעה, evil wind or spirit, as mentioned in the Mishnah, could refer to demons and evil spirits, since later Babylonian Amoraic literature specifically designates these terms thus.

Though magic was pagan and forbidden, it does not mean that it was not practiced. The little magic that does permeate the Talmud Yerushalmi is found in a narrative concerning Simeon b. Shetah (1st century B.C.E.), the head of the Sanhedrin. To counteract the power of witches about to be hung, Simeon b. Shetah selected 80 young men, gave them 80 clean garments, which they
placed in new pots and tied on their heads, and then advised them that upon a given signal they should all come at once, each selecting a witch and lifting her from the ground. He explained that so long as the witch is not attached to the earth, she can do no harm. The Talmud Yerushalmi mentions that he fooled the witches into believing that he was a wizard, by appearing before them on a rainy day with dry clothes. The belief that demons get their strength from the earth is a magical concept that had been borrowed from the Greeks.

Strange as it may seem, such knowledge was considered mandatory. According to R. Johanan (2nd - 3rd century C.E.), a member of the Sanhedrin had to know sorcery in order to qualify for membership.

It was in the New Testament that the belief in demons and magic was paralleled during the early Tannaitic period, by virtue of its dealings with the common folk. Ignorance and superstition united men more readily than knowledge and enlightenment. Magicians at that time resorted to exorcism to combat the evil spirits, who were believed to cause disease. Thus we find, Jesus was alleged to rid the diseased and ill by expelling the demons. Since Jesus preached and practiced in Jewish circles this indicated the magic beliefs that prevailed. Magic was, nevertheless, practiced in scholarly circles, since we find, in later Babylonian Amoraic literature, a legend preserved of the Tanna,
R. Simeon b. Yohai (2nd century C.E.) exorcising the demon, Ben Temalion, from a Roman princess. Just as R. Simeon b. Yohai commands Ben Temalion, so Jesus commanded one demon, "Dumb and deaf spirit, I command you, come out of him." Just as Jesus cured the sick with his touch, R. Johanan, the Palestinian Amora, cured and had, himself, been cured by the touch of the hand.

The geographical location of Palestine made it fairly easy for the great Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations to make impress on the population of Palestine. Since the time of the Pentateuch, Egypt had been recognized as a land rife with magic. This knowledge is manifested by the later Babylonian Amoraic statement that "Ten kabs of witchcraft descended on the world, and nine of them were taken by Egypt...". The Tanna R. Eliezer (1st - 2nd century C.E.) referred to the fact that Ben Stada, whose identity is debatable, had brought sorcery back to Palestine from Egypt. This awareness is further attested by the incident of Ze'iri (4th century C.E.), the Palestinian Amora, who went to Alexandria and bought an ass. About to water it, he saw it dissolve and turn into a landing plank.

Since large numbers of Jews had been residing in Babylon from the days of Nebuchadnezzar, the influence of Babylonian magic is evidenced in the Bible as well as the Babylonian Amoraic literature. We find Babylonian
words like נֶדוֹ, a protecting spirit, and לילית, a female wind spirit who roams the world at night in search of a mate, with their parallels לילית, and לילית, in the Bible. Within the Biblical period, however, the connotation of protecting spirit had been altered to that of a malevolent spirit, a demon. This is in the cultural pattern that when borrowing deities from one culture to another, the attributes of the deities become transformed. Included among the evil spirits in the Mandaic religion, we find the Hebrew God יְהֹוָה, the Babylonian Sungod, Shamash, and the Babylonian Moongod, Sin. In contrast to Isaiah's reference to Lilith as a desert dweller, we find later Babylonian Amoraic literature fusing the Babylonian Lilitu, the nocturnal paramour, with the Labartu or Lamastu, an unhuman spirit, with the head of a lion, the body of a woman, and the feet of a bird. This fusion is borne out when Rab Judah (3rd century C.E.), citing Samuel (3rd century C.E.), claims that the mother of a miscarriage having the likeness of Lilith, that is, wings and a human face, is unclean, and R. Hanina (2nd century C.E.) states that Lilith would appear to those who slept alone, since both refer to the same demon, Lilith.

Since Babylonia was a land rife with magic and demonology, it was only natural that the Babylonian sages should color Biblical terms with demonological attributes.
Thus we find the רשק וּנְדָלָה, the fiery bolt and bitter destruction of the Bible, classified as demons in Amoraic literature. So specialized was the interpretation of מַלְשָׁן, that it had been defined as רֶשֶׁם, those demons which haunt roofs. As for מַלְשָׁן, by Amoraic times, we find two destructive demons, מַלְשָׁן מְרֶרִים and קְעֵב שִׁוֵיָא לָכָּרִים, the former in control during the hours before noon, the latter after noon, during the first half of the month of Tammuz.

Between the communities of Palestine and the Diaspora, and particularly in Babylon, there thrived a learned intercourse. The religious significance of the land of Israel tempted a number of Babylonian sages to migrate there. In fact, Resh Lakish (3rd century C.E.), a Palestinian Amora, expounded "When the Torah was forgotten in Israel, Ezra came from Babylon and established it; when it was forgotten again, Hillel the Babylonian came and established it; when it was once more forgotten, R. Hyya (3rd century C.E.) and his sons came and re-established it."

Though the traffic by later Amoraic times was from West to East, R. Ze'era (4th century C.E.) was one of the Babylonian Amoraim who emigrated to Palestine. The fact that he brought some of the Babylonian magical influences with him is evidenced by "When R. Ze'era emigrated to Palestine, he fasted a hundred fasts to forget the Babylonian Talmud, that it should not trouble him... And yet another hundred, that the fire
of Gehenna might be powerless against him. Every thirty
days he used to examine himself to see if he were fire-
proof. He would heat the oven, ascend, and sit therein,
but the fire had no power against him. One day, however,
the Sages cast an envious eye upon him, and his legs
were singed, whereafter he was called 'Short and leg-
singed.'

This concept of making himself fireproof is in
the tradition of the earlier Babylonian 'trial by fire'
as depicted in Daniel, of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-
nego, who had been cast into the fiery furnace and then
came out unscathed. This practice is another instance
of the Babylonian tradition in the Bible being preserved
in later Amoraic literature.

It is interesting to note that the Palestinian
Amora, R. Ze'iri (3rd century C.E.), who had been born
in Babylon and then went to live in Palestine, had also
made a trip to Egypt, where he came into contact with a
magical incident. The fact that the story of his
purchase of an ass that turned into a landing plank is
mentioned in Babylonian Amoraic literature, is a good
indication of the cultural interchange between Babylonia
and Palestine.

Rab, who had gone to Palestine to study, returned
to Babylon and headed the Academy at Sura. Though his
statement that "99 out of 100 die of the evil eye and
one through natural causes" is mentioned in both the
Talmud Yerushalmi and Talmud Babli, it is in the Babylonian version that his statement is prefaced with the account that he went to a cemetery and performed

\[ \text{לְמַעְרֶשֶׁת,} \text{ literally he performed what he performed,} \]

i.e., some magical praxis. Another instance, indicating his awareness of the significance of magic and the practice of it, is to be found in the tale he relates to R. Hiyya to the effect that "I myself saw an Arabian traveller take a sword and cut up a camel; then he rang a bell at which [the camel] arose."

Notwithstanding the beliefs and practices of the foregoing sages in the field of magic, their colleagues set up legal restraints; they proscribed recourse to black magic or sorcery, on the grounds that the basic practice of inflicting harm on other people was totally alien to Jewish law.

The discovery of Aramaic Incantation Bowls (hereinafter referred to as AIB) considerably augmented our knowledge of the magical beliefs and practices of the Sassanian era. Most of these bowls were found at various sites in Iraq, but it is difficult in many cases to determine the exact provenance, because they were purchased through dealers far removed from the site of origin.

Since James A. Montgomery published his Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia, 1913), Julian Obermann, Cyrus H. Gordon, and others have
edited further documents of the same type and have advanced the study of the subject by comparing the new material with indications to be found in Babylonian Amoraic literature.

The specifically Jewish Aramaic texts are written in the language and idiom of the Amoraic portion of the Talmud, though all documents of this class reveal a mixture of Babylonian, Iranian, Greek, and Jewish elements, reflecting the pronounced syncretism of the Sassanian and the preceding Graeco-Roman periods.

Montgomery dates the texts to the beginning of the seventh century. This dating, however, leaves unsolved at least two important problems. (a) In Amoraic literature, bowls used in magic contain liquids, but no mention is made of the inscription of incantations on them. The latter is a sophisticated practice which must have taken time to develop before it could have become a popular usage. (b) Although the notion of legal action against a demon was known to the sages, the practice of writing a divorce, which is found in the AIB, was not. About the earliest extraneous indication of such a usage occurs only in a thirteenth-century work, Ma'aseh Yerushalmi, allegedly written by Abraham, son of Maimonides. In view of these factors, a date coinciding with the later Gaonic period, from the eighth to the tenth century, would seem more likely.
The Jewish magician of the AIB was more wont to borrow from the magic of alien cultures than were the sages of Babylon. Unlike them, he was not involved with moral and legalistic scruples in determining what was permitted on the one hand, and which superstitions were prohibited on the other, as constituting "ways of the Amorites." Moreover, he was in a peculiarly fortunate position, inasmuch as his native Babylonia was a virtual storehouse of magical lore.

The use of the bowl in magic was well known in ancient Babylonia. In a text from the magical series, Utukke Limnuti, it is said expressly of a household demon, "with a basin without opening may they cover it;" and modern scholars are of the opinion that the bowls of our texts were used to imprison evil spirits in just this way. Indeed, Montgomery points out that the verb "press", is used repeatedly in the accompanying texts — an expression which may well indicate the practice of inverting the bowls in order to imprison the evil spirits. Hyvernat, in Sur Une Vase Judeo-Babylonien, 137f suggests further that the use of Aramaic incantation bowls was similar to the Jewish legends of Solomon confining demons in vases, etc. The Talmud, too, mentions the use of bowls in magic, but there they are said to have contained oil, water, or broth for the necessary procedures. As such, we find "Incantations are made over oil contained in a vessel, but not in the hand."
Babylonian influence on the bowl-texts is manifested by the exorcist's invocation of members of the Babylonian Pantheon: "The Lord Shamash has sent me against you, Sin has sent me, Bel has commanded me..." This is a survival of the old Babylonian formulas found in the Maglu series, i, 1. 52ff. Similarly, Lilith, against whom many of the bowls were inscribed, was actually a composite of the Babylonian Lilitu and the child-stealing witch Lammashtu.

Iranian influence appears infrequently, apart from such terms as "devil", "idol", and Iranian proper names, e.g. Saborduch (the suffix -duch meaning daughter), appear of course in several texts.

Greek influence is shown by the use of Armastae-Hermes in a Jewish text, "I am clad with the garment of Hermes..."; while in a pagan text we find reference to such Greek deities as Zeus (Zeus), Okinos (Okeanos) as well as Hermes.

Invocation of so characteristically Jewish a figure as Joshua b. Perahia (1st century B.C.E.) in a Syriac text affords further evidence of the popular syncretism which marks these documents. There are also other borrowings from Jewish culture in Syriac texts, such as the use of Amen, Amen, Selah, Halleluyah, and in Mandaean texts, such as the reference to Solomon's seal.
One of the texts, a love charm, shows such a degree of cultural syncretism that Montgomery has been unable to classify it as either distinctively pagan or Jewish. The spirit of the text is Greek, but there are evidences of Jewish influence, such as the invocation of the angel Rahmiel, and the use of Amen, Amen, at the end of the petition.

The absorption of foreign elements by the Jews was matched by a corresponding absorption of Jewish elements by the pagans. This is clearly borne out in Graeco-Roman magical texts. In one Greek magical inscription we find reference to the angels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. In another, appeal is made to Iao Sabaoth, "Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Eloai..." to "give to me... victory, fame, success with all men and with all women..."

The purpose of the following pages is to illustrate the Jewish element of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls by citing comparative material from Mishnaic and Amoraic sources. Some of this material illustrates the general climate of Jewish thought and practice about magic, while some illustrates specific statements made in the texts. I propose to show the influences of non-normative, as well as normative, Judaism on the AIB.

The natural approach to full understanding of a magical rite or ceremony would be the examination of these practices in the indigenous culture. If this
does not resolve the problem, then we seek the solution in the civilizations that had contact with the culture in question. If, again, no parallels are found in searching the practices of the surrounding cultures then we study man's practices at large. In this light, analysis of the magic of Amoraic literature and the AIB would require examination in a broader aspect if we are to solve recondite practices.

As old as primitive man and his religious beliefs. Along with this belief, it was only natural that man should believe in the existence of other superhuman beings, both good and evil. That these beliefs were also present among the Jewish people is doubtless.

How the demons and evil spirits were created has been a topic for conjecture. In Jewish literature we find varied legends regarding their creation. According to Enoch, the evil spirits were said to have been created from the issue of the holy Watchers and the daughters of man. The Palestinian Amora, R. Jeremiah b. Eleazar (3rd century C.E.) is responsible, in Babylonian Amoraic literature, for two different legends regarding their creation. One legend has it that Adam sired the spirits, demons, and night demons with Lilith as his consort, during the period of 130 years when he was banished from the Garden of Eden and separated from Eve. The other legend has it that one third of the builders of the Tower of Babel, those who had proposed
CHAPTER I
DEMONOLOGY AND ANGELOLOGY

Since man could not always explain the actions of human beings, animals, and inanimate things logically, he had to attribute the abnormal behavior patterns to an unseen power, or powers. Belief in the existence of an unseen power is probably as old as primitive man and his religious beliefs. Along with this belief, it was only natural that man should believe in the existence of other superhuman beings, both good and evil. That these beliefs were also present among the Jewish people is doubtless.

