Aramaic and Mandean Magic and Their Demonology

Wilber B. Wallis

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Aramaic and Mandean Magic and Their Demonology

Abstract
The Aramaic texts to be discussed in this thesis are magical incantations against evil powers. The texts are written on earthenware bowls found in archaeological investigations or by chance in Iraq and Iran. The bowls and texts appear to date from Sassanian Babylonia.¹

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ARAMAIC AND MANDEAN MAGIC
AND
THEIR DEMONOLOGY

A Dissertation Presented to
the Faculty of the Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Wilber B. Wallis

January - 1955
This dissertation, entitled

ARAMAIC MAGIC AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

by

Wilber B. Wallis

Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
has been read and approved by

[Signatures]

Date April 19, 1956
FOREWORD

It is with a distinct sense of privilege and pleasure that I acknowledge my gratitude to the Dropsie College and its faculty. The instruction of Professor Solomon L. Skoss in Syriac was instrumental in the execution of this thesis. May his memory continue to be an inspiration to us all! Professor Cyrus H. Gordon's gestures of consideration and friendship are past computation. President Abraham A. Neuman is an eloquent example of that high tradition of Hebraic learning and culture to which Christianity owes so much.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Rosenthal: Die aramaistische Forschung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIT</td>
<td>Montgomery: Aramaic Incantation Texts.</td>
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<td>AP</td>
<td>Charles: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.</td>
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<td>BDB</td>
<td>Brown, Driver, Briggs: Lexicon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>Drower: The Book of the Zodiac.</td>
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<td>CK</td>
<td>Pognon: Inscriptions Mandaïtes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Drower: Diwan Abatur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EB</td>
<td>Cheyne, Black: Encyclopaedia Biblica.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HDB</td>
<td>Hastings: Dictionary of the Bible.</td>
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<td>IMCK</td>
<td>Pognon: Inscriptions Mandaïtes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>Justi: Iranisches Namenbuch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>Christensen: L'Iran sous les Sassanides.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>Gordon: The Living Past.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MG</td>
<td>Noe deke: Mandaische Grammatik.</td>
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<td>MMII</td>
<td>Drower: The Mandaens of Iraq and Iran.</td>
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PART I

A DISCUSSION OF RELATIONSHIPS
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
I. Introduction

A. General Characteristics of Bowls

The Aramaic texts to be discussed in this thesis are magical incantations against evil powers. The texts are written on earthenware bowls found in archeological investigations or by chance in Iraq and Iran. The bowls and texts appear to date from Sassanian Babylonia. (1)

The bowls have been found at the site of residences and of graveyards. Sometimes more than one bowl text is written for the same client. (2) This fact, taken with the mention of "the four corners of the house", (3) suggests that the bowls were placed to form a magical ring of apotropaic influence around the house. Some bowls have been found by excavators in the immediate vicinity of coffins, (4) while some of the bowls of Pognon bear the inscription "this belongs to the graveyard". (5)

The bowls vary in size from about 16cm. to 28cm. in diameter, and in depth from 5cm. to 16cm. (6) The size and shape of the bowls are approximately those of a modern porridge bowl.

The texts are inscribed in ink on the inside of the bowls, with an occasional notation or addition on the outside. The inscription begins at the center and spirals outward to the rim. Three scripts are used: the Mandaean, the Syriac, and the Hebrew square characters.

The incantations are defensive magic against evil spirits, curses and incantations of enemies of the clients. There is often, in the Mandaean bowls, the invocation of "Life". (7) The client is mentioned by name, and sometimes the incantation is put in the first person as though being written by the client. (8) There is always a specification that the evil spirits or incantations are bound or repelled from the
person and property of the client. Often the activities of demons are described in detail, their bringing evil dreams and apparitions and mental and bodily afflictions. Noteworthy in some of the bowls is the colorful, imaginative and dramatic imagery used to portray the driving away of the demons. (9)

In addition to the written incantations, some bowls have crude drawings. (10) Some of these drawings represent the magician with arms upraised to drive away the demon. Others represent the demons bound hand and foot, and important to harm the client. Still others represent the Lilith, portraying her as an adulterous woman, naked, with hair disheveled and streaming wildly, expelled by the reception of the divorce-writ. This feature of the bowls reflects the ancient Semitic practice as reflected in Hosea 2:2, 3. (11) The drawings appearing on Pognon's bowls seem to portray the witches or practitioners of black magic who pronounce incantations and spells. Male and female figures are attempted. Of particular interest is the portrayal of "horns" curving downward from the head. Pognon's texts occasionally refer to the "breaking" of these horns. (12) This is perhaps depicted by the curving downward in the drawings. These drawings of the type found on Pognon's Mandaean bowls might yield further information if expertly compared with such magical Mandaean drawings as appear in Mrs. Drower's edition of the Diwan Abatur. (13)

B. Discovery and Publication of Bowl Texts

The finding and publishing of the Aramaic incantation bowl-texts began with Layard's work at Nineveh in 1853. (14) The University of Pennsylvania Expedition of 1888-89 found bowls at Nippur. (15) Pognon's bowls were from Khouabir. They have been found over a wide area in Iraq and Iran.

Publication and critical discussion have advanced with increasing
discoveries and placing in museums. Montgomery's Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur remains the most comprehensive work on the incantation texts. He acknowledges the work of M. A. Levy (1855); J. Halévy (1873); Moïse Schwab and E. Babelon (1882, 1885, 1891, 1892); H. Hyvernat (1885); J. Wohlstain 1893, 1894; R. Stübe (1895); H. Pognon 1892, 1898-99; and M. Lidzbarski, among others. (16) Since Montgomery's work, many texts have been published by Montgomery's pupil, C. R. Gordon. (17) C. R. Driver has published one bowl, (18) and J. Obermann two. (19) F. Rosenthal gives a summary of text publication and critical discussion. (20) For a bibliography of material which has appeared since Rosenthal, see Appendix I.

The special problem to be discussed in the present investigation is the relation of the terminology of these Aramaic incantation texts to the New Testament terminology.

Montgomery has made possible such a study as is proposed by showing the relationships of the bowl magic historically and geographically. His conclusion is that

"the bowl magic is in part the lineal descendant of the old Babylonian sorcery while at the same time ... it takes its place in that great field of Hellenistic magic which pervaded the whole of the western world at the beginning of the Christian era". (21)

Further, Hellenistic magic was influenced by Egyptian elements. The texts are eclectic: "Babylonian, Jewish, Mandæan, Gnostic, Hellenistic, and indirectly Egyptian, elements are there, in various combinations". (22)

C. Problem of Present Investigation

The New Testament and Christianity appeared in a world where magic had a large place, as the narrative of the New Testament shows. (23)
The objective of this thesis, a discussion of the terminology of magic, demonology, and angelology of the New Testament vis-a-vis that of the bowl-texts, may be regarded as preliminary to a fuller discussion of the important question of Christian origins in the light of first century magical conditions. The Peshitto Syriac New Testament is a factor of special interest in this thesis. In the Peshitto are found names of demons and phrases similar to those found in the bowl-texts. Also, the Peshitto is closer in time and provenience to the bowls than the original Greek New Testament and may be expected to reveal the way Christian translators met the problems of presenting the New Testament to the Aramaic speaking world, in which the bowl magic was to be found.
CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS AND CONCEPTS
II. Characteristics and Concepts of Aramaic Bowl Magic

A. Belief in Demon Existence and Activity

The belief in the existence and baneful activity of evil powers underlies the existence of the bowl magic. These evil powers are classified and discussed by Montgomery: (24)

as (1) Evil spirits, as personal beings;
(2) Evil agencies, such as the workings of black magic;
(3) Natural evils, especially physical maladies.

B. The Incantation

1. *Ex opere operato* principle

The basic concept of all magic is present in the conception that the incantation accomplishes the desired end *ex opere operato*. Whereas in religion there is some interest in the higher powers in the way of propitiating them or winning their favor, in magic the powers or deities are used in a mechanical way: when an action is performed or incantation given in the proper way, it produces a given effect. (Compare discussion of this principle in Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, III, pp. 509-14). The bowl-magic is "a purely magical system". (25)

2. Belief in powers of words and names

It is evident in the bowl incantations that there is a belief in the power of the name of a deity or angel. If the name is known, he can be induced to do the will of the magician. In this use of the name there is no religious appeal to the deity as such; the pronunciation of the name is sufficient to invoke his power.

The interesting phrase "in the name of" is discussed below in relation to its occurrences in the New Testament.

3. Special characteristics due to Mandaean, Syriac, and Jewish affinities

There are special characteristics of the bowl incantations which
may be explained by Mandaean, Syriac, or Jewish influence.

As distinctive of the Jewish influence is the use of Scripture quotations. There are no clear cases where purely pagan texts are written in square characters, so that the use of the "Rabbinic" script may be an indication of specifically Jewish influence.

As distinctive of the Mandaean texts are the absence of Scripture references, the invocation of "Life", "The Great Life", "Life is Victorious", and the occurrence of terminology found in other Mandaean sources: "Prawis", "Jordan", "The Great Jordan of Life". On the exterior of some of the bowls published by Pogon, there is the notation "this pertains to the cemetery". This may not be specifically Mandaean, but only an accident of discovery.

The Syriac bowls are written in a form of the Estrangelo Script. The material used in some of the Syriac bowls illustrates the danger of assuming that the use of the Estrangelo Script implies a non-Jewish or non-Christian content. It is just in the Syriac bowls that there is mention of Jesus bar Perahia, Jesus the Healer, and frequent allusions to the Old Testament narrative.

4. Details of content of bowl texts

a. The bowl-text incantations have peculiarities reflecting the circumstances of their writing. The length is such as could be conveniently written on the small bowls: a typical text may have from 150-200 words, though some are shorter. This conformity of the appropriate length of the incantation to the size of the medium used suggests that the composition of bowl incantations was an art with a long history, during which the magicians had been compelled to conform their compositions to the conditions of the bowl praxis.

b. The bowl texts vary widely in the order of arrangement of the contents, but certain typical items regularly appear. There is often an invocation: "In thy name, O Lord of heaven and earth".
In the Mandaean bowls is found "In the name of Life!" Invariably the name of the client and often of the members of his or her family will appear with repetitious legal exactness.

Not invariably, but frequently, there is the formal designation of the bowl for its function of repelling and frustrating the evil designs of demons and men.

The categorization of the names of demons and evil influences is very full and detailed. The legal concept and mentality of mentioning all possible contingencies is carried out with a vengeance.

c. Often there is a resounding and dramatic conclusion to the incantation, but the customary ending is the stereotyped Amen, Amen, Selah.

Central in the whole incantation is the full and specific language for the binding, frustrating and expulsion of the evil influences. The demons are bound, hobbled, repelled, turned away, and adjured. This terminology is enlarged by telling devices, especially that of the divorce-writ or Geτ.

d. Outstanding among the concepts reflected in the bowls is that of sealing. This concept probably came from the ancient practice of putting the cylinder-seal imprint on clay tablets as a signature and mark of personal possession. The terminology is reflected in the Old Testament narrative: Darius seals the stone enclosing Daniel in the lions' den with his seal and that of his lords. The concept is reflected in the terminology of the New Testament at John 3:33, and frequently elsewhere. The rites of sealing in the Revelation Chapter 7 are much like Ezekiel Chapter 9.

This mention of sealing may point to the ancient origin of the bowl incantations if the sealing referred to is that of the sealing of clay tablets - whose use ceased before the Christian era - or the sealing of papyrus rolls, as reflected in the "seals" of the
Revelation as a common Hellenistic practice.

The concept of sealing as reflected in text 4 of Montgomery raises an interesting problem. Montgomery has translated, "now you are conquered, you are charmed; charmed, you are charmed and sealed in each one of the four corners of his house". Professor Gordon has rightly remarked:

"The fact is that the last thing the ancients wished to do was to trap on their own property the demons which might subsequently escape and work mischief on the spot. The bowls are calculated to do the exact opposite: namely, to exorcise and get rid of them." (28)

But why the translation above "in each of the four corners..."? Since the language of the bowls is archaic, this may be a partitive use of the beth, as shown in the Ugaritic texts and the Bible. (29) Compare also the in a similar context in Pognon's bowls Numbers 1 and 4.

e. There is sometimes the designation of the day of the execution of the incantation as the most appropriate and propitious day. For example, in Montgomery's text 6: "...this day out of all days, and this month out of all months, and this year out of all years, and this season out of all seasons".

f. An obvious element of the incantations is the appeal to the past and various powerful precedents. It is noteworthy that the most readily identifiable appeal found in the bowls is to the Biblical tradition. YHWH, the living God, YHWH of Hosts and similar Biblical phrases frequently appear. I have noted elsewhere that while there is appeal to the Old Testament, there seems to be no definable influence of the New Testament. (30) This circumstance seems to emphasize the conservatism of the bowl magic. Yet Montgomery has shown that there is a large element of Egypto-Hellenistic magic in the bowl magic - a
larger element than the Hebraic. (31 So the bowl magic, though tending to conserve the ancient Babylonian sorcery, yet was significantly modified by the Hellenistic influence, presumably after Alexander the Great. There remains then, the question why a major historical movement, namely Christianity, having elements which might evoke emulation or reaction left no traces on the bowl magic. It may be that this question is premature, and future discoveries and publications of bowl-texts will clarify the problem (see further discussion below, p.43).

C. The Praxis

1. The use of the bowl; burial and inversion

The burial of the bowls inverted is one fact here which challenges attention. The reason for inversion is obscure since the idea of thus trapping the demons is untenable. The burial of the bowls near and around coffins in cemeteries is understandable, though why they should be buried at the site of a residence is obscure.

2. The writing of the bowl

In bowl 18 of Pognon there is an indication of the circumstances under which the bowl was written. The magician says he is sitting on an unbroken stone, writing on a new bowl.

3. Activities of the magician

There are indications that the presentation of the bowl to the client was accompanied by a series of magical acts or a ceremony. (32 The drawings on some of Montgomery's bowls representing the magician waving a palm leaf may indicate an activity to drive away evil spirits. The figure with upraised hands and curving horns drawn on some of Pognon's bowls may be the magician with a mask or hood, engaged in a magical ritual. (33
4. Use of puppets and symbolic objects

There are indications of the use of puppets and symbolic objects. (34 In Montgomery's text 12 we read, "I adjure thee, the angel which descends from heaven - there being kneaded (something) in the shape of a horn - on which honey is poured".

D. The Magician

1. Identity of magician

The practitioner is not always or even generally, personally identified, but text 2 of Montgomery is a striking instance of citing the name of the magician: "Again, I come, I Pabak bar Kufithai, in my own might, on my person polished armor of iron, my head of iron, my figure of pure fire."

2. Self confidence of magician

A much more important personal qualification of the magician is reflected in the texts. There is always a tone of confidence; no doubt is even expressed as to the efficacy of the incantation either to turn away the evil powers, or if they molest the client, to destroy them. For example, in text 6 of Montgomery, the magician says:

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

3. Confidence of public in magician - psychic satisfaction

Along with the invincible self-confidence - or assumption of it - on the part of the practitioner went also the confidence of the public
in the efficacy of the incantations and the power of the magician. No doubt the ability of the magician to give psychic satisfaction accounted for the prevalence and success of the bowl magic. The confidence of the magician, the written charm, the impressive ceremony perhaps attending the presentation of the bowls, all no doubt had their effect in restoring the peace of mind and confidence of the client.
CHAPTER III

OUTSTANDING CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS
III. Outstanding Cultural Relationships of the Bowl Magic in Sassanian
Babylonia

A. Introductory

The Aramaic bowl magic is to be viewed as an integral part of
the life of Sassanian Babylonia, affecting religious, economic, and
social life. Some inferences can be drawn from the texts as to re-
lationships in these spheres. Also, since the existence of various
ethnic and religious divisions in the population of Sassanian Bab-
ylonia are already known, it becomes a matter of primary interest to
try to discern through the medium of the bowl inscriptions fresh
evidence as to the relationships between these groups, as well as their
relation to the magic itself. The principal religious groups known in
this period are: Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Mandaeans, Buddhists. (35)
The Buddhists may be set aside for the present purpose. The Zoroastrians
also may be passed over, on the strength of Montgomery’s opinion that
there is "hardly a trace of them even in a word of the Zoroastrian
system upon our bowl-magic. This is the more remarkable as it belongs
to Persian soil and flourished under the Sassanian Empire, while the
dualism, demonology and magical practice of Persia would have been so
natural a nursing mother to the superstition we have been studying." (36)
We are left then with the Jewish community, the Mandaeans, and the
Christians as the practical concerns of the present investigation.

A detailed anthropological study of the bowl-magic vis-a-vis the
Talmud would offer a fruitful and entrancing field of investigation.
A similar study of the bowl-magic in relation to the traditional lit-
erature and cult of the Mandaeans suggests itself. In this investi-
gation, for the sake of completeness, some ideas relating to these
fields are suggested. In the main, however, consideration will be
given to the relation of bowl-magic to Christianity. Within this
field, detailed consideration will be given to the Syriac New Testament, and through it, to the Greek New Testament.

E. Jews

1. Script

The fact that many of the texts are written in Hebrew square characters would indicate that that phase of the magical praxis was derived from the Jewish culture.

2. Old Testament quotations

Quotations from the Old Testament indicate a contact and borrowing from Jewish culture. The spelling is not Massoretic and the quotations are not exact. (37) Hence, Montgomery concludes that such use of the Scripture "is not such as we should expect from any Jew even moderately versed in the Old Testament". (38) However, Talmudic Old Testament quotations are also loose in spelling and phraseology. More cogent in proving lack of real familiarity with the Old Testament would be the stereotyped character of the quotations. (38) The bowl quotations may be contrasted with the New Testament use of Old Testament quotations in that the New Testament uses them in an exegetical way and argues from them: in the bowls they are quoted on the strength of the appeal to the prestige of the material quoted, and for their relevance as exorcisms.

3. Names

Names of individuals in the texts show connections with Jewish as well as with Christian and pagan culture. (40)

4. Cultural connections of Scripts used

The practitioners of magic were generally anonymous, so no clear inferences can be drawn from the names. The fact of the existence of three scripts in the bowls would in part be explained by the magician's
following the script in which he was trained and with which he was culturally connected. However, Montgomery points out that the magic is so eclectic that even in texts showing distinct Jewish affinities there is no certainty that the exorcists or clients were Jewish. (41

5. Religious writings

The presence of the Jewish Mesopotamian community, possessing ancient writings of high religious value is no doubt the source of the Jewish coloring of the magical texts.

6. Relation to Talmud

The magic of the bowls should be evaluated in connection with the notices of magic in the Talmud to ascertain whether the preponderance is in the direction of similarity or difference.

7. Joshua bar Perahia

The appeal in certain of the bowl texts (Montgomery 8, 9, 17, 32, 33) to Joshua bar Perahia is of special interest in the discussion of Jewish affinities. He is a member of one of the pairs of Zugoth cited in Pirke Aboth 1:6. This Joshua is anachronistically associated with Jesus the Nazarene in Sanhedrin 107b. The fact that Talmudic tradition connects Joshua bar Perahia with Jesus, and that a magical bowl incantation (Montgomery, 34) calls him Jesus the Healer would indicate a Jewish reaction to the activity of the historical Jesus of Nazareth. (42 Joshua bar Perahia was presented as a healer and exorcist of great efficacy, the traditional Jewish counterpart to the power of Jesus of Nazareth. It may be suggested, however, that the mention of Jesus in Montgomery 34 does not specifically mention him as bar Perahia. If, as Montgomery points out (43 the title given to the Jesus of text 34 became the epithet of the Nazarene Jesus, why could this not be a reference to Jesus of Nazareth, whose activities would be known from the Syriac New Testament? The absence of other references in the bowls to specifically Christian institutions
and teaching may render this doubtful, but the possibility is interesting.

6. Relation of texts to Old Testament magic and later history

The presence of Jewish elements in the bowl texts, and the evidence of Jewish interest in magic in Babylonia, makes it desirable to put such data in relation to the ancient context of the Old Testament and in relation to the subsequent Jewish history. The bowl texts, says Montgomery, "are precursors of that sea of magical literature which has come down to us under Jewish auspices." (44 What is the explanation of the more or less successful suppression of magic in the Old Testament, but the progressive recognition and legitimization of it in Midrashic, Talmudic, and Gaonic periods?

A comparison of the Old Testament data suggests that one of the means of suppressing magic was the crown. (45 In early Israel, Saul opposed it, albeit inconsistently (I Samuel 28:3). Jehu reproached Joram for the witchcraft of Jezebel (II Kings 9:22). Conversely, when the crown was lax, the traffic in occult practices flourished: in the time of Manasseh this was the case (II Kings 21:6). These clues suggest that after the exile when the Jewish community had no king and were living in a land where occult practices were prominent, the cultivation of and interest in magic would increase.

Also, in the Scripture narrative, prevalence of magic goes along with idolatry. When people drifted from the sincere and exclusive worship of YHWH toward the service of heathen gods, witchcraft, divination, and enchantments were concomitants (II Kings 17:7-17).

The kingly opposition to witchcraft is elsewhere evidenced in the Semitic world in the Code of Hammurabi (Law No. 2). Here also, however, religion is involved, since the one accused of witchcraft must submit to trial by ordeal by being thrown into the Euphrates, the
sign for which in this law has added the determinative for deity.

C. Relations to Mandaeans

1. Script

As in the case of texts written in Jewish characters, the script argued for Jewish influence, so the presence of texts written in Mandaean script would argue for special Mandaean influence. Such influence would spring from the esoteric character of the Mandaean cult and traditional literature, both of which have magical affinities.

2. Relation to other Mandaean writings

The bowl magic could be profitably investigated in relation to the Mandaean writings which have been made available since Montgomery's work: Diwan Abatur and Sfar Malwashia, for example, as published by L. S. Drower. It would be an interesting question whether Mandaean ideas were influenced by or influenced the bowl magic. The impress of Jewish environment on Mandaean literature is shown in the Sfar Malwashia (46 in a prediction taken to be Jewish, since the calculation begins with Saturday and the words "Daniel said" precede. It is always possible that the reference is more remote to the mythological Daniel of Ugaritic literature rather than to the familiar Biblical figure. In the same Mandaean work (BZ, p. 30) we read:

"this is an Explanation of Counter-Spells to drive out Devils, Shidi and Piqdi; and the Counter-Spells which Solomon, son of David, taught and revealed from the Explanations which Hibil Ziwa declared."