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that they ascend the Tower and make war against God, were changed into apes (םייל), spirits (יירוח), demons (לעגנ), and Lilin (ל"ל), while the other two thirds were scattered over the face of the earth. Though details differ, all these Palestinian legends agree that the demons were created beings.

Since the demons and evil spirits were considered created beings, the natural evolution of thought was that they should have form and shape, whether it be anthropomorphic or not. It was easier to fear a being that could be personalized, a projection of man himself, than something completely nebulous. Nevertheless, we find, that the physical characteristics attributed to the demons by the Jews of Babylonia were as varied as the fancy of man. The Tannaim are quoted as teaching, according to Babylonian Amoraic literature, that demons were like man in that they were mortal, could eat, procreate and die; and like angels in that they had wings and could fly. Though they were generally invisible, they were known to have assumed the shapes of man or woman and consorted with humankind. Since Lilith, the nocturnal paramour (to be discussed in greater detail later on in this chapter) was known to have consorted with men, the Tanna, R. Hanina (2nd century C.E.) advised men not to sleep alone in a house for fear of seizure by her. Satan, the Adversary, was known to have assumed the guise of a woman on two
different occasions, in order to teach the lesson.

Both the Tannaim, R. Meir (2nd century C.E.) and R. Akiba (2nd century C.E.), used to scoff at transgressors. Satan appeared before them in the guise of a woman and tempted them to transgress. In both cases, the Tannaim started after the woman, only to have Satan resume his normal shape when they had indicated their susceptibility to the temptation of woman. Satan freed both of them from temptation with the admonition that only their learning had saved their lives.

When man was not personalizing the demons, he was projecting his fears of the wildlife around him in assuming that the demons could appear in other guises. The scope of forms that the demons could assume is manifested in an AIB text which exorcises them with the words: "Demons and Demonesses, and Lilis and Liliths, and Plagues and evil Satans, and all evil Tormentors, which appear — and evil Injurers — in the likeness of vermin and reptile, and in the likeness of beast and bird...". Counterparts can be found in Amoraic tales.

According to Rab, quoted by Rab Judah (3rd century C.E.), Bath Sheba was standing behind a screen bathing herself, when Satan, in order to attract David's attention, disguised himself as a bird. David immediately sent an arrow after the bird, deliberately hovering near the screen. With this shot, David broke the screen, whereupon Bath Sheba was revealed to him and he was tempted.
Rab, according to Rab Judah, also told of Satan appearing before David in the guise of a deer. Though David rained arrows at him, Satan remained untouched, persistently leading David on, until David was inveigled into the land of the Philistines, where he was taken prisoner. It was explained that Satan had done this because David had claimed he would sooner accept delivery unto his enemies than have his family line wiped out as punishment for his sins.

R. Ahab b. Jacob (3rd century C.E.), the Babylonian Amora, once spent the night in Abayye's (3rd - 4th century C.E.) schoolhouse and saw a demon in the guise of a seven-headed dragon.

Though the bird-forms referred to in the AIB and the Talmud are not the same, there is a general relationship between them in the fact that the figure which accompanies Text 10 of the AIB shows the demon with an owl-like head, while Raba (3rd - 4th century C.E.) refers to the cock's footprint as evidence of a demon's presence.

The AIB magician who conjured "against you in the name of the Great Prince...many Satyrs", manifests the prevalent fear that a demon might sometimes appear as a Satyr - a belief which is illustrated, in Amoraic literature, by the statement that Abayye's (3rd - 4th century C.E.) foster mother would have trained a goat to accompany him into the demon-infested privy, were
it not for the fact that Satyrs might change into goats, 16 thus causing danger. The importance of the Satyr, part he-goat, as a bearer of evil is further brought out in Amoraic literature when reference is made to the fact that the East Wind, according to Rab Judah (3rd 17 century C.E.), is said to storm like a Satyr, since winds were notorious as bearers of harm. In both of these cases, popular superstition is reinforced by popular etymology, for the Hebrew word יִלְתָּר means "satyr" and "rainwind" as well as "goat".

The blasts of the strong, hot winds, natural phenomena, and their effects, were attributed by the Jews of Babylonia to a demon. In Amoraic literature we find that R. Isaac b. Samuel b. Martha (3rd - 4th century C.E.) was the victim of the "blast of Hamath". When this Amora rubbed himself with oil from a vessel, over which an incantation might previously have been pronounced, blisters appeared on his face. A woman seeing him, remarked "I see here the ○יינסוחתך." Fear of this blast demon led the AIB magician to inscribe one of the amulets as a protection against the ○, or blast demon.

It was Lilith, the "strangleress", the "murderess, 21 daughter of a murderess", who was the most feared of all demons. Since she was actually a composite of the 22 Babylonian Lilitû and the Lamashtu, the nocturnal paramour and the child-stealing witch, descriptions of her varied. Unlike the other female demons, Lilith had
long loose tresses. In fact, the figure attached to one of the AIE texts depicted her thus, and, at the same time, standing nude and bound. She was also depicted with a chain of iron around her neck, and, at times, with a peg of iron in her nose. These descriptions indicate the desire of the people, i.e., the view they wanted to have of her - tied, bound, and powerless.

It was the child-stealing Lilith who was particularly feared during childbirth, because she would attack newborn children and their mothers. During pregnancy, she was known to induce barrenness and miscarriage. Even the law had to take account of her. Rab Judah (3rd century C.E.) citing Samuel (2nd - 3rd century C.E.), prescribes that "If a miscarriage has the likeness of Lilith, that is wings and a human face, its mother is unclean." Fear of barrenness was so strong that, according to the Tanna, Joshua b. Levi (3rd century C.E.), as quoted in Babylonian Amoraic literature, one was considered as dead if he had no issue. This fear carried over from Palestine to Babylonia, from early Tannaitic times to the Gaonic period, when the AIE were written as evidenced by the fact that an amulet was inscribed against barrenness and aborting.

Due to the fact that all of Lilith's activities were of a nature to hinder the propagation of the
human face, the majority of the AIB inscriptions were made out for the protection of homes and the peace of family life. In the AIB, she was basically depicted as haunting the home, lurking in the arches and the thresholds, even though her usual haunt was of the desert.

The fact that Lilith would frequently appear to one who slept alone was good reason to fear the night. Nevertheless, there were other reasons for fearing the nocturnal demons. That they were particularly harmful at night is evidenced by the belief, expressed by the Palestinian authority, R. Joshua b. Levi, that it was unsafe to greet a person in the dark for fear that it might be a demon. The Palestinian Amora, R. Isaac (3rd century C.E.) even advised scholars not to go out alone at night for fear of the demons, as had the Tanna, R. Jose son of R. Judah (2nd century C.E.), to Rabbi (2nd - 3rd century C.E.). It is interesting to note that this fear of the nocturnal demons was prevalent, according to Babylonian Amoraic literature, among the Tannaim, scholars who might have been forced to be out at night because of their devotion to the study of Torah. They felt that there was good reason to fear these demons, who, as was well known, were envious of scholars with their higher status in the community. The one night of safety, the night when demons could do no harm, was Passover night, .
a night of watchfulness, a night guarded from harm.

Though the AIB magician was concerned with nocturnal demons, he was as much concerned with those that attacked by day, as evidenced by one text which mentions that demons attack by day or night.

Although the AIB magician was content to refer to the spirits as מורה, the sages referred to specific spirits. Since the ancients believed that when a person was possessed by a demon, a specific spirit entered him, causing a specific disease, many of the illnesses described in the Amoraic literature were prefaced with the term מורה spirit. As such we find רוח לברך, the spirit of vertigo, רוח עד מלח, the spirit of headache, רוח עיני, the spirit of madness. They even had the evil spirit, רוח רע, which could drive a man out of his senses. This does not mean, however, that the sages did not refer to מורה as spirits in general.

In line with the concept that the demons cause disease, the Tannaim, according to Babylonian Amoraic literature, taught that a man would have to walk at least half a mil from the privy before having sexual intercourse, since the demon of the privy was with him till then, otherwise the children born of that union would be struck with epilepsy by the demon. Babylonian Amoraic literature also cites the teaching by a Tanna that one subject to asthmatic spells was the victim of
the spirit of א"ט תז, a demon which causes nervous prostration. Reference to this demon is found in the AIB, where an incantation is written binding א"ט תז, using the Aramaic form rather than the Mishnaic Hebrew. We even find reference, in the New Testament, to Jesus exorcizing a "Dumb and Deaf Spirit" from a child subject to epileptic seizures, mirroring the belief that spirits cause disease.

As doers of harm, the demons were more prone to attack mortals in critical junctures of life. Before he enters upon a new phase of life, man tends to stop and think about the road that lies ahead. New problems will beset him. Fears, phobias, and hesitation come to the fore, and are personalized.

The favorite victims of demons were brides, grooms, and women in childbirth, as well as the sick. In their supreme moment of happiness, the bridal pair required guarding against the demons, who were known to inhabit the bridal chamber. In their ignorance of the scientific causes of impotence and incompatibility in marriage, men tended to attribute these impediments to a successful marriage to the work of evil spirits. Amulets providing protection against these attacks in the bridal chamber feature among the AIB texts. One text tells of a demon's being offered food and drink there, while another text reveals an express invitation
to the demon in the terms, "Enter come!! Here is meat to eat and here is wine to drink!" This concept is in the tradition of Tobit. Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, married seven times, lost each of her husbands through the work of an evil spirit on her wedding night.

Lack of adequate hygienic measures, and proper medical knowledge and procedures, made the natal hour one of peril, with death to mother and child a frequent occurrence. The rationalization of the sages was that Satan, the accuser, who would bring accusations in times of danger and peril, would take advantage of the opportunity to bring his accusations to God against the mother in labor, while Lilith would be standing by waiting to harm the new-born child and mother.

As the incarnation of all evil, and the greatest adversary of mankind, Satan, a fusion of the evil inclination and the accuser, devoted all thoughts and activities to the destruction of man. He would descend from heaven to lead man astray, only to ascend bringing accusations of man's defections, stated R. Samuel b. Nahman (3rd century C.E.), citing R. Johanan, another Palestinian Amora, as quoted in Babylonian Amoraic literature.

It was his ability to deceive in so many ways that made mankind stand in awe of Satan. And thus, he was imagined in the AIB assuming the guise of a man in order
to deceive the woman of the household. As previously mentioned, he assumed the guise of a woman to tempt the Tannaim, R. Meir (2nd century C.E.) and R. Akiba (2nd century C.E.), and the shape of a bird to mislead David.

Though Satan does not appear frequently in the AIB, he is mentioned in one text, a charm against a murderous spirit, a Demon, Satan, and Destroyer. In this document, he is exorcized by citation of the famous words of Zechariah: "And YHWH said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke thee, Satan. The Lord rebuke thee...!'", words deemed especially effective because of the invocation in them of the Great Name, YHWH. Calling on the Great Name follows Tannaitic precedent, as quoted in Babylonian Amoraic literature, for the potency of the Scriptural passage was expressly revealed by the Angel of Death to R. Joshua b. Levi, the Palestinian authority. As a matter of fact, R. Felimo, the Palestinian Tanna, who used to recite "An arrow in Satan's eyes!", was told by Satan to use "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan..." instead. It is significant that the AIB text goes on to declare explicitly that even the Angel of Death is afraid of the Great Name.

It is interesting to note that though Satan appears in the singular in Amoraic literature, we find that in the AIB, as well as in Enoch, a plural appears.
The demons were considered so awesome that, according to the Tanna, Abba Benjamin (2nd century C.E.), as cited in Babylonian Amoraic literature, no human being could live if he perceived them. Nevertheless, as feared as they were, some of the sages dealt with them personally. Those sages who had social intercourse with them knew them by their personal names. The conversations held were informative, since they provided methods of avoiding harm. Thus, the Babylonian Amora, R. Papa told of a conversation with the demon Joseph during which he learned a method of avoiding harm from these evil visitors. The demon told him that drinking in pairs, whether it be two or four or more glasses, was dangerous. R. Papa even had a demon as a servant.

The Babylonian Amora, R. Hanina (3rd century C.E.) told of a conversation with the demon Jonathan, during which he learned that demons "have a shadow, but no shadow of a shadow", as contrasted to man.

It is interesting to note that the names given to the demons Joseph and Jonathan have the theophoric element in them. It appears that, though they were called demons, they were still considered God's creatures, possibly confirming the legend about God's creating spirits, י"תנפנ יב, on the sixth day. Since they were also friendly, they were given Hebrew names common to any Jew.

Just as the sages were informed by the demons of
methods of protecting themselves from suprahuman malice and harm, so too were the magicians of the AIB. In one text, Lilith advised "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."

Like the demons, the angels were considered infinite in number as well as in form. Like the demons, angels would appear in the guises of man, wind, or fire, etc.

Unlike the demons, the prime purpose of all angels was to do the will of God. There was a group of angels, the Angels of Destruction, or הַנְמוֹת הָעוֹלָמִיִּים, whose purpose, as their name implies, was to do harm. These Angels of Destruction were kept at a great distance from God because He felt, according to Palestinian legend, that they would strike as soon as judgment had been made, not giving man an opportunity to repent.

An evil angel in the AIB, called Rehiq-Yah, distant of God, who "destroys all breath from this world" might be an allusion to those angels that God kept at a distance. The Angel of Death, superior to all the Angels of Destruction, is represented in Babylonian Amoraic literature as standing in wait at a deathbed with a drawn sword from the tip of which hangs a drop of gall. As the dying man gasps for breath, the angel strikes, dropping the gall into his mouth. It is possibly in allusion to this that one of the angels of the AIB is called Samael "angel of poison."
The most prominent of the angels were Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. Since Michael was considered the most important, he was naturally the head of the seventy guardian angels of the seventy nations of the world, and the advocate of Israel, always pleading her case in times of distress. Nevertheless, there was confusion and conflict. "The healer", a designation given only to Raphael in Amoraic literature, is used with reference to Michael in a Syriac text. Raphael was, popularly, the angel of healing wounds and diseases, and yet Michael was given this designation!

In the same way too, there is divergence between the AIB and the rabbinic traditions concerning the names of the angels sent to destroy Sodom. In the AIB, they are identified as Michael and Gabriel, whereas, in rabbinic literature, their names are given, in one instance, as Gabriel and Raphael, and in another as Gabriel and Michael.

A Babylonian Amoraic legend asserts that Gabriel too was considered the guardian angel of Israel. In view of the fact that God, according to the Tanna, R. Eliezer b. R. Jose (2nd century C.E.), as quoted in Babylonian Amoraic literature, asked Gabriel, "Is thy sickle sharpened?", it is plain that when one of the AIB texts refers to seventy men holding seventy sickles, the magician is in fact alluding to a complementary belief concerning the guardian angels of the seventy nations of the world.
nations of the world. However, it is significant that they are expressly designated י"ח, - a term which immediately connects with the name Gabriel.

An additional safeguard was believed to be available for every man in the presence of a peculiar guardian angel who accompanied him. In fact, on the Sabbath two would accompany him from the Synagogue, one good and one bad. As a result of this knowledge, when man sought aid, he would circumvent prayer to God and appeal directly to the angels.

Though the prime purpose of the angel was to do the will of God, the magician of the AIB, borrowing liberally from the angelology of Enoch in invoking the angels, addressed them in lieu of, or in conjunction with, God. Since the angels were the friends of man, they would, in times of crisis, take the side of Israel, pleading with God for mercy in dealing out punishment. This befriending of Israel by the angels would naturally prompt the magician of the AIB to turn to them in times of crisis. Since it was known that the angels also befriended and protected the pious, such knowledge proved useful to the magician, who referred to the power of the Tanna, Joshua b. Peraḥia (1st century B.C.E.) to summon angels from heaven with a divorce writ against a demon.

In addition to borrowing from the angelology of Enoch, the AIB magician used the names of angels he
created by using as a base the verbal element expressing
the object desired with the suffix -el added, i.e.,
Rahmiel, the angel of love and mercy, Habbiel, the angel
of love, and Hafakiel, the angel of upheaval. He
also created names of angels by using the physical
description of the angel as a base with the suffix -el
added, i.e., Seraphiel, the angel of fire. These
same methods of creating angels were used in the
Book of Enoch.

Some of these demons stuck so close to man that the
household was not safe from them. They haunted the
house, lurking in the arches and thresholds,
resting on the roof, even sleeping under the water
drains.

The most prevalent prophylactic used against these
demons was the amulet, a word derived from a root
meaning to bind or fasten. In ancient literature
we find the decision of the sages that an amulet
which had healed on three different occasions was
approved for use on the Sabbath. So prevalent had
the amulet become, the sages felt the need to
regulate the law, differentiating between those that
were "to be used when going out of the Sabbath" and
those that were forbidden.

The practice of using inscribed amulets was carried
down through the ages until the Hellenic period, when we
find evidence of inscribed earthware bowls serving
Man, constantly afflicted, tormented, and tortured by the invisible hordes of demons, had to initiate a number of methods to thwart and conquer these demons and evil spirits. Though the demons were known to frequent the deserts and non-settled regions of the world, there were certain demons who did not wander too far from civilized areas, seeking to intimidate man. Some of these demons stuck so close to man that the household was not safe from them. They haunted the house, lurking in the arches and thresholds, resting on the roof, even sleeping under the water drains.

The most prevalent prophylactic used against these demons was the amulet, or \( נוּנָנָנָנ \), derived from a root meaning to bind or fasten. In Amoraic literature we find the decision of the sages that an amulet which had healed on three different occasions was approved for use on the Sabbath. So prevalent had the amulets become, the sages felt the need to regulate the law, differentiating between those that were "to be used when going out on the Sabbath" and those that were forbidden.

The practice of using inscribed amulets was carried down through the ages until the Gaonic period, when we find evidence of inscribed earthenware bowls serving
as amulets. These bowls, frequently small in size, similar in appearance to porridge bowls, bore inscriptions, written spirally on the inside of the bowl as a rule, on the outside, or on both sides, in "Jewish" Aramaic, Mandaean, or Syriac.

The inscriptions on the bowls included the Shema, which had been recognized as a potent prophylactic against the demons by the Palestinian Amora, R. Isaac (3rd century C.E.), who said that "If one recites the Shema upon his bed, it is as though he held a two-edged sword in his hand...the demons keep away from him."

God's name, in its various forms, and his attributes were inscribed in amulets by the Amoraic sages and the A.I.B. magicians. מַהִיר, Lord of Hosts, is found in both the A.I.B. and Amoraic literature. In the latter instance, it is used in a formula to help cure one bitten by a mad dog.

The magicians of the A.I.B. did not always pray to God directly. They would frequently divert their prayers, appealing directly to the angels. This was in direct opposition to the Halakha, for the sages looked askance at people who prayed to Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, regarding it as an infringement on their monotheistic concept. "When a man is in need," said the Palestinian sages, "he must pray directly to God and neither to Michael nor to Gabriel." In Babylonian
Amoraic literature we find "he who slaughters to...\textsuperscript{15} Michael does as if he were offering to the dead."

Forced finally to concede, because of the overwhelming practice of invoking the angels, the Palestinian Amora, R. Johanan (2nd - 3rd century C.E.), according to Babylonian Amoraic literature, granted that if the people did pray to the angels, they were to do so in Hebrew, since this was the language of the celestial beings, with the exception of Gabriel, who was alleged to have knowledge of all the seventy languages. (The magicians of the AIB still did not adhere to the Halak\textsuperscript{\textendash} because they wrote their incantations in Aramaic, rather than Hebrew!)

The AIB magician frequently appealed to ancient masters, such as Joshua b. Perahia (1st century B.C.E.), to curse and banish the demons by using their powers. In one text we find a divorce writ against Lilith which includes "it is announced to you that Rabbi Joshua bar Perahia has sent against you the ban...\textsuperscript{19}"

To make this writ even more effective, the magician had also appealed to the patriarchs, saying, "I adjure you by the Strong One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by the Shaddai of Jacob...\textsuperscript{20}"

Personalities such as Moses and Jesus were not exempt from appeals. In a Syriac text we find a household being protected by "the virtue of Jesus the
healer...; charmed and sealed even as Moses commanded the Red Sea and they (the waters) stood up like a wall on both sides."

Of primary importance, in Amoraic as well as Gaonic times, was the fact that each amulet contained explicit mention of the name of the person involved as well as of his mother. The Babylonian Amora, Abayye (3rd - 4th century C.E.), quoting his foster mother's instructions, said that all incantations repeated several times required the name of the patient's mother.

Of equal importance in the writing out of amulets was the name or names of demons to be exorcized, as well as their number. In Amoraic literature we find the story of a man, standing near a sorb-bush, שִׁמְאָה, attacked by sixty demons, שִׁמְאָה. Since his life was endangered, he went to obtain an amulet. The scribe, ignorant of the fact that sixty demons haunted the sorb-bush, made out the amulet for one demon, making it ineffective. Another scholar, more cognizant of the facts and figures, made out another amulet for the correct number of demons. The AIB inscriptions follow this line of practice by banning Lilith, as well as other specific demons. Invariably, they end up using a blanket formula, meant to include all those demons that they might have inadvertently overlooked, as in "all evil Liliths and all Demons and Devils and Spells and Idol-spirits..."
Prayer has been a means used by man universally as an expression of his inner hopes and fears, usually at a time when he finds that his innate abilities cannot cope with a situation. While prayer beseeches and implores God to carry out the suppliant's request, the incantation demands that the suppliant's request be carried out.

A salient example of the overlapping between prayer and incantation is that of the request made to God, by the man of piety and great faith, for rain. At times this request, or prayer, was in the nature of a demand. This demand, therefore, would fall under the category of incantations. Honi Ha-m'eaggel (1st century B.C.E.), in praying for rain, according to the Mishnah, drew a circle, stood within it, and demanded that God send rain. The Mishnah goes on to say that Simeon b. Shetah (1st century B.C.E.) would have excommunicated Honi for his rude demands upon God, were it not for the fact that Honi was beloved by God.

A form of incantation or prayer frequently used and sanctioned by the sages was that which made use of Scriptural passages. The sages used them frequently in their verbal, rather than written, form, because their training enabled them to quote them from memory verbatim. Many of these passages made mention of the power and glory of God. The XXIX Psalm, for example,
expressed the majesty and might of the Lord. "The seven references to the Divine Voice mentioned in the Davidic Psalm (29)" were to be recited, according to the Tannaim, as quoted in Babylonian Amoraic literature, to counteract the dangers of drinking water on Wednesday and Sabbath eves, when demons were about, since one of these "seven references" had been uttered over the water.

In one of the AIE texts we find reference to "YHWH the Great God", and "David, Psalm of the Red Sea", which may refer to Psalm CVI 9, which depicts the might of God who "rebuked the Red Sea and it dried up." This could be the AIE magician's selection of a Davidic Psalm, illustrating the might and power of God, to be used in vanquishing demons.

The significance of the word Amen, in the realm of prayers and incantations, lay in the fact that the sages followed the suggestion that "He who responds Amen with all his might has the gates of Paradise opened for him..." The addition of "May His great Name be blessed" could result in forgiveness of even a taint of idolatry.

In addition to being used at the end of benedictions, Amen is used at the end of charms, or alone as a response, in Babylonian Amoraic literature. Rabbah (3rd - 4th century C.E.), the Babylonian Amora, said that "The wave that sinks a ship appears with a white
fringe of fire at its crest, and when stricken with
cubs on which is engraved,

As an
antidote to the bite of a mad dog, Abayye (3rd - 4th
century C.E.), the Babylonian Amora, prescribed the
writing of

in an
amulet.

Amen is likewise used, in the AIB, at the end of
charms. One of the texts includes an invocation for
the salvation of the client, followed by Amen, Amen,
Selah. This shows Amoraic influence, since Selah,
which usually follows Amen in the recitation of
benedictions, was treated as a synonym of היל and יע.
All three words, because they were taken to signify
eternal and uninterrupted continuance, were used to
give sustaining power to benedictions.

In line with the concept that prayer could avert
danger, was the belief that it could even help avoid
the evil dream. In fact, R. Isaac (3rd century C.E.),
the Palestinian Amora, advised that one recite the
Shema before retiring to protect oneself from the evil
spirits. Invocations to the angels and to God to
protect the client from the visitations of demons and
of Lilith during his dreams "neither in dream by
night nor sleep by day", are found throughout the AIB.

Sometimes the magician used the power of words in
the form of curses rather than invocations. In Babylonian
Amoraic literature we find that cursing was permissible when prompted by religious motives. R. Samuel b. Nahmani (3rd century C.E.), the Palestinian Amora, in the name of R. Jonathan (3rd century C.E.), another Palestinian Amora, was said to have cursed those who would attempt to determine the arrival of the Messiah, in Babylonian Amoraic literature, for fear that they would scoff when the time came and no Messiah appeared on the scene. Since cursing by scholars was considered especially effective, as borne out, in Babylonian Amoraic literature, by Rab Judah's (3rd century C.E.) statement, citing Rab (3rd century C.E.), to the effect that the curse of a sage, even if unmerited, is fulfilled, it was only natural that the magicians of the AIB would appeal to scholars such as Joshua b. Perahia (1st century B.C.E.) to help carry out the ban, a form of curse. The AIB magician had in mind, when invoking Joshua b. Perahia, the Amoraic statements that the ban was a form of curse, and that, to be efficacious, it had to be pronounced by a prominent personality, such as a sage.

The curse "You were closed up; closed up were you. Cursed, broken, and destroyed be Bar Tit, Bar Tame, Bar Tina... (literally the demon of mud, the demon of filth, and the demon of mire)" in Amoraic literature, eventually found its way into the AIB in a varied form. As such, we find, "Closed are the mouths of all races, legions and tongues..." in a charm against
barrenness, and "woe, oppressing with your foul wounds...
who do violence and trample and scourge and mutilate and
break and confuse and hobble..." in a charm against the demons which haunt the home.

The taint of using obscene vulgarisms, when cursing, eventually touched the sages via the common people. Magic, the common denominator between scholar and peasant when fighting demons, led the scholar to resort to the practices and language of the peasants. One profane curse, found in Babylonian Amoraic literature, which eventually also appeared in the AIB ran as follows: "Excrement in torn baskets at your mouth, o witches."

The individual Jew was his own medicine-man, practicing folk medicine in combating disease through superstitious remedies. Nevertheless, there were times when the folk remedies would not work. The people would then turn to the sages, the men of great piety, for help. Sometimes the offering of a sage's hand to a sick man was enough to effect a cure. Babylonian Amoraic literature relates the story of the Palestinian Amora, R. Johanan curing R. Hiyya b. Abba (3rd - 4th century C.E.) by the offering of his hand. R. Johanan himself had been cured thus, but at the hand of R. Hanina, the Tanna. The sages offered the explanation that he could not cure himself because "the prisoner cannot free himself from jail." This belief that
the prisoner cannot free himself would explain why the magicians in the AIE would at times make out amulets for each other. In one text two sorcerers each invoke their powers in turn in the other's behalf.