The date of this eclectic text is uncertain, but the reference to Solomon as a magician is familiar from other bowls, the Arabian Nights, and from Josephus. (47) Here the power of Solomon is subordinated to Hibil Ziwa, the Mandaean spirit of light, sometimes identified with the savior spirit Manda_d Hia. (48)
D. Relations of Bowl Magic to Persian Culture

1. Names

The most obvious relationship suggested by the bowl texts is in the names appearing in them. Montgomery's opinion is that Persian names are the most frequent in occurrence in the bowl texts. (49) The mere occurrence of Persian names does not, however, indicate necessarily that the person designated was of native Iranian stock. He could be Jewish. The names need not be distinctively Christian, though some such occur, (50) to be possessed by a Christian.

2. Mazdaism

That adherents of Jewish, Christian, or Zoroastrian religions should have resource to magicians suggests an interesting relation of magic to religion and official or normative worship and doctrine. The white, or defensive magic of the bowls takes its place as a tolerated, officially frowned-upon practice. The official Zoroastrian attitude toward magical practices may be surmised from the elaborate organization and far-reaching power of the Zoroastrian clergy. (51) The practice of magic was probably viewed as an encroachment on official religion. Yet in antiquity, magic and astrology seem to have been especially associated with the Persians. The ancients gave the name of the magi to the practice of the magical art.

3. Diffusion of magic

The wide range of provenience of the incantation bowls suggests their use by the more numerous native Iranians, as well as by the Jewish, Christian and Mandaean minority groups. Here the mere statistics of the number of bowls found may eventually prove significant. The tabulation of hundreds or thousands instead of the few score now available could give an impressive picture of one segment of Sassanian life.
E. Relations to Christianity

1. Names

As in the case of Jews and Persians, the occurrence of Christian names in the Aramaic incantation bowls indicates that Christians too resorted to the magicians. (52)

2. Official attitude toward magic

As with the Jewish and Zoroastrian religions, so in Christianity there was no doubt official disapproval of magic. Such an attitude is found reflected in Demonstration I of Aphrahat "and /It is necessary/ that a man should separate himself from the observance of hours and Sabbaths and moons and seasons, and divinations and sorceries and Chaldaean arts and magic...." (53)

There does not seem to be specific mention of the bowl magic in the Syriac literature.

3. Peshitto

One of the principal monuments of the industry of Syrian Christians is their translation of the New Testament. It is unnecessary here to discuss details of the origin of the Syriac New Testament. It is sufficient to note that translations of the Gospels of the Greek New Testament were in existence by the middle of the second century, if not earlier. Further, the Peshitto came into general acceptance early in the 5th century. (54) Montgomery's conclusion regarding the date of the bowl collection he published is 600 A.D. as a terminus ad quem. (55) He also notes that bowl texts may have extended over a series of centuries. (56) Hence the bowl-magic and the Syriac New Testament were in the same general area for two or three centuries where mutual influence could operate.

4. Analysis of terminology of New Testament and bowl texts

It is these coincidences of terminology and expression which are presented in the following discussion.
The scheme of arrangement of the data here presented is based on the terminology pertaining to magic, angelology, and demonology found in the Greek New Testament. Each item of this collection is traced in the Peshitto. If a coincidence is discovered between the bowl text terminology and the Syriac, this fact is noted. There is also presented a series of phrases which more or less strikingly coincide in the bowl texts and in the Syriac New Testament. Each of these is discussed. In some cases there is a clarification of the New Testament expression from the bowl texts.

In the following chapter, the notation "not found" does not necessarily mean that the word or root does not occur in the bowl texts, but that it does not occur in the sense in which it occurs in the New Testament.

For the system of abbreviations used, see Appendix II.
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF TERMINOLOGY
1. ἀγγέλος

WORDS

κατεβάζει

PESHITTA

Mark 1:13; 8:38; 12:25; 13:27, 32; Luke 1:11, 13, 18, 19, 26, 28, 30, 34, 35, 38; 2:9, 10, 13, 15, 21; 4:10; 7:27;
10:3, 7, 22; 11:13; 12:7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 23; 23:8, 9; 27:23; Rom. 8:38; I Cor. 4:9; 6:3; 11:10; 13:1; II Cor. 11:14;
Gal. 1:9; 3:1; 4:14; Col. 2:18; II Thess. 1:7; I Tim. 3:16;
2:1, 3, 12, 16; 3:1, 5, 7, 14; 5:2, 11; 7:1, 2, 11; 8:2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13; 9:11, 13, 14, 15; 10:1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11:15;
12:7, 9; 14:6, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19; 15:1, 6, 7, 8, 16:1, 5; 17:1, 7; 18:1, 21; 19:17; 20:1; 21:9, 12, 17; 22:6, 9, 16.

BOWLS

Mo:4:1; 8:14, 15; 12:5, 6; 13:3, 4; 25:5; 28:5; 36:7, 37:8;
38:8; 40:19; Pogs:1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 13; 15; 18; 22; 23; 24; 29;
Lidz:1; 2; 3; 4; 5; Schwab: A; B; F; G; I; M; N; Wohl:24 22;
2416; Go:C:4; F:3; J:9; M:23; 6:4; 7:6, 8; Frg:19745:11;
Frg. Iraq:97265; Malmo:25.496:10, 22.

2. ἀντίδικος (Σατανᾶς)

κατεβάζει
PESHITTA

I Pet. 5:8.

BOWLS

Mo:2:3; Ge:11:5; Pog:11; 2; 3; 4; 6; 7; 11; 12; 20; 28.

PESHITTA

Rom. 8:28.

BOWLS (ךשת)

Mo:11:5; Lidz:5; Schwab:A; Ge:G:3; Iraq:9737:2.

PESHITTA

I Cor. 15:24.

BOWLS

Not found.

PESHITTA

Eph. 1:21; 3:10; 5:12; Col. 1:16; 2:10, 15.

BOWLS

Not found.
4. βασκαίνω

PESHITTA
Gal. 3:1.

BOWLS
Go:7:9; Lidz:4; Schwab:1.

5. Γάμβριψα

PESHITTA

BOWLS
Mo:7:8; 9:11; 10:2; 14:4; 15:9; 20:5; 34:7; Lidz:1; 4;
Schwab:L; P; Hyv; Wohl:2422; Go:F:3, 7; 6:4; 8:10;
Prince, Ex:4283.52.

6. δαίμονίζομαι

a. Κιλίου

PESHITTA
Matt. 4:24; 8:16, 28, 33; 9:32; 12:22; Mark 1:32;

BOWLS
Not found.
b. מִבְּשָׁרָתָהּ מַתָּלְבָּרָה בְּשָׁרָה

PESHITTA

Matthew 15:22.

BOWLS

Not found.

c. המִשְׁאָרָהּ בְּשָׁרָה

PESHITTA

Mark 5:15, 16, 18.

BOWLS

Not found.

7. δαπνόνιον

a. נַיבָּן

PESHITTA


BOWLS

Mo:1:8; 2:7; 5:2; 6:1; 7:5, 14, 17; 8:7; 10:3; 11:4, 5; 12:4, 9; 16:10; 19:14, 16; 20:3; 25:1; 29:6, 9; 30:2; 32:4; 34:9; 35:3; 37:8; Pog:8; 26; Lidz:5; Schwab:A; G;
PESHITTA

Matt. 9:32, 33, 34; 10:8; 11:18; 12:24, 27, 28;
Mark 1:34; 3:15, 22; Luke 8:27, 30; 9:42, 49;
11:15, 18, 19, 20; John 7:20; 8:48, 49, 52; 10:20, 21;
Rev. 9:20.

BOWLS

Mo:1:6; 2:7; 3:1,11; 5:2; 6:1; 8:7; 10:4; 11:4,5;
12:4,10; 16:8,10; 19:14,16; 20:3; 25:1; 30:2; 32:4,7;
35:3; 39:5; Pog:3; 26; Lidz:5; Schwab:A; M; R;
Wohl:2426; Go:G; M:12; O:10; 5:9,12; 7:8; 8:6; 11:17.
PESHITTA

Matt. 8:31.

BOWLS

See citations at 7a above.

9. διάβολος

a. קִרְפָּן

PESHITTA


BOWLS

Not found. Note קִרְפָּן Mo:35:4.

b. קִרְפֶּלַע

PESHITTA


BOWLS

See references at 2 above.

10. δύναμις
PESHITTA
Rom. 3:28.

BOWLS
Not found.

PESHITTA
I Pet. 3:22.

BOWLS
Not found.

11. εἰδωλοθυτος
καθημενα χαθει ; καθημενα χαθει

PESHITTA
I Cor. 8:1, 4, 7; 10:19; Rev. 2:14, 20.
In Acts 15:29; 21:25; I Cor. 8:10 translated κυνιβολει and implying "sacrifice to idol".

BOWLS
Not found.

12. εἰδωλολατρεία
a. פְּשִׁיטָתָא בְּכֵי

PESHITTA

I Cor. 10:14; Gal. 5:20.

BOWLS

Not found.

b. דְּתֶלֶת וּפְתָכָה

PESHITTA

Col. 3:5.

BOWLS

Not found.

c. פְּלַטָנָה לְשָׁאָר

PESHITTA

I Pet. 4:3.

BOWLS

Not found.

13. εἰδωλολάτρης

טֶלֶת וּפְתָכָה
PESHITTA

I Cor. 5:10, 11; 6:9; 10:7; Eph. 5:5; Rev. 21:8; 22:15.

BOWLS

Not found.

14. εἰδολον

a. אבנה

PESHITTA

Acts 7:41; Rom. 2:22; 1 Cor. 8:4, 7; 10:19; 12:2; Rev. 9:20. (Acts 15:20 אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל)

BOWLS

Mo:2:7; 5:2; 6:1; 7:11; 12:10; 15:6; 16:11; 19:16; 37:6; 38:8; 40:19; Lidz:1; 2; 4; Schwab:B; I; K; Q; Hyv; Woh1:2422; 2426; Go:A+2; H:2, 7; 4:4; 5:9, 12; 6:1, 2, 6; 7:9; Frg:19745:9.
PESHITTA

II Cor. 6:16.

BOWLS

See references at 7a above.

PESHITTA

I Thess. 1:9; I John 5:21.

BOWLS

Not found.

PESHITTA

I Cor. 8:10.

BOWLS

Not found.
PESHITTA

BOWLS
Not found.

17. ἐξουσία

a. ἐξουσία

PESHITTA
Eph. 6:12; Col. 2:15; I Pet. 3:22.

BOWLS (ἐξουσία)
See citations at 3a above.

b. ἐξουσιωσθήσεται

PESHITTA
I Cor. 15:24; Eph. 1:21; 2:2; 3:10; Col. 1:13, 16; 2:10.

BOWLS (ἐξουσιωσθήσεται)
See citations at 3a above.

18. τὰ φροντίδος (Σατανᾶς)

PESHITTA
Luke 10:19; I Tim. 5:14 (?).
BOWLS
See references at 2 above.

19. ὑγόνος
καθαρὸς

PESHITTA
Col. 1:16.

BOWLS
Not found.

20. κυριότης
καθαρὸς

PESHITTA
Eph. 1:21; Col. 1:16; Jude 8; II Pet. 2:10.

BOWLS
Not found, but note סכלוּ דְּרִיָּה Lidsz:5.

21. μύγος
 DPR

PESHITTA
Act 13:6, 8.

BOWLS
Wohl:2422; 2426; 2414; 2416.
22. μαγεύω

PESHITTA
Acts 8:9.

BOWLS
Not found.

23. μαγία

PESHITTA
Acts 8:11.

BOWLS
Hyv; Schwab:B; C; E; I; M; P; Q; R; Gos:1:1, 2, 3; 5:4, 8; 6:1, 2, 6; 7:8; 9:3; 10:2, 3; 91776:4, 6, 10; 8826:9-10; MBTa:7.

24. Μιχαήλ

PESHITTA
Jude 9; Rev. 12:7.

BOWLS
Mo:5:3; 7:8,17; 9:11; 14:4; 20:5; 34:7; Hyv; Wohl:2422; 2416; Gos:F:3,7; 8:10.
25. κνεῦρα

a. κνῆν

PESHITTA

Matt. 8:16; Luke 10:20;

BOWLS

See citations at a above.

26. κνεῦρα ἀκάθαρτον

a. κνῆρα κνῆν

PESHITTA

Matt. 10:1; 12:43; Mark 1:26; 28; 3:11, 30; 5:2, 8, 30;
Acts 5:16; 8:7; 9:13; Rev. 18:2.

BOWLS

Not found.

בְּשַׁמְשֵׁם יְהוָה

PESHITTA

Mark 1:23.

BOWLS

Go:11 (cf. Go:1932,620

כָּל רַוּתֵי רָמוּת

PESHITTA

Rev. 16:13.

BOWLS

Not found.

27. ἄνευμα κοινῆρον

2. κλεῖσιν καθόρ

PESHITTA


BOWLS

See citations at 7c above.
PESHITTA

BOWLS
See citations at 7a above.

PESHITTA
Acts 19:15, 16.

BOWLS
Not found.

PESHITTA
Acts 16:16.

BOWLS
See citations at 7a above.

PESHITTA

BOWLS
Not found.
30. κυβερνεῖν δαιμονίων
κυβερνᾶν

PESHITTA
Rev. 16:14.

BOWLS
Not found.

31. Σατανᾶς
κατα

PESHITTA

BOWLS
In singular:

Frequently in plural.

32. παραμαχῶς
κατά

PESHITTA
Rev. 21:8; 22:15.
31a. σεληνίδονατ

דבר אגרה, דאראיה לא ברא אגרה

PESHITTA

Matt. 4:24; 17:15.

BOWLS

Ge:A:2; H:2; 5:9,10.
BOWLS

See references at 21 and 23.

33. φαρμακία

a. κυρῆ

PESHITTA

Rev. 9:21; 18:23.

BOWLS

See references at 21 and 23.

b. κυρήνη θηνομένον

PESHITTA

Gal. 5:20.

BOWLS

Not found.
1. "In the name of Jesus"

Conybeare's argument is that there is an assimilation, in this usage of the name of Jesus Christ, to the usages of ancient magic. (57)

It is to be noted that the New Testament is distinctly religious in spirit and that the elements of the Christian attitude toward Jesus are religious: He is worshipped as God. His name can be substituted for Yahwe in Old Testament passages. (58) Hence, use of the expression "in the name of" is a religious use, meaning "as His representative", similar to the usage "in the name of a prophet", and not a mechanical, magical use. The distinctly personal and religious use of the expression is illustrated by such a passage as John 14:14: "If you ask me anything in my name, I will do it."

This magical use of the expression "in the name of" is found frequently in the bowl texts. There the prevailing meaning is "by the authority of", or, "as the representative of".

2. "The Lord rebuke thee" (Zech. 3:2 and Jude 9)

Relevant narrative and these quoted words are not in the existing text of The Assumption of Moses. (59) Charles thinks the existing Greek fragments imply action such as is intimated by Jude. (60)

Jude perhaps quotes in part from Zechariah. The most significant change from the text of Zechariah is that in Zechariah the saying is attributed to YHWH, but in Jude to Michael. Jude does not agree with the Septuagint text of Rahlfs in word order, and also omits the over-of literal translation/the beth. However, since the ancients did not
make true copies as we conceive them, the variations in detail are not decisive against a quotation from Zechariah. Since Jude puts the saying in a setting different from that used in Zechariah, there is still a problem as to why Jude, if he did quote from Zechariah, puts the saying in a context differing from that of his source.

In Jude the expression stands in a narrative of Michael's conflict with Satan over the body of Moses. Jude's point in quoting is to show the character of the evil men he is opposing. They speak slightly of supernatural powers, whereas even Michael in his argument did not speak contemptuously, but said to Satan, "The Lord rebuke Thee."

Hence, in Zechariah, Jude, and the bowls, the quotation is used in relation to evil powers. It is obviously appropriate in the bowls.

3. "...casting on bed" (Mo:7:17; and compare Rev. 2:22)

The divine dealing with the evil woman consists in "casting her into a bed", and is paralleled by the treatment given those who commit adultery with her: they are cast into "great tribulation". Montgomery notes that "bed" is metaphorical of weakness and subjection. (61

4. "...sharp sickles" (Mo:7:17)

The Peshitta uses the same language at Revelation 14:14. The obvious point of origin for the imagery of the Apocalypse is in Joel 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἄγγελος</td>
<td>angel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δαιμόνιον</td>
<td>daemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δαιμόνιον</td>
<td>daemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δαιμονισθέναι</td>
<td>possessed by a demon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διάβολος</td>
<td>devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰδώλον</td>
<td>idol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰδώλιον</td>
<td>idol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰδωλόθυτος</td>
<td>idol-temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰδωλολατρεία</td>
<td>idol-worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰδωλολάτρης</td>
<td>idol-worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἔξοψία</td>
<td>exorcism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κακάρα</td>
<td>demons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κακάρα κοτηρόν</td>
<td>demons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κακάρα ἄκαθαρτον</td>
<td>demons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κακάρα δαιμονίων</td>
<td>demons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κακάρα δαιμονίου ἄκαθαρτου</td>
<td>demons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κακάρα κυθόν</td>
<td>demons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σατανᾶς</td>
<td>Satan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INFREQUENTLY OCCURRING WORDS

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT RELATING TO DEMONOLOGY AND ANGEOLOGY

ἀντίδικος
ἀρχή
βασκαίνω
Γαβριήλ
δυναμίς
ἐξορκισθῆς
ἐχθρός
θρόνος
κυριότης
μάγος
μαγευώ
μαγία
Μιχαήλ
σεληνιάζωναι
φάρμακος
φάρμακια

 예수하늘
שלום
גבروا
 paypal
חיים,
חיות
סמכ על
 נותן
בעולבננה
מרתא
מרתא
תורשה
תורשה
torsha
מטבצאל
דבר אבריא,
дацит,
הלב
בר
_submenu
תורשה
תורשה

40.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION
Analysis and Discussion of Evidence from Terminology

The New Testament terminology, then, falls into two main groups. The one is composed of terms which occur comparatively frequently and the other of those which occur seldom or only once. The charts on pages 39 and 40 exhibit an abstract of the data in tabular form.

The general conclusion to be noted is that it is the frequently occurring group which shows a larger number of coincidences with the bowl terminology. In the infrequently occurring group, there are some terms which occur frequently in the bowls, notably the names of the angels Gabriel and Michael, "enemy" (עֵמֶנֶן), and the term for magical arts (חָרָמִים).

These data indicate emphases and centers of interest in the New Testament. The bowls likewise have emphases and centers of interest. Montgomery points out that the demon which has the greatest individual vogue is the Lilith.(61a) Then follows the group of three terms which find greatest utility in the Peshitta: קָּשָׁו, קָּריָד and קָּרַד. Then the bowls develop the exotic and specialized vocabulary which occurs less frequently and which finds no parallel in the Peshitta. These are the name-demons, evil angels, blast-spirits, and the rare and obscure species. Montgomery lists these with brief comments.(62)

The New Testament, vis-a-vis the bowls, has its greatest individual interest, as regards the demonic world, in the personal being, Satan, who is also very frequently known as the "accuser". He is the head of an organized hierarchy of evil, as intimated in the terms ἄρχη, δύναμις, θρόνος, ἐξουσία in the series "principalities, powers, world-rulers of this darkness, spiritual wickedness" of Ephesians 6 (verse 12) and in the "angels, principalities, powers" of Romans 8:38. These beings, thus denominated by rather specialized
vocabulary, are most often referred to as the demons, devils, and evil or unclean spirits. (63) In the light of the character of Satan as "accuser," and the high soteriological interest of the New Testament, to which the demonic world is opposed, I should say that the center of interest of the New Testament is predominantly ethical and moral. There is also attention to the physical and mental ills which accompany demonic activity. This aspect is far more in evidence in the bowl texts.

In the light of these general indications, what was the degree, if any, of mutual influence between bowls and Peshitta? One could not argue for influence of Peshitta on bowl magic from "Satan" and "angels," for these are already at hand in the Old Testament, and the distinctive New Testament term "accuser" does not occur in the bowls. Nor would the use of כְּלַיָּה and כְּלַיָּה argue for influence one way or the other, since two of these are the common Semitic words already at hand and the third is an Iranian loan-word which came into Semitic currency through the Mandaic and Syriac. (64) It is interesting to note that the word כְּלַיָּה does not occur in the Targums and Talmud. Further, the development of specialized concepts of demonic activity in the bowls and in the New Testament, along with the corresponding vocabularies, would also look against pronounced influence one way or the other. The complete absence from the Peshitta of the common term Lilith would indicate a cleavage between the two bodies of literature. As in the case of the absence of כְּלַיָּה from the Talmudic literature, so in the absence of כְּלַיָּה from the New Testament one might argue for a negative reaction to a term which was unacceptable because of pagan associations or for semantic reasons undesirable. The former explanation would be in keeping with the attitude expressed by Aphrahat:

"It is necessary that a man should separate himself from the observance
Conclusion

What is the explanation of the greatly limited influence of the New Testament on the bowl magic, as compared with the numerous traces of influence from the Old Testament? The magic had had contacts with the Old Testament for centuries, whereas the New Testament was a comparatively recent phenomenon. In the former case abundant time was available for the adoption of words and formulae. If, however, the impression of the work of Jesus of Nazareth was great enough to evoke the Jewish reaction of putting forward Jesus ben Parashiah as a rival, why would not other borrowings from the narrative concerning a successful practitioner occur? Strong Jewish influence in the bowl magic might account for it, because of the general Jewish reaction to the Christian writings. However, the bowl magic is a mixture and the Jewish element does not predominate, while a pagan magical tradition would presumably have no scruples about material that suited its purposes. These general considerations point to an answer in the conservatism of magic: the incantations had been formed long before and need not be expected to react sharply to a new factor in the environment.