A primitive form of magic was that type that could be classified as sympathetic. The object of this method was to rid the person, possessed by the demon or illness, by using actions that are symbolic of the ends desired, i.e. getting rid of the demons.

The praxis of sympathetic magic, as a means of carrying out their clients' requests, was used by the magicians of the AIE in their roles of technicians. If they would overturn some earth, they would be symbolically overturning the vows and curses, etc., that were uttered against their clients. The AIE magicians went so far as to create the name of an angel because of the praxis of turning over the earth, viz. Hafak-El, - literally "God overturned."

The Amoraic sages also resorted to the practice of sympathetic magic, as indicated by the suggestion that one recite the word Hafak three times in order to turn a bad dream into a good one.

When the AIE magicians were not using such devices, they were using fire, light, and the various metals known to be anti-demoniacs, in the praxis of sympathetic magic. Since fire and light could route the spirits of darkness, it was only natural that the AIE magicians
would come out in a "figure of pure fire". The "spell of fire" would even charm the demons, they believed.

To protect himself against the demons, a person, according to Amoraic literature, would carry a torch with him when going out in the evening. It was believed that a torch was as good as a companion. A Master was cited as having said, "To one an evil spirit may show itself and harm him; to two it may show itself but without harming them; to three it will not even show itself. We must therefore say that a torch is equal to two, including the carrier". It is interesting to note that, in case of moonlight, considered a third person, the demons would not appear.

The magician of the AIB who came forth in the "figure of pure fire" also used "polished armor of iron" and a "head of iron". In one text, demons were fettered in iron, as evidenced by a figure depicting Lilith in irons. Still another text charmed "the sorcery spirits in stocks of iron".

These powers of iron are brought out in the Amoraic statement that "if an article is sealed with an iron signet, the demons don't steal it...".

Just as the AIB magician, in one text, had Lilith chained in lead, Ezra and his followers, according to Babylonian Amoraic literature, when they apprehended Satan, wanted to imprison him. They sought to place him in a lead container, which would then be sealed,
so that he could do no further damage. It was explained that they decided to use lead, because his voice would not be able to escape from the container, leading the people to do evil by the power of suggestion. That the sages used lead containers in their recipes for cures also, can be gleaned from Abayye’s remedy to cure a daily fever. The remedy included placing an ant in a brass tube closed with lead and sealed with sixty seals.

The fact that Abayye suggested using a brass tube, as well as the fact that Raba’s wife, the daughter of the Babylonian Amora, R. Hisda (218-309 C.E.), used to rattle a nut in a brass dish to frighten away the demons of the privy, may be traced back to the belief that brazen serpents had healing powers—a belief obviously derived from the prototype of the Biblical Nehushtan. This belief still flourished in Gaonic times, since we find spirits bound with “bonds of brass” in an AIB text.

Since man’s mind is so constituted that it projects upon him those things of which he stands in awe, in the battle between man and demons, man portrayed the demons with sling shot, sword, arrow, etc., the very elements that he himself used in combat.

Actual combat with the demons was sanctioned by the sages. In fact, the Palestinian Amora, R. Johanan recommended the recitation of “...with a bed of leeks
I hurled him down; with a jawbone of an ass I smote him" before going into the privy. The Babylonian Amora, Aha b. Jacob (3rd century C.E.) used to wave the lulab to and fro, saying, "This is an arrow in the eye of Satan", indicating the desire he wanted to have of Satan. Babylonian Amoraic literature also records the story that Pelimo, the Tanna, used to recite "An arrow in your eye, Satan" until he was advised by Satan to say "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan. The Lord rebuke thee..." It is interesting to note that R. Hisda, the Babylonian Amora, asserts that he would have said to Satan, 'An arrow in your eye', had he married at fourteen, because, not having been tempted to think impure thoughts at that age, he could defy Satan. It may well be that the description of the blinding of the evil desire, Satan, by Ezra and his followers, which omitted the method used, might have had its origin in the concept of "An arrow in your eye, Satan."

Though there is frequent mention of the use of the arrow in Amoraic literature, it is its counterpart, the bow, which appears in the AIE. In one text, the magician declares: "I will bend the bow against you and stretch the bow-string at you."

Combat sometimes took a peculiar form of "retaliation in kind". Since even numbers were considered unlucky, especially pairs, because they could bring on the demons
(as mentioned in the previous chapter), the sages explained that not guarding against pairs could result in a man "bursting". The sages affirmed also that a demon itself might split or burst because of mortification. Parallel with this we find an AIB magician ordering a demon to burst.

At times, instead of fighting the demons, man would resort to a more peaceful method of dealing with them; they often could be mollified by food and drink. The sages felt that one could drink water that stood overnight only if something had first been thrown into it as a sop to the demons that might have haunted it. One text in the AIB tells of a demon being offered food and drink in the bridal chamber, where he was wont to linger. This was done, according to Montgomery, to incapacitate him by weighing him down with victuals. It appears more plausible, however, that this practice was designed to satisfy and placate the demon so that he would leave. Indeed, in another text, the demon was expressly invited to a meal in the terms, "Enter come! Here is meat to eat and here is wine to drink!"

The performance of magic has its own technical vocabulary. The term InBackground to bind, as a means of binding or controlling the sorcerers or witches, who performed their magic by this concept of tying or binding a spell, was frequently used in the AIB. The
magician, as such, used "Now you are conquered, you are charmed (or bound): charmed, you are charmed and sealed..." and "Charmed and sealed and countersealed" with the term as the concept desired.

In Amoraic literature we have a similar use of the concept of binding a spell. A matron who was not invited to sit with R. Hisdai and Rabbah son of R. Huna, after she had requested this, retaliated by uttering a charm and binding the boat they were traveling in. They uttered an incantation for their part and freed it. The important part of this anecdote is the fact that a feat of magic was performed by the casting of a spell.

When it comes to the concept of charming, we find a difference of opinion between the Amoraim and AIB magicians. The AIB magician accepted and used it, as in the phrase "and I come and put a charm for them". The sages, on the other hand, prohibited the use of charming. Burning incense as a charm was enough, said the sages, for such a charmer to be stoned, in accordance with the law of Moses. Abayye, who elsewhere is permissive and lenient, states that it is forbidden to imprison even wasps or scorpions by charms, in order to prevent them from doing harm.

An interesting contrast between Amoraic and AIB practices occurs in the matter of amulet
or knot. Although the מְזֶרֶת was sanctioned in Amoraic literature because it came under the realm of accepted amulets, it was always used in a detrimental sense in the AIB. In two of the AIB the adjective, יִזְרֶה, impious, was appended, as in "impious Amulet-spirits" and "Bound and sealed... from the... evil Spirits... the impious Amulet-spirit, the Lilith Spirit...".

The belief in the magical efficacy of knots is further borne out by the Mishnah, which says that boys can go out with garlands, בְּרָאוֹר, on the Sabbath, because of their prophylactic qualities. Even the lulab, a palm branch used for the festival of Tabernacles, which was waved to and fro by Aba b. Jacob, the Babylonian Amora, while saying "This is an arrow in the eye of Satan", was bound by a knot.

In a case, recorded in Amoraic literature, a demon remarked that he could not take anything that was "tied and sealed". This expression מְזֶרֶת יִזְרֶה, in Aramaic, was used by the AIB magicians to bind the demons. In two bowls, knots themselves are used as part of a charm against demons. Thus, in a Syriac incantation, we find the phrase "and foul knots...which contend against him", the noun מְזֶרֶת being used. In another, a Jewish, bowl, occur the words: "Lo, this mystery is for frustrating you, Mysteries, Arts, and enchanted Waters and Hair spirits, Bowls and Knots and Vows...", the noun here being מְזֶרֶת.
The tefilin, in addition to their value as inscribed amulets, had the name of God represented in the form of knots, with the ω, the first letter of Shaddai, placed above the forehead, the τ, the second letter, placed at the base of the skull, and the μ, the last letter, placed on the upper left arm. In addition to their religious significance, the tefilin had the aspect of a magical prophylactic because of their knots and the fact that they were inscribed amulets.

Knots, when not being used as prophylactics, were used in a more dynamic capacity, especially for healing. The Amora, Abayye, quoting his foster mother, said that "three garlands of pu'ah (\(1 \times 12\)) arrest illness, five cure, and seven are efficacious even against witchcraft," thus revealing their potency. It is interesting to note that he prescribed the keeping of all knots for healing on the left.

Aside from the fact that the aforementioned garlands of pu'ah consisted of knots, they had the potency of the magic of odd numbers. In contrast to the Roman maxim, numero gaudet impares deus, even numbers were considered unlucky by the sages, because they could bring on the demons. In contrast to the even numbers, three odd numbers that were considered especially propitious were three, seven, and nine. The recipe to cure a tertian fever clearly points out the value of the number seven to the sages. R. Huna.
recommended that one "procure seven prickles from seven palm trees, seven chips from seven beams, seven pegs from seven bridges, seven [heaps of] ashes from seven ovens, seven [mounds of] earth from under seven door-sockets, seven specimens of pitch from seven ships, seven handfuls of cummin, and seven hairs from the beard of an old dog, and tie them in the nape of the neck with a white twisted thread."

The magician of the AIB was also prone to use the number seven in his recipes. In one text he wrote, "You are bound with the seven spells and sealed with the seven seals..." In another text he repeated the X seven times.

The practice of substituting letters for numbers was a common occurrence, just as was the practice of equating the two. As such we find, in the AIB, a magician admonishing the demons, demanding that they depart from the 248 limbs of his client. Resh Lakish, the Palestinian Amora, as quoted in Babylonian Amoraic literature, states that the [ban], enters the 248 limbs or joints. The numerical value of is 248, further indicating that the whole body was interdicted. In another Babylonian Amoraic text we find the concept that Abraham allegedly controlled 248 limbs, which was the numerical value of his name.

Another term used for banishing, instead of [ban], was , which has various meanings. In the Bible,
an adulteress was sent forth and divorced, with מיהר
used to mean to send forth or to banish. A secondary
Aramaic meaning was to strip, i.e. strip naked. In the
AIB we find the term used with this meaning, coupled
with יָלַד, naked, as in "naked are ye sent forth,
nor are ye clad, with your hair dishevelled and let fly
behind your backs." The vestige of the idea that
an adulteress is stripped naked also appears in the
Bible. Though the AIB retains this tradition of
stripping naked and divorcing the adulteress, the
Mishnah retains the normative tradition of the ordeal
of the suspected woman.
Man is so constituted that during times of stress and strain, when he might be tempted to give up and let his troubles sweep over him, he tends to look at the brighter side of things, looking toward the future with hope and faith. The magicians of the AIB were no different than other men. In the backs of their minds they kept the final Day of Judgment, when they would have to wrestle no more with evil, their arch enemy. In one text, for instance, demons and evil spirits are exorcized by means of a magical seal "until the great Day of Judgment and the great hour of the Redemption of your head." With this we may at once compare the Amoraic statement that "In the time to come, the Holy One, Blessed be He, will bring the Evil Inclination and slay it in the presence of the righteous and the wicked" - a notion which finds its parallel in Iranian sources. Similarly, too, the Book of Enoch declares that all the forces of evil would be cast into the fire on Judgment Day so that they would perish and no longer affect mankind. This finds its echo in the Amoraic story told by R. Dimi (4th century C.E.), on his return from Palestine, in the name of R. Johanan, that Gabriel would arrange for the hunt of the Leviathan on the Day of Judgment, succeeding only because of the help of God, who would also at that time slay the archfiend, the evil inclination.
In Babylonian Amoraic literature, we find the sages citing the Palestinian Amora, R. Johanan who, contrary to them, felt that Genesis I 21 referred to the Leviathan, the male, the slant serpent, and the female, the tortuous serpent, of Isaiah XXVII 1. It was R. Johanan, according to Rabbah (3rd - 4th century C.E.), the Babylonian Amora, who said that the Leviathan would be apportioned among the righteous, on the Day of Judgment, at a Messianic banquet. The belief that the crooked serpent, the Leviathan, which had been vanquished in the beginning of days by God, and would be again vanquished in Messianic times, was expressed by the Babylonian Amora, Rab Judah, speaking in the name of Rab, who also evidently brought back the legends of the Leviathan to Babylonia from Palestine.

There is special mention in the AIB of the "spell of the sea and the spell of the monster Leviathan."

In IV Ezra, God, having divided the world into wet and dry, sent the Behemoth to the dry land, the thousand hills, and confined the Leviathan to the wet, reserving them both "to be devoured by whom thou wilt and when." The spell mentioned in the AIB, therefore, may well refer to such confinement of the Leviathan.

We find mention in another AIB text of "the ban which fell upon Mount Hermon and upon the monster Leviathan and upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah." Here
again we find Midrashic influence evidenced since Leviathan has been banned, probably to the wet regions. We also find an interesting play on words, since Hermon would be a variation of the word מַרְדַּשֶׁה, "ban".

When it comes to legends, one of the most glaring anachronisms perpetrated in antiquity was that legend which mentioned that Jesus was the disciple of Joshua b. Perahia. According to the uncensored version of the Talmud Babli, Joshua b. Perahia had fled to Egypt to escape the cruel persecutions instituted by Alexander Jannaeus against the Pharisees, about the year 88 B.C.E. According to this legend, his disciple Jesus went along with him. While there, Joshua b. Perahia excommunicated Jesus, whereupon Jesus went and set up a brick and worshipped it. A sage, commenting on this, said "The disciple practiced magic and led Israel astray."

Now, since Joshua b. Perahia in fact lived approximately one hundred years before Jesus, various theories have been propounded to account for their being linked together. The truth is, however, that this legend was started by the common people of the Sassanian period in an effort to offset the magical power attributed to Jesus. The Jewish masses, prone to superstition and magic, wanted for their part a "Jewish Jesus" and therefore 'selected' Joshua b. Perahia, who shared various elements in common with
the founder of Christianity. First, their names are identical. Second, when the Amoraic literature relates that Joshua b. Pera~ia's sojourn in Egypt, a land of witchcraft, was terminated when his disciple, Simeon b. Shetah (1st century B.C. E.) sent to him, "From me, Jerusalem, the Holy City, to thee Alexandria in Egypt...", it is not difficult to detect a reminiscence of Matthew's account that "And [Jesus] was there [Egypt] until the death of Herod; that that might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son'." Third, just as Joshua b. Pera~ia fled from Alexander Jannaeus, so Jesus fled from Herod. Joshua b. Pera~ia received his call as a teacher and master, while Jesus received his call as a youth. Lastly, the very name Pera~ia, rife with magical implications, afforded another strong reason for selecting this sage as the teacher of Jesus. The Christians claimed that the coming of Jesus was foreshadowed in the Old Testament by Isaiah's expression וְיִנֶּה סָּכָרָנִי. "A branch shall grow out of his roots". They interpreted נּוֹה to refer to Jesus the Nazarene. The Jews countered this by picking on another word in the same passage, viz. the verb נָהַל, and by therefore setting up the rival figure of the sage Joshua (Jesus) b. Perahia. Nor was this verb itself without magical suggestion; for it is also found, alike in Amoraic literature, as in the AIE, with the meaning of 'blowing away',
in special reference to the blowing of the crumbs used by witches in divination, while it is also employed in Amoraic literature with reference to the caper-trees, which demons were known to inhabit. And, as if these associations were not enough, the magical potency of the name is enhanced by the addition of the suffix -ם.

The legend of Jesus and Joshua b. Perahia continued into the period of the AIF. It was a natural survival since the magician and the clientele of the AIF were basically of the same class as those who had originated the legend during the Sassanian period. Thus we see that Joshua b. Perahia was referred to as the "healer" in the AIF, reminiscent of Jesus' powers, as recorded in the New Testament. Since a Jewish Jesus had been created there was no need for invoking "Jesus the healer" in the Jewish texts. The fact that the AIF borrowed the aforementioned legend is further indicated by the invoking of Joshua b. Perahia as a master magician, able to grant a divorce to a demon, by virtue of his great magical powers.

Though Joshua b. Perahia was considered the master magician, the most renowned of all Jewish magicians was Solomon. As early as the time of Josephus, Solomon's superiority over demons, and exorcism of them by means of a magic ring, and of incantations formerly employed by a certain Eleazar, was described. Solomon's ability to control the higher beings, by
using the engraved ring, inscribed with the Ineffable Name, was well known in Babylonian Amoraic literature. There was an elaborate Amoraic legend that depicted Solomon vanquishing Ashmedai, king of the demons, through the potency of the ring. The notion that Solomon exerted power over the demons appears also in the AIB. There is reference likewise to his controlling them by his seal. Indeed, in one text, the engraving of the Ineffable Name upon the seal is given added potency by reference to the days of antiquity, the "six days of creation" when it was inscribed and carved. So strong was the belief in the power of his seal that we even find the seal mentioned in a Mandaean text.

The reference to "six days of creation" is indicative of the important part played by the Genesis story in midrashic beliefs, which then influenced the magicians of the AIB in later centuries.

The day of the week on which one was born would determine one's fate. A person born on Sunday, the first day of the week, would be completely good or completely evil, since the extremes of light and darkness were created on the first day. One born on Monday would be bad-tempered because the waters were split; on Tuesday, wealthy and unchaste because the herbs were created; on Wednesday, wise because wisdom was dependent on illumination of the mind, and the
luminaries were created on that day; on Thursday, profuse in benevolence, since the multitudinous birds and fishes were created on the fifth day. If born on Friday, he would be a seeker after good deeds since he would be prepared for the Sabbath; and if on the Sabbath, he would die on the Sabbath, because the Sabbath had been desecrated by his entry into the world.

Though we do not find such use of the Genesis story in the AIB, we do find reference to the art of astrology, which can be traced back to this concept of determining one's fate on the basis of birthday.

The people of the AIB regarded the planets as harmful spirits, and, therefore, wrote charms against the sun, moon, stars and planets. At the same time they used the constellations as charms. This is exemplified by such expressions as "I charm you with the seal with which were charmed the seven stars and the twelve signs of the Zodiac..." to "the great day of judgment, and to the great hour of redemption...". In another bowl, the demons were to be bound until the end of the present aeon.

Though the day of one's birth was important, the natal hour was considered even more so. The Babylonian Amora, R. Hanina mentioned the fate of those who were born under the various planets, e.g., those born under Venus were destined to wealth and promiscuity, those under Mercury to intelligence,
those under Saturn to frustration of their plans, those under Jupiter to righteousness, those under Mars to shedding blood, those under the Moon to suffering evil, etc. 39

The inevitability of man's fate, as determined by his time of birth, was related in the discussion that Eleazar b. Pedat (3rd century C.E.), the Palestinian Amora, according to Babylonian Amoraic literature, had with God. God told Eleazar b. Pedat that he would have to turn back the world to its very beginning were he to release Eleazar from poverty. Only then could he have been born in a luckier hour. 40

Belief in the stars and their powers left a heavy imprint. Every person was considered to have a specific star, called מגד, as his guardian spirit, with whose fate his would be closely interwoven. It was known that a man's star had foreseen danger in store for him if he suddenly manifested causeless fear. 41

The belief, in Babylonian Amoraic literature, that a man's death was near when his star set is borne out by the story told by R. Se'orim (3rd - 4th century C.E.) of his brother Raba's (3rd - 4th century C.E.) death. As Raba lay dying he told his brother that his מגד had been given to the Angel of Death. He requested R. Se'orim to tell the Angel of Death not to torment him. It was Raba, in fact,
fallen under the astrological sway, who had declared, 
"Duration of life, progeny, and subsistence are
dependent upon the constellations."

Since the stars determined a man's fate, the
magician of the AIB performed something that the sages
did not attempt to do, i.e., charmed the stars so that
they would come under his influence. This was
considered brazen by the sages because it was charming
nature to do man's will.

Since the element of precise timing was considered
extremely important in the art of astrology, we find,
in the AIB, "... in days and in months and in all years,
and this day out of all days, and this month out of
all months, this year out of all years, and this
season out of all seasons...". The effectiveness of
the incantation can be traced back to Amoraic beliefs
in the potency of certain days of the week, months, etc.

In Babylonian Amoraic literature we find,
according to Abayye (3rd - 4th century C.E.), that a
curse was considered especially effective when uttered
three hours after sunrise. It was considered
dangerous, according to Samuel (2nd - 3rd century C.E.),
the Babylonian Amora, to bleed a patient on Monday or
Thursday, which were unlucky days. He said it was
equally dangerous to undergo this operation on a
Wednesday falling on the fourth, fourteenth, or
twentyfourth of the month, as well as the eve of every 48
festival, and in particular on the eve of Pentecost.
It was even found to be dangerous to drink water on
the eves of Wednesday and the Sabbath. Since
Jewish reckoning of time was based on the moon's phases,
an eclipse of the moon was considered a fatality for 49
Israel, according to the Tannaim, as quoted in
Babylonian Amoraic literature. The belief that, of
the lunar months, Ab was considered an unlucky,
whereas Adar was deemed/particularly propitious, month
for the Jews, is expressed by the Babylonian Amora,
R. Papa. 50

Dreams, like the study of the stars, were
considered a strong factor in determining future events.
After the destruction of the Second Temple, they took
additional importance because they were the means,
according to Raba, the Babylonian Amora, by which
God was able to communicate with man. It was only
natural therefore to believe that dreams disclosed
the divine will.

Throughout the ALE we find reference to the
visitations of demons and of Lilith during the dreams
of clients, and invocations that the latter be
protected from such visitations "neither in dream by
night nor sleep by day." In awe of the potency of
dreams, the Babylonian Amoraim discussed them in great
detail. Even though it was known that a person who
went to bed in jovial spirits would have a good dream, the fear existed that evil dreams might disturb his sleep. Even Solomon, despite the protection afforded by his ring, was terrified by evil spirits in his sleep. The AIB invocations reveal the fear of the prognostication of dreams as well as the fear of the potency of Lilith the paramour.

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Apart from sundry allusion to "The Evil Eye", and "the eye of contumely, the eye which looks right into the heart", the AIB texts have little to say about the Evil Eye in general. Nevertheless, expression itself suffices to indicate an awareness of the power of the eye as a vehicle of jealousy and malice, and this belief may be illustrated from several passages in Babylonian Amoraic literature. It was Rab who declared that 99 out of every 100 people die through the evil eye. In fact, he said that Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah had been killed by the many eyes directed at them in astonishment, after they had been rescued from the fiery furnace. This tale in turn finds a parallel in the story of R. Zera (4th century C.E.), who could likewise emerge from a fiery furnace and even exit from the fire of Gehenna unscathed, until, one day, the sages cast an evil eye upon him and his legs were singed.

One of the AIB magicians employs the expression...
Montgomery renders this: "I am the seed producer of Joseph. . . ." supposing a play of thought between Joseph as controller of the fertility of Egypt and of that of a family. Seeing, however, that the text is accompanied by the figure of a hand, a well-known prophylactic for averting the evil eye, it is apparent that his rendering and interpretation are incorrect. The true explanation is, however, that, according to Jewish legendary lore, the descendants of Joseph enjoy the unique distinction of being invulnerable to the Evil Eye. The idea would seem to have been derived originally from a fanciful interpretation of the words נִלְאָלָל בַּל בַּר הָאָבִיב in Jacob's blessing upon that patriarch (Genesis 49:22), though a popular tradition asserted as an alternative reason, that this was a reward for the fact that Joseph had tried to protect his mother from the gaze of Esau. This invulnerability of the patriarch's descendants is expressly mentioned in Babylonian Amoraic literature, when we read that "R. Johanan," the Palestinian Amora, "used to go and sit at the gates of the ritual bath. 'When the daughters of Israel ascend from the bath,' he was purported to have said, 'let them look upon me, that they may bear sons as beautiful and learned as I.' The sages asked him: 'Do you not fear an evil eye?' - 'I am of the seed of Joseph,' he replied, 'against whom an evil eye is powerless.' For it is written,
Joseph is a fruitful vine, even a fruitful vine above the eye. The use of the identical expression and the use of the accompanying figure of the apotropaic hand therefore combine to show that the AIB reflects the time-honored piece of magical practices becoming more prevalent as time passed, the scribes felt the need to increase the role of the observance of the law. Their syncretistic doctrines were in conflict with the superstitions practices that were in operation.

God, in his omniscience and omnipotence, was the Supreme Being to whom the Jews would turn for consolation and worship, since the days of the Bible. Due to his divinity, reverence and care were always exercised when expressing his name whether in speaking or in writing. Thus, the scribes would use the utmost care when writing God’s seven divine names. Since no omissions were permitted, the name YHWH was never stated that was considered sacrosanct and holiest of all God’s names. This is best borne out by the Babylonian Amoramic statement that, in the days of the Targum, when blessing the people, the priests would pronounce the name YHWH in the Temple only. Throughout the Temple, they would use the title "JLX". After the South of the High Priest, Simon the Highpriest, (Anna 2nd...
CHAPTER IV

HALACHIC INFLUENCE

In their efforts to restrain the superstitions and magical practices becoming more prevalent as time passed, the sages felt the need to increase the yoke of the observance of the law. Their monotheistic doctrines were in conflict with the superstitious practices that were in operation.

God, in his omniscience and omnipotence, was the Supreme Being to whom the Jews would turn for consolation and worship, since the days of the Bible. Due to his divinity, reverence and care were always exercised when expressing his name orally or in writing. Thus, the scribe would use the utmost care when writing God's seven divine names: אֱלֹהִים ה' אֱלֹהִים, וה' אֱלֹהִים, וה' אֱלֹהִים, וה' אֱלֹהִים, וה' אֱלֹהִים, וה' אֱלֹהִים, וה' אֱלֹהִים, since no erasures were permitted.

It was the Tetragrammaton, the יהוה, however, that was considered sacrosanct and holiest of all God's names. This is best borne out by the Babylonian Amoraic statement that, in the days of the Second Temple, when blessing the people, the priests would articulate the name יהוה in the Temple only. Outside the Temple they would use the title יהוה. After the death of the High Priest, Simon the Righteous (circa 2nd
century B.C.E.), the pronunciation of the Name was discontinued.

So holy and potent was the name YHWH considered that one deserved no portion in the world to come, according to the Tanna, Abba Saul (2nd century C.E.), if he pronounced the Name in its full spelling. The sages even attributed the death of Hanina b. Teradion (2nd century C.E.) to the fact that he had pronounced the Name in public.

Since there was danger in profaning the Tetragrammaton, יולו, various Babylonian Amoraim felt that the Name should be kept secret. The Amoraim, Nahman b. Isaac (4th century C.E.) and Raba said that the pronunciation of YHWH was to be kept secret. The Amora, R. Abina (3rd - 4th century C.E.), however, said that YHWH was not to be pronounced as written, but to be said as 'TVY, substituting X and J for ' and ।.

It is worthy to note that when the Tetragrammaton was written on amulets it was not deserving of being saved if a fire broke out on the Sabbath.

Though the pronunciation of YHWH was closely guarded, and limited only to a select few, it nevertheless appeared to be known to foreigners. The magician of our texts was, therefore, eager to obtain knowledge of its pronunciation for his practice. Since his clients probably consisted of these Jews, who
may well be akin to the \( \text{\daleth mem ayin mem} \), literally the people of the land, that lived on the fringes of the Jewish community and sought fulfilment of their magical needs from one who was very much like their own group but who, nevertheless, had some smattering of Jewish knowledge and folklore, he would be more wont to borrow from the magic of alien cultures, and not to be concerned unduly with moral and legalistic scruples. He would not hesitate to make use of the Tetragrammaton. In fact, the use of YHWH was prevalent throughout the AIB.