Further, the coincidences of terminology between the bowls and the New Testament may be referred to their common inheritance from the Semitic world. The New Testament is after all based squarely on the Old Testament in its ideas and phraseology. Allusions to and quotations from the Old Testament are the very fibre of the New Testament. Add to this its translation back into an ancient Semitic language, and it is not remarkable but only to be expected that coincidences of terminology and phraseology
should appear. Moreover, the translators of the Syriac were endeavoring to make the Greek New Testament available in the Aramaic idiom: why should they not employ many of the linguistic items found in the patois of their audience?
NOTES TO PART I

1. See Montgomery's discussion, _AIT_, pp. 102-105.
2. E.g., Montgomery's texts 12 and 16, and 51 and 55.
3. E.g., Montgomery No. 4.
5. E.g., Nos. 5, 8, 17.
7. E.g., Montgomery, No. 40.
8. E.g., Pognon's bowl, No. 4.
9. E.g., Montgomery, No. 6 (end), and No. 17. See also those cited by C. H. Gordon, _The Living Past_, pp. 209-215.
10. Both Montgomery and Pognon have facsimiles.
12. E.g., Nos. 15 and 17.
14. _AIT_, p. 16.
15. _AIT_, p. 15.
17. See Rosenthal, _AF_; for publications since Rosenthal see Appendix I.
26. The use of the term "pagan" is probably misleading. In one sense, all use of magic is pagan as opposed to the Biblical spirit of faith and personal relationship with God. But the bowl incantations were "interconfessional" (*Gordon, Orientalia*, 10/1947, p. 358). And their content very generally shows some connection with the Biblical tradition. Even in the case of the Mandaean texts, with the general omission of Scripture texts, there are names of Biblical angels Gabriel and Michael, and other angelic names formed on the same analogy. Montgomery believes that the Mandaean text of Lidzbarski, No. 5, is secondary to his Rabbinic text, No. 11; "...probably in the Nippur community the Mandaeans got their magic from the peoples of other dialects." (*AIT*, p. 39) Nor are the Mandaean bowls specifically Mandaeans in religion. (*AIT*, p. 39) Hence, omissions of any such identifying items may be accidental and cannot be the basis of a generalization that some texts are "pagan."
27. E.g., Montgomery's bowls Nos. 31-37 and *AIT*, pp. 32-35.
29. See *UH I*, pp. 31-32, for examples from Ugaritic and Bible.
30. See further, pp. 14, 15.


33. Nos. 4, 14, 15.

34. Cf. Gordon, op. cit., p. 126 (text 6):

"mouths shut"
"eyes blinded"
"ears deafened"
"bound by hand"
"tied by foot"


35. AIT, pp. 30-44.


37. AIT, pp. 63, 64.

38. AIT, p. 65.

39. See also Montgomery's opinion (AIT, p. 112) that passages of real religious import are not used.

40. AIT, pp. 49-50.

41. AIT, p. 50.

42. Prof. C. H. Gordon pointed this out to me in a private communication.

43. AIT, p. 227.

44. AIT, p. 108.

45. I am indebted to Prof. C. H. Gordon for this valuable suggestion.
46. BZ, p. 161.
47. Al, VIII, 2, 5.
48. Diwan Abatur, p. 42.
49. AIT, pp. 49, 50.
50. See AIT, p. 50; and Gordon's text A:4: "Gregory" and "Sunday-daughter".
51. Is, pp. 116-122.
52. AIT, p. 50, and note 50, above.
54. EB, col. 5000.
55. AIT, p. 105.
56. AIT, p. 105.
57. JQR, IX, p. 66.
58. E.g., Is. 45:23 and Phil. 2:9-11.
60. Ibid., p. 408, note.
61. AIT, p. 155.
62. AIT, pp. 79-83.
63. The statement of Whitehouse (HDB, Vol. I, p. 592b) that "in the Peshitta κτάρτι is the rendering of the δαιμόνιον of the New Testament" is incomplete. δαιμόνιον is also rendered by κτάρτι about 26 times, as against about 28 times for κτάρτι.
64. AIT, p. 74.
65. AIT, p. 74.
PART II

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, COMMENTARIES
SELECTED MANDAEAN INCANTATION TEXTS

The texts here presented are a selection of Mandaean incantation texts, offered with transliteration into conventional square characters, with translation and brief philological notes to some of them.

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בשנת... אסרון (8) עמייל ג'לטשריוק וב ברז'לアイ (3) ספירה
והחכם סטראונאידא פזירלט וסעירה בילילאמ (4)ﺑושחלאתת
Ϭאובא
סעירה דיברibirיה ורשה רכיפיות (5) בילילאמ ובבאתה צמחתה
 CLAIMS 1 טילטירוק טילטירוק טילטירוק רורא "{ג}" (6) רקוראריזה ור פודיבב
סקסילנה רקוראריזה טילטירוק ילבטאריא אוסבטאריא רמסאמבוקורט רמסאמ
לוחן רמסאמבוקורט (7) בפצילת טילטירוק רובינד דאדרה
סעירה
כלארושו והלולאה ביסאים רוגייא ביסאס רקוראריזה ספיכאותה
(8) בולחור רوحدה ביסאותה אróקמה בזיסאותה רקוראריזה
ריזאמה רחישיאור (9)... (9) האר רפרופאקטיב
איליא דילביס שבטספאזגגי טנצפרקטיב ב ברז'לアイ ג'ניבר
זרדאמה בזנדט שלטיפסגי רפרופאקטיב (10) ספירה וinezים התויסקי בזנדט
דרה הידסלאה וerrorCode אופורג ′מטעתיקציא גבירא ב וארטיאזגרוד
ודריה ריזאמה בזנדט שלטיפסגי רפרופאקטיב (11) בורק
באתה מיל אמטיבר עלסאמלצץ שדרי ספיכאות ליכימauledר רמק דימת.
זירטשיאורר אולאמו פספרט ילאוטראי (12) שדרי חונרואלי די. לא כדי
네זראמה ריזאמה רליאאאלס אולאמו רקוראריזה רקוראריזה רזארמא
תורילוחה קוליא אחרים ריזאמה שיבסKalסא איבנאג...מעתואקיס בור כו-
אפעיא... הנ的应用 כולה והבלאתה רהיאייו זאיאן
In the name...(2) may there be health for Meherqai son of Kuashizag
(3) the demons are fastened in stocks of iron and the Liliths are secured
with (4) chains of lead. The male sorcerers, the devils are bound, and (5)
the Liliths are bound, the female sorceresses who give evil dreams and
thoughts (6) and apparitions and evil visions and evil appearances to the
sons of men, who defile the sons of me, who soil them, and place the
sons of men (7) in the thick clouds of darkness. They are bound, all the
evil dreams and evil visions and hateful apparitions. They are bound, (8)
all evil spirits, tortured, noisome, powerful, enchained, foul beings...
(9)...they shall not see, they shall not look with evil intent on Meherqai
son of Kuashizag, the husband, nor on Duktanbeh daughter of Kumai his wife,
nor on the... (10) Bound and sealed is this house, dwelling, and
mansion and buildings, and body of Meherqai, the husband, son of Kuashizag
and of his wife Duktanbeh daughter of Kumai, the spouse and of the... Ir male
sons... and their (11) female daughters from their right to their left, and
from their left to their right and from the hair of their heads unto the
tips of their toes, and from the tips of their toes unto the hair of
their heads for ever and ever! And may there be health and victory and
sealing and sure defense for this house, dwelling and mansion and buildings
of Meherqai son of Kuashizag... Duktanbeh daughter of Kumai and to her
sons and daughters. And Life is victorious!
COMMENTARY ON TEXT 1

1. "In the name" probably followed by "of life", as often.

2. For the repetition of the preposition and anticipatory placing of suffix cf. MG 331.

3. Root יָדָע cf. MG 243 and 69. The half-vowel of the near open syllable is represented orthographically by the ayin. Does this mean it was felt to be an i or ə? Cf. MG 4.
   "iron": 1) used as mater lectionis for א. Cf. AIT p. 29.
   "bond": lack of agreement in number.

4. "devils": lack of agreement in number.


6. "foul beings": lit. "foul ones of their heads". Possibly a use of "head"=person.
   Cf. the "everlasting chains" of Jude 6 and "chains of lead" of line 3.

7. "see": apparently יְזָר but parallel to חָלָה יְזָר is seemingly of rare occurrence in the bowl texts.
2.

سفرה וכריכים דריה (2) קרלות ל Haramatan דוקרתנים וקריות
(3) ירדהויה ורדקה ורדקה замеча תומכת בחשיבות
(4) ובשל-
(5) שימושי ועשת
(6) בסופו (7) טאבהאל ויאביך וולגט קרלות_locs谰מה
(8) ורדף מהבה בוליםי דאודדונאי דרבו
(9) רעשהוג קרלות עיבוריה ורדברואדת אונבלתון
(10) וברבנה רודר
(11) באתה אונבלתון אחרית ילבכמלטישון קרלות_locs谰מה דוקרתנים וקריות
(12)载体 أيام רדרהואת
Reversed and averted and chased are (2) all curses and incantations of women (3) and men, boys and girls, of evil enemies (4) and all my foes who curse and pronounce incantations by day and by night. (5) They bound and turned away from the four corners of my house which belongs to me Path-Shaphta daughter of Mahlaphta. (6) Thou shalt leave and not return, thou shalt be cast down and not be lifted up, thou shalt be dried up like the embryo of an egg, (7) in the name of Tabaq the angel who grasps and seizes all curses which have cursed Path-Shaphta daughter of Mahlaphta. (8) Yea, be distant from her by the power of Adonai Yourba prince of all evil spirits and leader of all the great (9) chariots of darkness, do thou be distant and do not come near her all curses and incantations (10) of the night and of the day.
5. "from the four corners": this expression is parallel to the expression in Mk 4:1-2: the demons are not bound in the house, but driven from it.

8. Why should the exorcism be pronounced in the name of the prince of the evil spirits? Possibly the rationale is that one part of the kingdom of darkness is compelled to act against another part by the power of the charm: Satan is divided against himself! Cf. Mark 3:22-26. Note that the charge against Jesus was that He was casting out devils by the prince of devils. Compare the Exterior of TEXT 4.
3.

שכינה כלכילה וידא את מקורותיה (2) וגדברה ובענשיהם ודרדרור בנאמה (3) ורשננאי נחשי ואשתיהן באו כלכילה וקרתה

ומחקה בבלילה (4) ובענתה עסירה ועיסאה וגזרה לדרקא

 sublicense ידיעה ואבנור בר ממקים (5) ו睐 ללהמה והלבישה רלבוניה ותביבא בשולג אברגא (6) ו démarche

ולאגרים 'ברהקה' לרשאתה של代理人 לברנור בר ממקים ורתיי MacBook

במספרה (7) הדרברנה רוב רסז forsker' ברברה וספרי מדיטאקט

מדענותך ודרבראתה 'חכשרא' אמא רוחק (8) רלנסלי' בגולני

ולכשאתה וקדיקאתה (9) קדillez ויודעאתה ליבאנהרבר ממנזר
Reversed are all curses and incantations (2) of men and women, and boys and girls, (3) evil foes and enemies, and all who curse and utter incantations in the night (4) and in the day. Bound and turned away from the four corners of my house Babanush son of Mahnush. (5) Thou shalt go and not return, and thou shalt be thrown down and not raised up, and thou shalt be dried up like the embryo of an egg in the name of Angel Tabeq (6) who seizes and grasps all curses that curse Babanush son of Mahnush. Be far from him by the might of (7) Adona Raba the chief of all evil demons and leaders of all the great chariots of darkness, thou art distant (8) and none of the curses and incantations of day or night shall reach Babanush son of Mahnush.
4.