The magicians of the AIB reserved for themselves the freedom to use the name YHWH as they saw fit. They used it as it had been used in the days of the Second Temple, when invoked by the high priest in the Temple, thus indicating a complete disregard for the Halaka regarding the spelling and writing of the Tetragrammaton, since the bowls could be damaged or destroyed.

The freedom taken is evidenced by the vocalization, in one AIB text, of the Tetragrammaton in a proper name, i.e. \( \text{\daleth mem ayin mem} \). In another text, we find reference to the fact that it is said to be engraved on a seal. Often the Tetragrammaton was distorted by the insertion of superfluous letters and syllables, e.g. \( \text{ayin mem ayin mem} \). Sometimes such devices were employed as a threefold repetition of the letter \( \text{ayin} \), evidently representing \( \text{\daleth mem ayin mem} \).
Although the sages disapproved of the free use of God's name, they felt that amulets which contained it were holier and more potent than others in warding off demons. Certain such amulets were therefore permitted. Since God's name appeared in the Torah, the Shema, the prayers, the mezuzoth, and the tefilin, these were felt to be doubly effective. Nevertheless, if God's name was written in any amulet, that amulet could not be taken into a privy unless covered with leather. Tefilin, however, were excepted from this rule and could not be taken into a privy in any circumstances because of the letters "ו", "י", and "י", which stand for "יודע", Almighty. Aware of these deep-rooted beliefs in the power of God's name in amulets, the magicians of the AIB were not slow to exploit the use of it against demons. The texts therefore abound in such expressions as "in YHWH and for his praise the faith in him and his service" and "and may praise be to God, the Living and Lasting who prevails."

The Jewish magicians of the AIB also felt free to use such a phrase as "Hear Israel: YYYY our God is one YYYY.", substituting YYYY for the YHWH of the Scriptural text. The importance of the Shema had been stressed by the Amoraim in expressions such as "Demons are kept away if the Shema is read...", and "if one recites the Shema upon his bed, it is as though he
before him. "Why did you do such a thing?" he asked. "What else could I do?" replied the demon, "seeing that they put it down on my ear?" "Indeed," rejoined the master, "but which business had you in a public place? It is you that are in the wrong. You must therefore pay for the damage!" "Will the master then give me time to pay?" A date was fixed. When it arrived, the demon defaulted. He came to the court, and the sages said to him, "Why didn't you keep to your date?" "Our rule is," replied the demon, "that we may not take away with us anything tied up, sealed, measured, or counted, but only what we find abandoned."

Seeing, then, that demons could thus be regarded as liable to court procedures, it was no great step for the AIB magicians to apply to them the legal measure of divorce. Even according to the mishnah, a female demon (succuba) who consorted with a man in sleep would have needed a divorce, since, in a sense, her marriage, though frowned upon by the sages, could be said to have been consummated through intercourse. According to Beth Shammai, a divorce required good cause, and the cause had to be sexual immorality. The granting of a divorce in the case of such a demon would fall within this category, and it is significant that in one of the AIB texts she is, in fact, sent forth, as an adulteress, stripped and naked.

Since the divorce writ, according to the mishnah,
held a two-edged sword in his hand."

The Jewish magician of the AIB was therefore encouraged to use the Shema.

The magicians of the AIB did not, nevertheless, always pray to God directly. They would frequently circumvent prayer to God and appeal directly to the angels (refer to Chapter I for full details). When they did not pray to the angels directly, they did refer to their powers and abilities in the hope that this would accomplish the desired ends. This is borne out in the text of one of the bowls in which the magician refers to the power of holy angels who had been summoned from heaven with a divorce writ against a demon.

The notion of granting a divorce to a demon, though found only in this Jewish source, does not appear in Talmudic and Midrashic literature. It is, however, a natural consequence of the attitude which the sages entertained concerning demons. Babylonian Amoramic literature tells, for instance, of calling a demon to court for an infraction of human civil law. Certain carriers, wanting to take a rest, deposited a barrel of wine, which they were carrying, under a drain pipe. When the barrel burst, they went complaining to the Amora, Mar b. Ashi. That sage at once brought forth trumpets and banned the demon who now stood
had to be expressly written for the woman, it was only natural for the AIB magicians to do so for the evil Lilith, telling her therein to "take this divorce", to "hear and obey and go forth from the house, and the dwelling of this...". They drew the line, however, at including the regular formula that she was henceforth "free to any man", in the document, because their intention was to sever her from her present human mate rather than to facilitate her union with another.

Since only those well versed in the law were permitted to transact the formalities of a divorce, the magicians of the AIB resorted to two powerful witnesses, Joshua b. Pershes and El Shaddai, in order to offset the evil potency of Lilith, who might not accept the writ unless she were confronted with a power stronger than hers. Moreover, although anyone is qualified to act as bearer of the document, the magicians, wanting one strong enough to withstand the demons, sent it "through Holy Angels."

With regard to the actual form of the writ, we find its terminology is strikingly similar to that prescribed by the sages. In Amoraic literature the Mishnaic term בְּאָרְמָתָא זְרֵא "foreign parts", is used in reference to a divorce that originates outside of Palestine or Babylonia. In the AIB the term חוֹרָל "across the sea", is analogous, the magician using this formula to lend an air of
verisimilitude. Furthermore, just as the sages 40 emphasized the date of the writ, so too does the AIB, using the phrase, $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, "this day and 41 forever." Other terms used in Amoraic divorce-writes 42 are $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, written as $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $ in the AIB, 43 $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, written as $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $ in the AIB, 44 $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, written as $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $ in the AIB, 45 and $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, written as $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $ in the AIB.

The earliest mention of a divorce granted to a demon occurs in a medieval work, Ma'aseh Yerushalmi. The daughter of the king of the demons, married to a human being, wants a divorce from him, after all her appeals to him that he remain with her have failed. He wishes to return to his first wife. The court 48 grants her request.

Another way in which the AIB magicians exploited the traditional concept that demons were subject to the courts may be recognized in their use of the rite of $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, "excommunication," to ban a demon. As a means of enforcing public morality and religious behavior, the ban or excommunication was used by the sages. The Babylonian Amoraic would impose the $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, reproof, for just one day, and the $\text{א"ד ק"כ ג"ו ד"ו א"ו} $, separation, for a period of seven days. These two bans were corrective in character and involved only a temporary expulsion for a fixed period, at the end of which the
individual, showing signs of repentance, would be readmitted to the fold. The most potent of the bans was the proper, which was imposed for an indeterminate period. These three terms are used quite indiscriminately in the AIB, all with the significance of ridding the household of the presence of demons, who had committed immoral acts against public decency.

The sage, [NAME], was wont to shake the lulav, the palm branch, in all directions, thus indicating God's sovereignty over nature. Of interest is the fact that [NAME], during this holy practice, would exclaim, "This is an over-powering benediction!" This utterance against a demon in the name of a holy and sacred ritual best for explanations. Further explanations can be found in [NAME]'s [HOLY BOOK], where written accounts are given in [HOLY BOOK].
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have attempted to broaden our understanding of Jewish magic and superstition during the Sassanian period vis à vis the Aramaic Incantation Bowls and Talmudic literature.

Unfortunately, we cannot always shed light on a magical practice or belief by comparing and analyzing these two literatures. We may, therefore, have to go farther afield in order to find the explanation for a given ritual or magical utterance.

The sage, R. Johanan was wont to shake the lulab, the palm branch, in all directions, thus indicating God's sovereignty over nature. Of interest is the fact that Aha b. Jacob, during this same practice, would utter "This is an arrow in the eye of Satan." This utterance against a demon in the midst of a holy and sacred ritual begs for explanation. The explanation can be found in James Frazer's *Golden Bough*, where mention is made that on an ancient Egyptian relief from Saqqarah representing a mummy at the entrance of the tomb, the women are depicted tearing out their hair and the men waving palm branches, apparently to drive evil spirits away. This custom, he continues, has been inherited by the modern Arabs, who similarly beat off the invisible foes with palm
branches. It, therefore, appears that two independent traditions have here converged; the lulab, with its religious tradition, and its efficacy to repel demons, the outgrowth of superstitious belief, becomes a composite of the two. The latter tradition, i.e., the belief in the power of the palm tree, is further amplified in Resh Lakish's belief that it was dangerous to ease oneself between a palm tree and the wall, or to pass between two palm trees, the source of the palm branches. Another Palestinian Amora, R. Isaac expounded that he who sleeps in the shadow of a single palm tree is like one who walks through the valley of death. The fear of the palm tree's effects perhaps were believed to be mitigated by selecting one of its branches and consecrating it in the name of religion, utilizing its potency towards man's unseen enemies, the demons.

The blowing of the Shofar, the ram's horn, according to Amoraic literature, is to serve as a reminder to God of Abraham's binding Isaac for a sacrifice and to account it as though the Jews themselves had bound themselves before God, with the hope that the Jews, like Isaac, would merit saving. R. Isaac, to the contrary, states that the reason they blow and sound a tremolo blast sitting and they blow and sound a tremolo blast standing is that it will confuse Satan. Actually it is a well documented fact that demons were annually expelled.
A Tibetan New Year's Day celebration was reported to contain a procession of monks accompanied by the music of cymbals, trumpets, etc. A figure of a man, chalked upon paper, was laid upon the ground and set fire to. The informant was told that this was a figure of the devil. Annual expulsions of demons, witches, or evil influences appear to have been common in pagan Europe. Among the pagan Cheremies, a Finnish people of Eastern Russia, Satan is expelled from their dwellings on New Year's Day by blowing on long trumpets to frighten him away. The present day custom of blowing horns on New Year's Eve in the Christian world harks back to the practice of expelling demons periodically by blowing trumpets. We can, therefore, assume that aside from the religious rationalization for the use of the Shofar there was coupled the more primitive belief, which was expressed by R. Isaac, that it was to confuse Satan, i.e. to expel Satan the arch demon and give the people a new lease on life on Rosh Hashanah, the New Year.

Death, the destroyer of life, has always been the prime fear and concern of the living. The sages attributed the cause of death to sin. R. Ammi, the Palestinian Amora, stated that there is no death without sin. This is a highly developed concept and would appear as an adequate explanation in a religious society.
The Babylonian Amora, Rab appears to differ markedly with the other sages with regard to the causes of death. Amoraic literature states that Rab went up to a cemetery and performed a magical act, then declaring "99 have died through the evil eye and one through natural causes." This passage defies explanation, unless we seek elsewhere for the reason.

Primitive man lives in a world of spirits. All harm and malevolence usher forth from these unseen hordes. The primitive mind cannot conceive death due to "natural causes" in this world, but only through the medium of witchcraft and sorcery.

We may be safe in assuming that Rab had no contact with any primitive tribe but came to this conclusion through his own independent thinking or he borrowed it from the indigenous culture in which he resided. This bears out the anthropological findings that similar concepts and beliefs may be found throughout the world, the unifying force being the human mind.

The examples cited above are just a few that abound in comparative analysis of cultures. It is through these means that otherwise recondite practices can be explained.
INTRODUCTION

1. Megillah 9a
2. S. Krauss, "Greek Language and the Jews", Jewish Encyclopedia, VI, pp. 85ff
3. Mishnah Megillah I 8
4. Baba Kamma 83a
5. Louis Ginzberg, A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud, (Jewish Theological Seminary, 1941), I, p. xxxv
6. Abot 1:6
7. Mishnah Shabbath II 5
8. Berakhot 3a, Kiddushin 29b, Hullin 105b, Pesahim 112a
9. Yerushalmi Hagigah 77d bottom
11. Sanhedrin 17a
12. Mark 9:25, Matthew 8:3, 8:13, 8:16
13. Meilah 17b
14. Mark 9:25
16. Berakhot 5b; of James A. Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur, (Philadelphia, 1913) text 2
17. Genesis 41:8, Exodus 7:11, etc.
18. Kiddushin 49b
20. Shabbat 104b
21. Sanhedrin 67b
22. Deuteronomy 32:17
23. Isaiah 34:14
24. Montgomery, op. cit., 38:8
25. Ibid., 36:3
26. Isaiah 34:14
28. Niddah 24b
29. Shabbat 151b
30. Deuteronomy 32:24
31. Pesahim 111b
32. Ibid., cf Psalms 91:6
33. Sukkah 20a
34. Baba Mezia 85a
35. Daniel 3:19-28

36. Sanhedrin 67b

37. Sanhedrin 5a

38. Yerushalmi Shabbat 14:14c middle

39. Baba Mezia 107b

40. Ibid.

41. Sanhedrin 67b

42. William H. Rossel, A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts (Shelton College, Ringwood Borough, New Jersey, 1953) pp. 8-9 (Shelton Semitic Series - Number II)

43. Julian Obermann, "Two Magic Bowls", AJSL 57 (1940) pp. 1-29

44. Cyrus H. Gordon, Magic Aramaic Texts in the following journals:
Archiv Orientališ VI (1934) pp. 319-334, 466-474; pp. 84-106

AASOR XIV (1933-34) pp. 141-144

Archiv F. Orientalforschung XII (1938) pp. 105-117


XX (1951) pp. 306-315

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XIV (1937) p. 176

45. Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 102-105

46. Sanhedrin 101a, Sanhedrin 67b

47. Hullin 105b

48. Montgomery, op. cit., text 8

49. Me’aseh Yerushalmi, Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology (Jerusalem, 1946) Edited by Raphael Patai and J.J. Revlin – by J.L. Zlotnik

50. R.C. Thompson, Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, ii, p. 124; cf Montgomery, op. cit., p. 43

51. Montgomery, op. cit., 6:1, 6:4-5

52. Ibid., p. 42

53. Ibid., p. 41

54. Sanhedrin 101a, Sanhedrin 67b, Pessāḥim 110a, 110b, 112a

55. Sanhedrin 101a

56. Montgomery, op. cit., 36:3; cf Maqlu series.
i. 1. 52ff ("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."). cf Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

57. Montgomery, op. cit., p. 47

58. Ibid., 2:7

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 1:13, cf et passim

61. Ibid., 2:2

62. Ibid., 19:17

63. Ibid., 19:18

64. Ibid., 19:7

65. Ibid., 32:4, cf 33:3

66. Ibid., 31:8

67. Ibid., 39:10-11

68. Ibid., 28:5

69. Ibid.

70. Adolf Deissmann, Light From the Ancient East,
translated by Lionel R. M. Strachan (Harper &
Brothers, New York and London: 1927) p. 457:
referring to a Vienna Magical papyrus 4th
century C.E. published by Wessely, Denkschriften
der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,
Philos. - histor. Classe, II (1893) p. 70ff

71. Greek derivative of ἄριξτος ; of Yoma 84a

72. Papyri Calencses, Edited by S. Eitrem, "Magical
Papyri of 4th century A.D. (Oslo: 1925) p. 6 column 2 line 42; cf. Epiphanius, Haeres, XXVI 10

1. The gnostics ascribed an ass shape to Sabact, a demon. This is in accordance with the concept that divinities become demons in other religions;

2. Cf. Deissmann, op. cit., p. 257 (verse to Jewish text uses Sabacht. Figure 49 line 3052 Folio 33 verso of the Great Magical Papyrus, written in Egypt circa 300 A.D. - photo taken by the late Albrecht Dieterich).

4. Megilah 16b, Trachtenberg, op. cit., p. 3.
7. Shabbat 151b, Eykia 16b, Montgomery, op. cit., 1413 a of passim.
12. Sanhedrin 95a.
CHAPTER I
DEMONOLOGY AND ANGELOLOGY


2. Erubin 18b; cf Joshua Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic and Superstition (Behrman's Jewish Book House, New York, 1939), p. 29; cf Alphabetum Siræciddis (commentary circa 1000) B. Eisenstein Osar Midrashim (1915) i, pp. 46-47; cf Gaster, op. cit., p. 21

3. Sanhedrin 109a

4. Hagigah 16a, Trachtenberg, op. cit., p. 31

5. Hagigah 16a

6. Berakhot 6a, Trachtenberg, op. cit., p. 30ff; cf A.R. Radcliffe-Browne, Andaman Islanders (Free Press, Glen Coe, Ill., 1948) p. 138 (Though regarded as invisible, some men and women claimed to have seen them. Descriptions varied greatly)

7. Shabbat 151b, Erubin 18b, Montgomery, op. cit., 1:13 et passim

8. Berakhot 19a

9. Kiddushin 81a

10. Montgomery, op. cit., 7:14-15

11. Sanhedrin 107a

12. Sanhedrin 95a

13. Kiddushin 29b

15. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 5:3-4

16. Berakot 62a

17. Baba Bathra 25a

18. Sanhedrin 101a

19. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 1:9, 14:5; cf Pesahim 110a, 110b; cf Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 12:8 (angels, in contrast, blow like a blast)

20. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 36:4-5; cf Theodor H. Gaster, "A Canaanite Magical Text of the 8th Century B.C.E.", *Orientalia*, N.S. XI (1942) p. 42 (there is an incantation against a child-stealing witch, called Lilith, depicted as a "strangleress", "kidnapper", "crusher of bones" and "flying creature")


23. Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Gaster, *The Holy and the Profane*, p. 20

24. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 36:3, figure to text 8

25. Ibid.


28. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 36:4-6; cf Douglas L. Oliver *A Solomon Island Society* (1955) p. 89 (death in childbirth was due to sorcery)
29. Montgomery, op. cit., 11:3-4

30. Niddah 24b

31. Nedarim 64b, of Pesahim 113b (One is cut off from all communion with God if there is no issue)

32. Montgomery, op. cit., 11:3-4

33. Ibid., 1:6, 11:5

34. Ibid., 6:4

35. Ibid., 17:3

36. Shabbat 151b

37. Megillah 3a, Sanhedrin 44a; of Jacob Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, translated by James S. Stallybrass (Covent Gardens, 1882), III, p. 1102 (In medieval Europe it was advised not to answer a witch's questions or thank her for her greeting)

38. Hullin 91a

39. Pesahim 112b

40. Berakot 54b, of Trachtenberg, op. cit., p. 297 note 3 of Rashi on Berakot 62a

41. Pesahim 109b, of Montgomery, op. cit., 26:2 where appears in scriptural verses as prophylaxis

42. Montgomery, op. cit., 6:10

43. Pesahim 111b

44. Ibid.

45. Yerushalmi Yoma VIII 45b top

46. Erubin 41b, Rosh Hashana 28a
47. Gittin 70a

48. Bekorot 44b


50. Montgomery, op. cit., 29:7

51. Mark 9:17, 9:18, 9:25

52. Montgomery, op. cit., 36:7, Berakot 54b

53. Montgomery, op. cit., 36:4-5, 11:3-4, Niddah 24b

54. Berakot 54b

55. Ibid.


58. Montgomery, Ibid.

59. Gordon, op. cit., Orientalia X (1941) p. 349 # 9731


61. Yerushalmi Shabbat 5b top

62. Ibid.

63. Sukkah 52b

64. Montgomery, op. cit., 1:13
65. Kiddushin 81a
66. Sanhedrin 107a
67. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 3:2
69. Berakot 51a, Kiddushin 81b
70. Berakot 51a
71. Kiddushin 81a, 81b
72. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 3:7
74. Book of Enoch LXV 6
75. Berakot 6a
76. Pesahim 110a
77. Hullin 105b
78. Yebamot 122a
79. Genesis 30:23 (The Lord shall add to me another son); of Psalms 81:6 (the full name appears as Jchoseph)
80. Abot V 6
81. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, text 42
82. Hullin 91b, Berakot 4b, Baba Bathra 25a (Ben Nez was ruler of winds)
83. Yerushalmi Taanith 65b bottom (Af and Hamah)
... אופר הקדוש ב' כח וחושに対する נוכחות, תכלית ויתר
ל필ושה ולאחדת תואם מעורר את עניין
וה פעמים התאומית חלוץ א rioורא על משותף זו.

84. Gordon, "Bowls in British Museum", Orientalia, X
(1941) text 11 #19745 line 5 p. 340

85. Abodah Zarah 20b

86. Rossell, op. cit., text 14 line 8, p. 89, quoting
Gordon, Orientalia, X (1941), pp. 116-141

87. Daniel x 13, XII 1, Yoma 77a, Berakot 4b, Menahot 110a
ז velocidad" אלפי מילויים זכר עוץ זכרזא... חוטי עיון אמשת יד שאורט
וד יוצר עץ במעט👀 ממולא השם והלים סוגר להבדיל כלפiano
וילך עת עזיבת על עמקה על لمולא ימיイラ טרה אצlık
רבעה שלעלות זי לאonical שבחם...

88. Baba Mezia 86b_

89. Montgomery, op. cit., 34:7

90. Book of Enoch XV 9; cf Sefer Noah 155; cf Louis
Ginzberg, The Legend of the Jews (Jewish Publication
Society of America, Philadelphia, 1938-1946), Volume
I, p. 173, Volume V, p. 196; cf also Tobit V 4ff
(He cures blindness); cf However, Ginzberg, op.
cit., Volume V p. 71 commenting on Enoch XX 2-3
(His name is derived from 'شحن "shades"). In
Al Barceloni, 247, Raphael was the angel of the
sun; cf Ginzberg, op. cit., Volume V, p. 164; cf
also Theodor H. Gaster, Thesopia (Doubleday Anchor:
Garden City, 1961) p. 124 (The Sun Goddess is
"Shpsh rpim" or sun goddess of the shades).
91. Gordon, *Orientalia*, X (1941), p. 35, line 8; cf *Papyri Oslenses*, p. 29 notes; cf Baba Mezia 86b (Michael and Gabriel go to Sodom, the latter specifically to destroy Sodom)

92. Genesis Rabba L 2

93. Baba Mezia 86b

94. Yoma 77a; cf Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, Volume V, p. 205

95. Sanhedrin 95b; cf Apocalypse XIV 14-18

96. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 7:17; cf Book of Enoch LXXXIX 59 (70 shepherds referring to 70 angels)

97. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 7:17

98. Psalms CIII 20; cf Theodor H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (Doubleday Anchor, Garden City, New York, 1956), "Book of Hymns", III 35-36 (reference is made to the מלחמה "stalwarts of heaven" again alluding perhaps to the play on Gabriel's name); cf also Shabbat 88a

99. Hagigah 16a; cf Taanith 11a (2 ministering angels); cf Acts XII 15

100. Shabbat 119b

101. Book of Enoch VI 7 (Kokabiqel, Bariqiqel) LXIX 2

102. Gittin 7a, Barakot 20b, Hagigah 5b (they cried over the destruction of the Temple), Sanhedrin 95b

103. Shabbat 55b, Berakot 51a, Sanhedrin 93a

104. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:13, 8:6


CHAPTER II
MAGICAL PRACTICES

1. Pesahim 112b, 113a, Montgomery, op. cit., 17:3
3. Ibid., 6:4
4. Pesahim 111b (They were called 'ןושן'); Pesahim 112b; cf Berakot 5a (זưב refers to demons); cf Rev. G.A. Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 55 lines 3 and 4 (ץב may be Phoenician firegod); cf Psalm LXXVII 48 and Canticles VIII 6 where זֶה has the meaning of flame and lightning flash; cf Deuteronomy XXXII 24 (זֶה קֶשֶׁב מַלָכִים); cf HabbašLatin III 5; of Montgomery, op. cit., 6:7
5. Hullin 105b; cf Rossell, op. cit., p. 141, p. 112 text 30:3 quoting Gordon, AQR, IX (1937) pp. 84-95
7. Shabbat 61a
8. Montgomery, op. cit., 26:1
9. Berakot 5a
10. Yoma 84a, Soferim IV 1

Montgomery, op. cit., 26:1-3, 8:2, 8:11, 9:11 exterior
11. Psalm XXIX, Yoma 84a, Montgomery, op. cit., 14:1
12. Montgomery, op. cit., 12:12
13. Yoma 84a
14. Yerushalmi Berakoth IX 12a bottom
15. Hullin 40a, Abodah Zarah 42b
16. Sotah 33a
17. Ibid., Sotah 36b
18. Montgomery, op. cit., 8:6, 8:8, 8:11, 8:17
19. Ibid., 8:6-6
20. Ibid., 8:12
21. Ibid., 34:4
22. Ibid., 32:4, 33:3, 34:2
23. Ibid., 34:2
24. Ibid., 34:4
25. Gittin 69a, 69b, Shabbat 66b, Ibid., 12:1, 3:2, 15:2-3
26. Shabbat 66b
27. Pesahim 111b
28. Montgomery, op. cit., text 8, text 17
29. Ibid., 5:2
31. Mishnah Taanith III 8
32. Ibid., op. cit., 152:1-11
33. Psalms XXIX 3-5, 7-9, Aramis Orientalis, VI (1941)
34. Pesahim 112a, cf. Erubin 21b (Scorers would be
35. Montgomery, op. cit., 14:1, 14:3
36. Shabbat 119b (with rolling hot stones)
37. Ibid.
38. Yoma 84a, Baba Bathra 73a
39. Abodah Zarah 65a, 1933, p. 515 (In the description
40. Baba Bathra 73a, Apocrypha of Peter, known as
41. Yoma 84a and are depicted as being cast into a
42. Montgomery, op. cit., 1:6, 5:4, 5:6, 6:12 et passim
43. Ibid., 1:5-6
44. Erubin 54a, 30b, cf. Radcliffe Brown, op. cit.
45. Berakot 60b, cat. remedies were prescribed by
46. Berakot 5a, cf. Berakot 60b
47. Montgomery, op. cit., 24:4, 31:4
48. Ibid., 6:10, 7:16
49. Sanhedrin 97b
50. Makkot 11a, Berakot 56a, Sotah 46b (The praise
51. Sanhedrin 90b turning over the bowl itself)
52. Montgomery, op. cit., 8:6 et passim
53. Kosid Katan 16a, citing Psalms XXII 12, Jeremiah XII 18
54. Makkot 11a, Berakot 56a, Sotah 46b, Sanhedrin 90b
55. Shabbat 67a (These were probably the demons of
56. Montgomery, op. cit., 13:1
57. Shabbat 119b, 156a. Sotah 156a (underworld is
58. Montgomery, op. cit., 13:1
59. Sanhedrin 97b (This would refer to the demons of
60. Sanhedrin 13:1
57. Montgomery, op. cit., 1:10-11

58. Pesahim 110a, Gordon, Archiv Orientalni, VI (1934)
   Text C p. 326; cf Erubin 21b (Scoffers would be
   condemned in burning excrement); cf Gittin 57a
   (Punishment with boiling hot semen);

59. Abodah Zarah 38b; cf Radcliffe Browne, op. cit.,
   p. 179 (Magical remedies were practiced by
   everybody)

60. Berakot 5b

61. Montgomery, op. cit., text 2

   cf Rossell, op. cit., pp. 77-78, 2:4 (The praxis
   also involved turning over the bowl itself)

63. Ibid.

64. Berakot 55b (using Psalm XXX 12, Jeremiah XXI 12,
   Deuteronomy XXIII 6)


66. Ibid., 34:11

67. Berakot 43b, cf Radcliffe Browne, op. cit., p. 129
   (Even walking a few yards at night, islanders
carried firebrands because of the spirits)

68. Montgomery, op. cit., 2:1

69. Ibid., figure to text 8; cf. Baster, Holy and Profane, pp. 9-11

70. Montgomery, op. cit., 39:4

71. Berakot 6a

72. Montgomery, op. cit., 39:5

73. Yoma 69b

74. Shabbat 66b; cf. Cooke, op. cit., p. 135

75. Berakot 62a

76. II Kings 18:4

77. Montgomery, op. cit., 15:7

78. Shabbat 67a; cf. Judges XV 16

80. See Chapter I, pp. 18-19 showing desires of people with regard to Lilith

81. Kiddushin 81a; cf Radcliffe-Browne, op. cit., p. 139 (arrows were used to keep spirits away), p. 140 (wound victims with arrows); cf H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des V edas (1894) p. 271 (In India, an arrow would be shot by a bridegroom crying "I pierce the eyes of the spirits who surround the bride"); cf Gaster, Holy and Profane, p. 108; cf Kenava Ghrysutra I 10; cf Zechariah III 2.