עיסת בניגוד לרוח (2) בולחת ירח יראת עקרות והקמתה 
ברזילה (3) וברזילותה בזרזיותה ומעניאת (4) ובעלת
בברזילה בולחת ירח יראת עקרות והקמתה 
כמו שהם לברזילה בזרזיותה. עליה קמה עשה על המיתות והodial
(5) ותרות בברזילה דרכה בזרזיותה ותרותב על עזרה במיתות
סבא ומלאך ירח בברזילה (6) רול(נכם) בולחת ירח יראת עקרות
ואסף את (8) גודו את המיתות המיים והניטים אחר בנשף
ב有机结合 (7) בזרזיותה ומקים את רוח
מענה בזרזיותה בזרזיותה (8) ררגה ירח שמיתות וזרזיותה
ברזילה ירח יראת עקרות והקמתה (9)
ברזילה ל(אשתם) בזרזיות (9) ורחים יראת עקרות והקמתה
ברזילה (10) אחת ירח יראת והקמתה
בוגר על עזרה בזרזיות עקרות והקמתה ומעניאת (11)
על מיתות (12) באדמנית על מיתות ירח יראת והקמתה
ברזילה ו(13)
Athana.
Reversed and averted and chased are all curses and incantations of women and men of boys and girls of evil enemies and foes all who curse and utter incantations of night and day. Bound and turned are they back from the four corners of my house, namely Bat-Asia daughter of Mahnush. Thou shalt go and not return, thou shalt be cast down and not raised up, yea, thou shalt be dried up like the embryo of an egg in the name of the angel Tabaq who seizes and grasps all curses that curse Bat-Asia daughter of Mahnush and be distant from Sisai daughter of Bat-Asia, from Gisha, from Kuse huroi, and from Apr... son of Bat-Asia, be distant from her by the power of Adonai. Yourba prince of all shrine spirits and leader of all the great chariots of darkness, be thou far from her and may they not approach her and may be the curses be far from Shisha daughter of Bat-Asia and be far from her male offspring and from her daughters...
Exterior: This charm shows something of the rationale of averting curses. The power of the magician turns them against one another and against the hostile magician.
בשנים ℓ(טכנולוגיה דרומית) ומאות ב-1940–1950, תחומי חברה וחבר

והם בולטים בברית המועצות (1987) ובברית המועצות כולה נקודת צו

מדת בברית המועצות, ואת הברית המועצות (1988), ובברית המועצות

些כיפים (8) איבדו ברית המועצות את ברית מועצות מברית

לברית וברית המועצות של ברית המועצות גורש ימי רחבייה מPredicate (9) ברית

לברית וברית המועצות של ברית המועצות בברית וברית המועצות (1966–1968)
In the name of life: health and healing and sealing and guarding-
Reversed and averted back and repelled are all curses and incantations (2) of
women and men, of boys and girls, of my evil (3) enemies and adversaries all
who curse and make incantations night and day. Bound (4) and turned away are
they from the four corners of my house, Anuth-Hiya daughter of Sibre-Liyeshu
(5) and from my husband thou shalt go and not return, thou shalt be thrown
down and not raised up, and thou shalt be dried up like the embryo of an egg
in the name of the Angel Tabaq (6) who grasps and seizes all curses that have
been pronounced against Anath Hiya daughter of Sibre-Liyeshu and be far from
her by the power of (7) Adonai Yourba prince of all shrine spirits and leader
of all the great chariots of darkness (8) be thou far away and do not approach
her, be thou distant and do not come near her all curses and let them not
approach Yazad paneh Gusnai. Be distant from him (9) all curses and incanta-
tions of night and day. The curses are turned back and confused and thrust
away!
1. "life": the writer began with one formula, and broke off to begin another.
"curses": the root ונב appears in a magical context in Exodus 7:14, 22 and 8:5, 14.


8. Yazad: for the name see IN, p.
6.
(8) דקרית ספרדיה צולמה במלון בדאר ששת.
(9) דקרית ספרדיה צולמה במלון בדאר ששת.
(10) דקרית ספרדיה צולמה במלון בדאר ששת.
(11) דקרית ספרדיה צולמה במלון בדאר ששת.
(12) דקרית ספרדיה צולמה במלון בדאר ששת.

דברות كثيرות והר...
Interior

Turned back are all curses (2) and incantations. Turned back are all curses (3) and incantations of men and women and boys and girls, of my evil enemies and foes (4) yea, all who curse and make incantations. Bound are all curses and incantations (5) of my evil enemies and foes of the night. Turned back are all curses (6) and incantations of men. Turned back are all of them, bound are curses and incantations (7) of men and women, boys and girls, of my evil enemies. They are bound all (8) curses and incantations of men and women and boys and girls, of my evil enemies. They are bound... all (9) curses and incantations of men and women, and boys and women... (10)

Exterior

This belongs to the place of graves
9-12 The text ceases to make sense, but the "nonsense" may be important magically.

Exterior: An interesting indication of the use made of the charm.

Cf. also AIT p. 14, for circumstances of discovery of bowls at Nippur.
7.

改善 ludicrous רותי (2) לטרמא학교 רוטיאת ה-

בר (3) התמונה קלאאר טארק דהארט בליל יש (4) עבריתים

ברגלותינו וודומיו פקוראגא ודינו (5) בעינינו מלכאיי רידקצייה נחרית

שורים שניים עטשראת (6) לויליאנגר טאלאנט על וידידותיו רודיק ריקי מומר

הרימיול 발견ים והם שיבב מלכאי (7) עטשראת על (8) רלאט עטשראת בושם

תקופתAura ואלו הקדימיש ויאטלאי הוביבת צנוגית (9) שושם על-

תואר מלכאיי ראש וידידיטיפ עלפי עלאריטיט קדמת רבדגאת על

הרשמיתpairs (10) מכירת על בחרראית ומצייניות רוברט

ארצי צעבה ארוך ודרומא כElapsedTime מרדד ופקיילוק יציראהאילית

(11) שארייל Image ראשית וידידתית יאמודיאן אמאגדית בודה

תקופה Image לטרמא.Tree תשבי (12) חזרהMalcamי

רטשראתה בושם... תקן... שמראיאילן ראשקסיין Image ראשביי

(13) לטרמא דוקריא Image עטשראת Image ראשביי Image רקאי

בווארא Image רבעה בושם ידרכאנ גגורבט בושם (14) עטשר בושם...
Overtorned and averted and repelled (2) are the curses and incantations from the body of .... (3) son of Ḫtima. Sound of the earth which shakes, sound of the heavens (4) which are turned back, sound of clamor and commotion and war (5) among the angels of the firmament. There is confusion among the Ishtars and (6) Liliths. Noise of violent, angry women who curse and trample (?) behind them (?). The spittle is spit out, and bitter are the curses we have pronounced in the name of the seven angels (8) and three (?) Ishtars in the name of Istqutquf strong and holy and (in the name of) Adonai Ḫubitu Ṣnubit (9) in the name of Esther the queen. I who have seen them have turned back over them the great arch which is over enchantments, and I have twisted (10) all of them together, I have bound all the mysteries that are in me (1). They said: "He has deprived us of our mystery and has bound us." I said to them: (11) "Annulled are the curses which you have pronounced and extirpated is that which you have spat." She said to them: "We declare, O mighty being who annuls the curses we pronounce in the names of these (12) angels and Ishtars in the name of .... Shrail and Shabqail who dwell on high, who annul (13) curses and incantations which women who are accustomed to curse have pronounced and uttered at the gate of the temple in the name of Adonai Ṣnubit in the name of Esther the queen. So be it, Amen!"
4. "turned back": see GK p. 38 and Montgomery's lexical remark AIT p. 287, where he proposes ἐβαστάζω as the root. Would this account for the saying?


6-7 "trample": an alternative reading would be "who rub their rumps" (?) "who crawl on their rumps" (?)

9-10 Evidence of the power and effectiveness the magician claims for his charm.
In the name of Life may there be he \(_\{\text{al}^{7}\}\) th (2) for Yazid son of Shishin. Hark! the cry! (3) Ye women, hear the cry of the weak who have been crushed, the cry of men (4) who contend in battle, the cry of ill-tempered women who curse and harm and afflict this body of Yazid son of Shishin. There have come down on them Azdai and Yazrun (6) and Yaqrunt and Pre\(_\{\text{al}^{7}\}\) the great and Urpail and Sahtail. He has seized, he has grasped (7) the locks of the hair of their heads, he has shattered their horns which were high and attached them to the tresses of the hair (8) of their heads and said to her: "Loose the curses which you have pronounced against Yazid son of Shishin." They said to him; "Because of the pain in our hearts we have cursed and because of (9) the bitterness of our Palate we have decreed and cursed." "I have taken you captive and I adjure you by Azdai and Yazrun, and Yakrun, and (10) Urpail and Sahtiel to free and send forth Yazid son of Shishin \(_\{\text{From}\}\) all curses pronounced upon Yazid son of Shishin (11) from curses of father and mother who curse, and from curses of prostitute and female singer and from curses of the great Lady and fetus and from curses (12) of laborer and his master who has defrauded him of his pay, and from curses of brothers who do not divide the portions equitably with one another, and from the curses of Burma... which she has lodged against Yazid son of Shishin in the name of idols and.... Thou art the physician who heals souls with a word; cure the curses which have been uttered against Yazid (14) son of Shishin. I am sitting on a rock not broken and I have written all the curses which have been uttered against Yazid son of Shishin on (15) a new bowl of clay, and I have sent it....that they may release....in the name of the angel Shrail, of the angel Barkiel.... the curses which have been uttered against Yazid son of Shishin. The man is delivered from.....and from prison.
11. "great lady": Is this a reference to Ishtar as a goddess rather than as a generic name for evil spirits? The trend is for former deities to become evil spirits. Cf. AIT p. 70.

12. "curses of Burma..." The scribe in this line has corrected errors by supralinear additions of a ט for ד and ב for ל. Comparison with Gordon's text M, lines 16-17, offers a partial solution of Pogon's difficulty, BMK pp. 48-49. The last element in the "illegible" word following "Buetha" or "Burma", on the analogy of Text M, is ט. What precedes then is the personal name of the sorceress known to be practising black magic. In each text the ט is followed by a finite verb. The remaining part of the proper name remains doubtful: perhaps Burma-iha? This manner of correction is unusual if not unique. Generally a scribe begins again without any attempt at correction.

"Laborer...pay": Cf. James 5:4. This oppression of the poor is strongly condemned in the Scripture: it would generate a malignant curse.