82. Kiddushin 30a

83. Yoma 69b

84. Montgomery, op. cit., 2:4

85. Pesahim 110b

86. Pesahim 110a

87. Montgomery, op. cit., 6:11

88. Gordon, Orientalia, X (1941) p. 349 # 9731

89. Pesahim 112a

90. Montgomery, op. cit., 36:7

91. Ibid., p. 239

92. Gordon, Orientalia, X (1941) p. 349 # 9731

93. Montgomery, op. cit., 4:1

94. Ibid., 19:2, cf also 19:14

95. Shabbat 81b

96. Montgomery, op. cit., 6:6

97. Sanhedrin 65a
98. Kiddushin 73b and Rashi

99. Kiddushin 73b

100. Montgomery, on. cit., 41

101. Ibid., 30:1-3

102. Shabbat 66b

103. Sukkah 38a; cf also footnote 79

104. Hullin 105b

105. Montgomery, on. cit., 6:6

106. Ibid., 34:10

107. Ibid., 7:13

108. Targum to Canticles VIII 3

109. Shabbat 62a

110. Shabbat 66b

111. Ibid., cf Daniel 5:12, 5:16; cf also Grimm, on. cit.

volume III, p. 1197 (herbs for curative purposes were picked with the left hand); cf Papyri
Osloenses, p. 96 notes

112. Pesahim 109b, 110a

113. Shabbat 66b, 67a

114. Montgomery, op. cit., 5:2-3; cf Karl Preisendanz,
Papyri Graecae Magicae Die Griechischen Zauber-
papyri (Leipzig, 1928) p. 34 line 24 (reference to seven lights and seven seals); cf Gordon,
Orientalia X (1941) p. 120 text 3 line 3 (counter-sealed with seven seals)

115. Montgomery, op. cit., 31:8

116. Gordon, Orientalia, X (1941) p. 119 text 2 line 5

117. Moed Katan 17a

118. Nedarim 32b

119. Hosea II 5, Jeremiah III 8, Isaiah I 1

120. Montgomery, op. cit., 8:3, cf 17:5

121. Hosea II 5

122. Montgomery, op. cit., 8:3, cf 17:5

123. Mishnah Sotah 7a
CHAPTER III
MIDRASHIC INFLUENCE

1. Montgomery, op. cit., l:v-5

2. Sukkah 52a; cf Bundahish XXX 30-33 (On the last day, Ahuramazda would go to war, accompanied by his seven archangels, against his arch enemy Ahriman and his seven archfiends. After Ahuramazda's victory, the serpent would be burned in the molten metal of the underworld, into which Ahriman would also throw himself); cf also Apocalypse XII 7ff (Michael and his angels go after the great dragon and old serpent, defeating them).

3. "Book of Enoch", op. cit., LIV 5-6, pp. 220-221

4. Baba Bathra 74b; cf Apocalypse XII 7

5. Sukkah 52a

6. Baba Bathra 74b

7. Baba Bathra 75a

8. Baba Bathra 74b

9. All the aforementioned passages concerning the Leviathan point to the fact that the legends originated in Palestine.

10. Montgomery, op. cit., 2:4

11. Baba Bathra 74b


16. Sotah 47a, Sanhedrin 107b uncensored versions; cf however, Yerushalmi Hagigah 77d middle (the story is related concerning Judah ben Tabba who fled to Alexandria and was sent a letter from Jerusalem "until when will my beloved dwell among you and I grieve concerning it?")

17. Matthew II 15 ("And Jesus was there until the death of Herod; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying 'Out of Egypt have I called my son'" - Hosea XI 1.) cf M.R. James, op. cit., p. 59 (According to the Gospel of Thomas, Jesus was seven when he left Egypt)

18. Sotah 47a uncensored versions, Hosea XI 3

19. Isaiah XI 1, cf Sanhedrin 43a uncensored versions (Nezar, a follower of Jesus derived his name from this passage); cf Jacob Lauterbach, "Jesus in the Talmud", Rabbinic Essays (Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati, 1951), p. 559

20. Pesahim 111b

21. Montgomery, op. cit., 1:10

22. Pesahim 111b
23. Montgomery, op. cit., 32:3, 33:3
24. Ibid., 17:12
25. Matthew IV 23ff, IX 35
26. Montgomery, op. cit., 34:2
27. Ibid., 9:2-3, 17:10, 8:6
28. Josephus, Antiquities, VIII 2 paragraph 5
29. Sanhedrin 20b
30. Gittin 58a, 58b
31. Ibid.
32. Rossell, op. cit., p. 97, text 21:4, 5, 8; cf Gordon, Archiv Orientalni, VI (1934) pp. 319-334
33. Rossell, op. cit., pp. 96-97, text 21, p. 85 text 10:4-5; Montgomery, op. cit., 34:8
34. Montgomery, op. cit., 11:9
35. Ibid., 39:10-11
36. Shabbat 156a
37. Montgomery, op. cit., 4:4-5
38. Ibid., 34:11
39. Shabbat 156a
40. Taanith 25a
41. Shabbat 146a, similar to Syriac bowl 34:6 in Montgomery, op. cit.
42. Moed Katan 28a
43. Megillah 3a
44. Moed Katan 28a
45. Ibid.
46. Montgomery, op. cit., 6:5-6
47. Berakhot 7a, Abodah Zarah 4b
48. Shabbat 129b
49. Pesahim 112a
50. Sukkah 29a
51. Taanit 29b; cf Sukkah 29a (eclipse of sun was a bad omen for the whole world); cf Cicero, De Divinatione, Liber Primus, Commentary by Arthur Pease (University of Illinois Studies; VI May, 1920) Part II p. 171 (a real eclipse was the precursor of the death of rulers as borne out by the fact that there was an eclipse before the death of Caesar); cf Radcliffe-Browne, op. cit., p. 143 (eclipse of sun)
52. Hagigah 5b
53. Montgomery, op. cit., 24:4, 31:4
54. Ibid., 6:10, 7:16, 26:5
55. Shabbat 30b
56. Gittin 68b, Canticles Rabba to III 7-8
57. Montgomery, op. cit., 39:10, 34:12, 31:4
58. Ibid., 5:4
59. Ibid., 30:4
60. Baba Mezia 107b, Yerushalmi Shabbat XIV 14c middle
61. Sanhedrin 93a
62. Baba Mezia 85a
63. Montgomery, op. cit., 42, cf Berakot 20a
64. Montgomery, op. cit., figure to text 42; cf Berakot 55b (To protect oneself when entering a city, one was advised to place one's right thumb in one's left hand, and one's left thumb in one's right, saying "I, N.N., son of N.N., am of the seed of Joseph, whom the evil eye may not touch."); cf Papyri Osloenses, p. 26, p. 76 notes (gesture was used as a remedy to prevent enemies from speaking evil of the client); cf Frederick Thomas Elworthy The Evil Eye (London, John Murray, 1895), p. 150, p. 254 (Doorknockers, with a hand grasping a ball with the hinge at the wrist, used as protective amulets, were found in Pompeii).
65. Berakot 20a
66. Genesis Rabba LXXVIII 13
67. Genesis XLIX 22
68. Berakot 20a, cf Berakot 55b
CHAPTER IV
HALACHIC INFLUENCE

1. Soferim IV 1, Abot Rab Nathan XXXIV 2

2. Soferim IV 1 (enumerates 6 omitting אָדָ נוֹ שֶׁעָ יָ ה ; cf דַּ הַ עַ בָּ נָ ב (Jacob Haumberg, end of 18th century) who explains that אָדָ נֶ א includes all names of אָ דָ נ ה )

Abot Rab Nathan XXXIV 2

3. Shebuet 35a; cf Shabbat 120b (It was forbidden to bathe if the Divine Name had been written on the skin)

4. Mishnah Sotah VII 6

5. Yoma 39b

6. Abodah Zarah 18a, Mishnah Sanhedrin X 1

7. Abodah Zarah 18a

8. Kiddushin 71a, Passahim 50a, cf Montgomery, op. cit., 3:6, 3:10 (refers to The Great Name)

9. Shabbat 115b

10. Kiddushin 71a (Because of immorality the High Priest spoke the Name in a low voice and it became even less known)

11. Yerushalmi Sanhedrin 28b top

12. Mishnah Sotah VII 6

13. Montgomery, op. cit., 26:4

14. Ibid., 11:9, cf Gittin 68a, 68b

15. Montgomery, op. cit., 5:7, p. 60

16. Ibid., 20:2

17. Shabbat 62a
(Greek charms were frequently covered with linen or leather); cf. *Papyri Osloenses*, p. 96 notes.


20. Obermann, "Aramaic Charm", *op. cit.*, 1, lines 23-24

21. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 26:1

22. Beraqot 5a


24. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:6, 8:13

25. Hullin 105b, lines 1-21... מה שמעידות העדות כ"כ: "ני" ובו... אחר עיון מוסר

26. Mishnah Kiddushin 11

27. Mishnah Gittin IX 10; cf Matthew XIX 9


29. Mishnah Gittin III 1

30. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, text 8

31. *Ibid.*, cf 17:9, 26:6, 8: et passim

32. *Ibid.*, 8:10

33. Mishnah Gittin IX 3

34. Kiddushin 6a, 13a

35. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:11, 17:12

36. Gittin 23a (except a deaf mute, lunatic and a minor)

37. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:13

38. Mishnah Gittin I 1, Gittin 6a
40. Gittin 85b
41. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:16
42. Mishnah Gittin IX 3
43. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 26:6
44. Mishnah Gittin IX 3
45. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:13
46. Mishnah Gittin IX 3
47. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:7
48. Ma'aseh Yerushalmi, *op. cit.*, p. 66
49. Ibid., pp. 56-66; cf Douglas L. Oliver, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86
50. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:6
51. Moed Katan 16a (It was imposed for seven days in Palestine)
52. Ibid. (It was imposed for thirty days in Palestine)
53. Mishnah Taanith III 8, Moed Katan 16b
54. Moed Katan 17b
55. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, 8:6, cf 34:3
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

1. Sukkah 37b
   שֶׁהֶעָלָה הַמָּוֵדָה לְמִימֵיהּ שֶׁיֵּאַרֶבֶנֶּיהָ הָרוֹחָוָת
2. Sukkah 38a
3. Pesahim 11a
4. Rosh Hashana 16a
5. Rosh Hashana 16b
6. Frazer, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 198-208
9. Rosh Hashana 16a, 16b
10. Shabbat 55a
11. Baba Mezia 107b, Yerushalmi Shabbat 14:14c middle
12. Lucien Levy-Bruhl, *Primitives and the Supernatural*
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

1. Page 33 line 15 - XT' should be "ט" ימ"ש
2. Page 53 last line - beibga should be beings
3. Page 66 should be page 67 and page 67 should be page 66
4. Page 72 line 3 - tradition should be tradition
5. Page 75 footnote 8 - The Mishnah, however, does believe in the efficacy of amulets. Witness Mishnah
Shabbat VI 2 and VI 9, Mishnah Sanhedrin VII 11 and XI
6. Page 80 line 2 - Haeres should be Haereses
7. Page 81 footnote 1 - add cf Daniel IV 14
8. Page 84 footnote 60 - add "Tobit" VIII 1-5; add of also Frank Zimmermann, The Book of Tobit
(Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958), pp. 10-11
(The purpose of the liver, burned to waft smoke, undoubtedly was employed to break the enchantment, to break the hold of the demon. In an earlier form of the tale, the heart had a separate function...one of the functions of the heart was to ward off and repel an evil spirit, i.e. to protect Tobias himself." It is possible that the heart or liver was used as a sop for the demon.
10. Page 94 footnote 97-add to text quoted חל城镇化 יבגא ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן ויחל城镇化 יבגא והן W1. Page 95 footnote 123 - Mishnah Sotah 7a should read 1 5
Mishnah Sotah I 5

12. Page 97 footnote 19 - Nezar should read Nager

13. Page 102 footnote 17 - omit cf Kropatscheck, De Amuletorum Apud Antiquos Usu p. 34f (Greek charms were frequently covered with linen or leather); add L. Dubner, "Charms and Amulets (Greek)", Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Volume III, p. 438b (Greek charms were often enclosed in linen or leather)

14. Page 103 footnote 45 - This is another instance of the magician's ignorance of the Halaka. cf Gittin 85b "Abayye said, 'One who writes out the Get... should not spell נְלַח which might be readigarath (a roof) but נְלַח.'"