The exterior of this bowl has on one side a crudely drawn figure with the legend חַיִּבְרָל יָה. In contrast with the figure on the exterior of Text 5, the "horns" curve downward, sympathetically, suggesting the idea of the incantation. The flat head suggests the imagined form of the malign being. The circles on the torso presumably represent female breasts. Only this figure has the two oval objects on or through the right thigh. If Pogon's suggestion that the spelling חַיִּבְרָל may be read חַיִּבְרָל ל, many of the details of Libat in the
Mandaean mythology are interesting; e.g. "Libat is often invoked in sorcery", MOII p. 80. See also DA p. 38. Compare also the figure on the exterior of Pognon's bowl No. 6: is it meant to be the moon? See also Montgomery's note, AIT p. 217.
בפרק כהו שרגל ניתן (2) הדלקת מ calloc הע duk明媚 רוזמרן (3) רכזת מגביה
הא｝תק פרגע דמליל בהתאם בנעדה (5) ורבותינו הם משנים.בנוסף
גורר זכויות רכזת מגביה רבעה (6) עלפיו(1) ווגיםו
ריאקציה ו aquiיה רבה. mooie את מתכנת הע duk明媚 רוזמרן מבדיקו
מגדלי הירקания רתוניה של ניאון דמליל ובר דאריה ולייזר
מלצון ליצא את הלוחט לחוות רบาร์ינו (9) נר (סנג) ... שיאו
לכן(7) מסתמן רדוק.days את אזכורו דמלילו עם קפיצי רצוונדיאירוב נר ...
וש ... (10) שיאו(8) רואיה המ ב(6) בוא לייביצלקדצין עם מראר
(11) מעדכון היליקיסל ... דאריה

ל(ב) כדי קרובים וה
Hark! Hark! hear the cry (2) of the weak who are crushed; the
cry of men who (3) contend in battle, the cry of impious women who litter
curses and (4) imprecations and who afflict this body of Mahlephuma son
of Dadia (5) and Yazduyeh daughter of Rashnuyeh, their male offspring and
female offspring. (6) Azdai, Yazrun, Yqrun, great Priel, Sahtiel have
descended upon them. They have seized them, they have taken them (7) by
the tresses of the hair of their heads and have shattered their high horns;
he has laid hold of the locks of their heads (8) and said... "Annul the
curses you have pronounced against Mahlephuma son of Dadar and Yazduyeh
daughter of Rashnuyeh and their male offspring and their female offspring
(9) "Annul the curses against Quqai daughter of Atruga, against
Papruyeh daughter of Quqai and against Mehrudan son of ......" (10) They
said to him, "Because of the pains of our heart and because of bitterness
we cursed..." (11) "I have taken you prisoners..."

Exterior

This belongs to the cyzmetary
Let there be healing for Htatbun daughter of Nanai. Hark! (2) Hark! I hear the cry of the weak who are crushed and of warriors (3) who contend in battle, the cry of impious women who curse, work witchcraft and bring affliction. (4) Azdai and Yazdrun and Yaqrun, Priel the great, and Rophiel and Sahtiel (5) have descended upon them and seized them by the locks of their heads and have shattered their lofty horns on their heads and have grasped them (6) by the ... of hair of their heads and said to them: "\texttt{Annul} the curses you have uttered." They said to him, "Because of the pain in our heart we curse and because of the bitterness of our (7) palate we decree and curse." I said to \texttt{Them} "I have taken you prisoners and I adjure you by Azdai and Yazdrun and Yaqrun and Priel and (8) Urpaiel and Sahtiel to annul \texttt{The curses} and release Ahtatbun from all curses that you have pronounced: from curse of father and mother which you have uttered; from (9) \texttt{Curse} of prostitute and fetus, from...and from \texttt{Curse} of brothers who do not divide equitably, from \texttt{Curse} (10) of Shishin which he has pronounced in the name of image spirits... Thou art the physician, thou art the physician who heals with the word; heal the curses which have been uttered against Ahtatbun in the name of Azdai and Yazdrun and Yaqrun and Priel and Urpaiel... curses which have been pronounced against Ahtatbun. (11) I seat myself on a rock that is not broken and I write (12) all the curses \texttt{On} a new bowl; I sit, and I write and I send to their authors the curses which were uttered against Ahtatbun daughter of Nanai, to their senders, (13) that they may release and bless in the name of Shriel the angel, in the name of the angel Barkiel. Ye angels, annul the curses from... the man is delivered from...

10. "image-spirits": the word is consistently used in the Peshitta for idols and idolatry. Cf. AIT p. 72.

12. This passage may suggest the circumstances of the writing of the bowl. More light is needed on the praxis accompanying the writing of the incantation, though this passage, and the very fact of the written incantation suggest that the writing of the charm was the essential thing.
11.

(1) רָתָןָהּ (רָתָןָה) בְּדֵי עַדָּר בֹּרְאֵי יְהוָה (ט) [센터]
(2) וְקָרָאתָם נָא וְרָאֲיֶנוּ בָּעַרְמָה (י) [센터]
(3) אֱלֹהִים בּוֹרְאֵי יְהוָה (ו) [센터]
(4) וְיָדֵיהֶנָּה וְחָרָה בְּעַתָּה אֶזְכָּר וְרָבְּשָׁה (ל) [ сентור]
(5) וְיָדֵיהֶנָּה לֵיאָרָה סְחָרָה (מ) [센터]
(6) וְיָדֵיהֶנָּה לֵיאָרָה סְחָרָה (נ) [ сентור]
(7) וְיָדֵיהֶנָּה לֵיאָרָה סְחָרָה (ו) [:center]
(8) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (ל) [센터]
(9) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (מ) [센터]
(10) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (נ) [센터]
(11) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (ל) [센터]
(12) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (מ) [센터]
(13) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (נ) [센터]
(14) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (ל) [센터]
(15) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (מ) [센터]
(16) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (נ) [센터]
(17) רָאָהּ וְרָאָהּ (ל) [센터]
MAY the ERE be healing (2) for the house and dwelling and mansion (3) and threshold and good residence where resides (4) Qayuma son of Marshabur. From the seven firmaments of (5) illumination and light I have come. I am Nbat, Nbat the great Primordial One whom Life has sent, and I have come against the seven masters of the house (7) to turn away their magic arts, to confuse their work, to destroy their imaginations, to restrain (8) their stature which is high, because they were sent against the sons to destroy their house.... (9) to pierce their eyes, to smite their daughters, to do great damage in their houses (10). their bodies are bent and not straightened out. They said, "Why have you been sent against the sons of men?" They said to me, "In all (12) you have said, we will hearken to you.... This secret do not reveal to us." I said to them, "If you harm the sons of men, there will be sent against you (13) angels from on high: Rahziel, Mahziel, Kabshiel, and Dushiel: the angels, the angels have come against you from on high." (14) They said, "...thy name, a strange being, we will receive your... because of the splendor of the three Uthras who live by the great Jordan (15) and we will not deceive you." And I said to them, "If you will renounce this secret... There moves over you the great shekinah of the light, (16) the Sun and the Moon are moved against you, the Uthras who watch over the great circle of light move against you, the gate shall be closed to you on the east and the west, the gate of the north and the south shall be closed against you (17) and you shall be seized by the feet and hurled into the deep pits beneath." Life is victorious...

10-17. The conversation between the magician and the evil powers reveals the confident tone of the magician.


"Jordan": apparently not the Jordan of Palestine. See the note in MMII: pp. xxiv-xxv.
בשאלה הראשונה (2) בהודעי התמונות ובשאלה השנייה (3) בהודעני התמונות 설치יל את (4) בשאלה אחרונה (5) בידיו את (6) בשאלה אחרונה (7) באדיבות fichה ובריכת והרמאת והרמאות (8) בשאלה אחרונה (9) במטרה欧ך fichה (2) בחטיה (3) רבشرתא (4) הנשא (5) בהודעי (6) בהודעי (7) באדיבות fichה (8) במטרה (9) במטרה欧ך fichה
This is the guardian (2) of the dwelling (3) of s... (4) of Sumaqa (5) son of Kusenta

Interior

In the name of Life may there be healing (2) magical equipment, sealing and guarding for the house (3) and dwelling and mansion and edifice of Sumaqa son of (4) Kushenta and Bhar-Ezag daughter of Kuar-Anushand their male offspring and female (5) offspring and all their livestock with cloven hoofs and without cloven hoofs. (6) The malediction of the great name, the malediction of the utterance and word of the great primordial Life!..... Bound are the (7) keys of the dwelling of Yurba, sealed are the doors of the house of the Lord God Abugbana! (8) Bound are the upper deities, bound are the intermediate deities, bound are the lower deities, bound are the upper image spirits, bound are the (9) intermediate image spirits, bound are the...

8. "deities". An example of the deterioration of a deity into an inferior evil being.
13.

(3) הַסְּמִיטִיתִין וְמַכְסִיטִיתִין (2) עַיִן הַסְּמִיטִיתִין וְמַכְסִיטִיתִין
(4) וְהַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה אֶפְרַיִם וְתַרְעֹם
(5) וְהָרָשָׁעִים דְּרַשָּׁה וְרָשָׁתוֹ וְדוֹרִי
(6) לִפְסִים תַּאֲרֵי מַכְסִיטִיתִין וְסְמִיטִיתִין
(7) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(8) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם וְרָשָׁתָהוֹ דְּרַשָּׁה וְדְרַשָּׁתוֹוֹ לָדָינוּ
(9) יַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(10) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(11) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(12) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(13) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(14) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(15) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(16) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(17) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(18) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(19) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם
(20) וְיַרְשָׁעִים נַעֲמָה וְתַרְעֹם

עַדָּאִילָא (2) וְרָחָא

86.
You are broken and shattered (2) you are broken and annulled, ye charms (3) of seven fortresses, you of eight cities, (4) ye enchantments of three hundred and sixty two satrapies, (5) ye enchantments of three hundred and sixty two languages. Ye are closed up, ye are banned (6) ye are broken and shattered ye are broken and annulled ye enchantments of the west (7) and of the east, of the north and of the south, ye enchantments of the four corners of the house and of the eight extremities (8) of the firmament. Ye are annulled and foiled evil ones new and old, ye spheres turned back and useless bases of the earth (9) and all ye curses and incantations new and old, all ye works of darkness (10) that are shut out... the day and those that are shut out.... and the portion of the month and those who appear in dreams, in hallucinations (11) the witchcrafts... the sorcerers... men in the form of women and to women in the form of men, sorcerers (12)... sorcerers who follow the funeral processions, sorcerers who come (13)... who.... and may there be healing...

Exterior
4. "three hundred..." For the historical data, see Paton, Esther, ICC, pp. 123-124, and Marcus, Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, VI, pp. 296-97. Notice also 360 "broods" of the Lilith in Montgomery's text 38:5,6,11. Three hundred sixty is the number of days in the Mandaean year. The same number is given to spirits who created and who govern the material world. See MMII, p. 251.


11. "men..." See AIT, p. 82, for literature and discussion of incubae and succubae.
Let there be salvation for Denduk (2) daughter of Kosriduk. A curse (?) on him who sent you and (3) directed you and upon him who loves you (4) and upon her who loves you, upon her who taught and proved you, yea upon her who proved, (5) upon her who desires to prove and those who desire to instruct, and upon whatsoever woman who gives you food and drink (6) and upon whatsoever woman who has brought to you a marriage-portion and a part and upon the woman who has brought to you a gift and an offering (7) upon whatsoever woman who has put a garment on you, whoever has (8) clothed you, who has bought and sold you, whoever worked for you (9)... who has stripped you, who has named you, who has invited you (10)... who has admonished you, has sent you, who has tested you with temptations ... (11) ... You have been turned away, you belong to the wicked one and whoever... (12) ... the woman who has beaten you and hurled you (13) who... the image-spirits.
2. "curse..." The idea of a curse or malodiction seems to be required by the context. The root is not clear: Poggon suggests the Hebrew `הַפָּקָה, IMCK, p. 279.

This text, I think, does not have close parallels with any thus far published. It emphasizes the wide variety in the motifs which are adopted to express the idea of repelling and exorcizing demons.
15.

(2) לָדוֹת תַּמּוֹל וּרְאוּיָהָה לְדַנְשַׁרְשֵׁהוּ קְדֶרֶתָהָּ אֲלָהָהָהָה
(3) הָבְרָקָה מַסָּאָה בֵּיתָ...לַלַיְּהַ תַּמּוֹל וְָאוֹתָהָ לְדַנְשַׁרְשֵׁהוּ קְדֶרֶתָהָּ אֲלָהָהָהָה
(4) בָּרוּיָהָהָה אֲלָהָהָה בֵּיתָ...עָשָׂה בֵּיתָהָהָהָה מַתּוֹיָהָהָה בֵּיתָהָהָה (5) הָמְרָה
(6) רוּחַּהָאָהָה בֵּיתָ...מַלְאָךְ הָלָכָה אֲלָהָהָה אֲבַעָרָהָ (6) עָשָׂהָה אֲלָהָה (7)
(8) רוּחַּהָאָה הָלָכָהָה אֲבַעָרָהָ בֵּיתָּאָסִיקָה לִכְמִי תַּמּוֹל (8) עָשָׂהָהָה בֵּיתָהָהָה הָלָכָהָה (9)
(9) עָשָׂהָהָה בֵּיתָהָהָה הָלָכָה (9) עָשָׂהָהָה בֵּיתָהָהָה הָלָכָה (10) לָדוֹת תַּמּוֹל וְָאוֹתָהָ לְדַנְשַׁרְשֵׁהוּ קְדֶרֶתָהָּ אֲלָהָהָהָה
(11) לָדוֹת תַּמּוֹל וְָאוֹתָהָ לְדַנְשַׁרְשֵׁהוּ קְדֶרֶתָהָּ אֲלָהָהָה (12)
(13) לָדוֹת תַּמּוֹל וְָאוֹתָהָ לְדַנְשַׁרְשֵׁהוּ קְדֶרֶתָהָּ אֲלָהָהָה
The curses are turned away, turned back, and repelled (2) and your words of incantation, deities who walk on the earth... the curses and they receive the incantations, (4) each deity in the name... the evil spirit in the name. You will come with this (5) wine, and perfume and myrtle from... which is upon you; the deities and the temple-spirit (6) the evil spirit which is from him, because of Zapeh son of.... Apaoi, son of Dawiwi (7) the incantation upon me, Kuzehuroi, son of Bat-Asia/... the curses and incantations are reversed upon their sender, the incantations (8) are turned back to the women who sent them, the annulment is turned back on the sorcerers, the... is turned back on the time, the light is turned back on the darkness, the flood (9) is turned back on the fire, evil things on their owners,... the curses are turned back on the one who sent them and the incantations are returned to the women who uttered them (10) his own curses and his own incantations will be turned back upon himself and upon each one who stands before the deity and image-spirit and who cursed me... (11) Kuzehuroi son of Bat-Asia, and my house, my wife Kurasan... my sons, my daughters, my father-in-law, my wate and my livestock... (12) on this wine, perfume... and myrtle... in the name of... the angel... and I said

Exterior

... and the image-spirits which are beneath you and may there be salvation for Kuzehuroi son of Bat-Asia.
5. "myrtle": see AIT, p. 181. See also the frequent references to myrtle in MMII, especially pp. 121-2 and 178-9. The myrtle wreath is looked upon as the bestower of health and vigor. Compare also the interesting collocation of wine, perfume, and myrtle in the ritual described in MMII, pp. 205-209.

"temple-spirit": Sumerian e-kur means "house of the mountain" which is equivalent to "shrine". In the bowls it is practically the equivalent of \textit{\text resolved}. Cf. Gordon, \textit{Orientalia}, 10, p. 276.

7. "son of Pat-Asia." In Mandean holy books and rites, the mother's name, not the father's, is mentioned. See MMII, pp. 26-27, and AIT, pp. 49-50.

8. "annulment": in Biblical Aramaic the root has the meaning "interpret", "interpretation".

10. "who cursed me..." The ending in \textit{\text resolved} appears to be the 3 pl. 2. pf. Cf. MG, pp. 223-4.
(2) "\( \text{(MC)} \)
(3) d\text{d}\text{d}
(4) \( \text{(TC)} \)\text{d}
On the rock... (2) ...and may he who annuls and she who annuls curses prevail over you! (3) Get out, ye sorcerers, be gone, descend upon, descend upon (4) the sea that cannot be crossed and on the inaccessible mountains. (5) Go...fall on a rocky mountain and be shattered like a rotten egg (6) on a rock from a rock! Their wickedness has become cold (?) . Be disgraced, you sorcerers! May (7) your temple be like a pitcher of cold water which has been cast into the Firawis of the great Jordan of Life. You are bound (8) and tied sorcerers and sorceresses,.....endowed with the evil eye; they are bound who are wicked and who utter evil words. (9) They are bound, the men; they are bound, the women......The evil words...out of the body of Denduk daughter of Kosriduk (10) ye are bound and tied; ye are bound and double bound....evil ones, with rolling orbs (?), untrustworthy bases, (11) all the curses and calamities of darkness away from Denduk daughter of Kosriduk. He is bound from whom ye have gone up, (12) your weapon is frustrated, the new and old: it is cast behind you....may you command and not be obeyed nor appear nor hear. Your eyes are blind and cannot see.

Exterior

^[ThIs Belongs to] the cemetery.
5. "and be shattered..." Montgomery, ATT, p. 299, and Pognon DMK, p. 294, take *pds* as the root. If the form is the *Stp. impv.* the *aleph* ending is unusual. Cf. MG, p. 229, and ML3T, p. 42. If the form is a perfect, it would be *f. pl.* The text is illegible for the space of about seven letters preceding *הנ* and it is uncertain whether *הנ* is a complete form. Hence it is impossible to be sure of the parallelism. The text might read "they have cast themselves...and have been shattered..."


7. "Pirawis..." The *beth* has assimilated to the following *ב*.

8. "evil eye..." See Pognon's note, DMK, pp. 91-2. Cf. also BDB, מ, and Job. 15:12. The wink or flash of the eye could be the gesture, providing semantic basis for apparent meaning for which Pognon argues.

12. "appear..." If the form be taken as *Stp.*, "appear (in the guise of)...", it would fit the context here. See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 313. Pognon argues that the magician put down the wrong word.
Turned away and repelled (2) are the curses and incantations from (3) Quqai son of Gushnal and Abi daughter of (4) Nanai and from their sons. Mark! the sound I hear is the cry of the (5) weak who are crushed and the cry of men who strive and go down (6) into battle and the cry of impious women who cursed and who afflict (7) and practice sorcery and injure this body of Abi. There have gone down against them Azdai, and (6) Yazrun and Yaqrun and the great Prael and Urpael and Sahtael. And he has seized them, has taken them by the locks of the hair of their heads and by the tresses of their pates and he has broken their horns that were high; he has bound them by the locks of the hair of their head and the tresses of their pates. And he said to them (11) "Remove what you have cursed against Abi daughter of Nanai." And they said to him, "Because of the pain in our heart we curse and because of the bitterness of our palates (12) we ban and curse! And I said to them, "I have made you swear and I adjure you in the name of the demon Azdai and the demon Yazrun, and Yaqrun (15) and Great Priel and Rupael and Sahitael that you free and release Abi from all curses (14) and incantations that you have cursed, and from curses of father and mother who curse and from curse of harlot and singing-girl and from curse of (15) the great Lady and fetus and from curse of hireling and employer who steals his wage from him and from curses of brothers who do not divide aright (the inheritance) among themselves and from Yahbwi (16) and Bindadwi who curse and enchant in the name of temple-spirits and idol spirits and have worked. Thou art the healer who heals all wounds (17) with a word: heal the wounds with the word
לקריפת דורות אביכי להבינה ולהבנה תכשיטים לשתה ממשלת פלקפאל
לדוהי אביכי להבינה ולהבנה והשתה ממשלת פלקפאל (20) על המאוזה
מא דותים שאריך ושכיפה וברברבייה ד על בצלמה והיבטים לש
בזכותיתית זכת ורכבת (21) לברחרון לרשאת והלך בה הלא
לקריפת דורות אביכי על תכשיטים לשתה ממשלת פלקפאל על המאוזים
(22) רשת יונית לרשאת ויורה דעה
בלנ שאריך ושכיפה וברברבייה בברשה (23) שרשף מלקדאה ומברכת
לacakנת זכאות לつくיה וברברבייה לברחרון לרשאת והלך בה
לקריפת (24) הלך והלך ומרב גמלון ומגמלון ומגמלון וברברבייה לרשאת והלך בה
CACHE GAMER (25) מעורב ומרב גמלון ומרב גמלון
 viene אקסל ולאן שלמה

אברהם
בר
כול ו龌ניא
בר
אביה
בר
 개념

דואים
דואים

....
and the curses that Yahbwi and Bindaaw have uttered against Abi and which any have uttered against Abi. Seize and hold all curses which they have uttered (18) against Quqai and his wife Abi and his sons and daughters and heal in the name of Azdai and Yazrun and Yaqrung and great Parael and great Rupael and Sahael. Thou, seize and (19) take the curses which they have cursed against Quqai and his wife Abi and his sons and daughters. May he heal the curse which is uttered against Quqai and his wife Abi and his sons and daughters. And send them back (20) to their authors, until they free and deliver and bless them. On that rock (?) which is not split I have put it (?). I have seated myself and I have written (21) all curses which are uttered against the house of Quqai and against Abi on a new bowl of clay which cannot be annulled and I have dismissed them and (22) thrown the curses which are uttered against Quqai on their authors until they free and release and bless in the name of (23) the angel Shravel, and the angel Barkael. Ye angels, loosen and bless all the curses which are uttered against Quqai (24) and Abi and remove them from Quqai and from his wife Abi and from his sons and his daughters, as a man is delivered from prison (25) and from armory. Amen, amen, Selah.

Second Panel

1) Yahbwi
2) son of Dukta-
3) nosh Bin-
4) dadwi son of
5) Dadi

First Panel

1) Quqai son of
2) Gushmai
3) Abi daughter of
4) Nanai

Center Panel

1) of the gate
2) of the temple (?)
3) ...
18.

(3) אתパーテ רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(2) אתパーテ רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(4) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(5) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(6) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(7) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(8) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(9) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
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(11) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
(12) אתפרט רדראותה רותמהה רותילע ליביט רמוח הבש ר"ש
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Salvation and protection and sealing (2) may there be to the house and body of Chosroes son of (3) Apra-Hormiz, the husband, and to his wife Ahat, daughter of Nastai (4) and to Dodaya son of Ahat. Bound and seized is the mouth and seized is the tongue (5) of the curses, oaths and invocations of deities, male idols and of female (6) Ishtars, of evil sorceries and wicked practices from Chosroes son of Apra-Hormiz (7) and from his dwelling, mansion and buildings, and from his sons and from his daughters. Bound are the tongues of their mouths, seized are their lips. (8) They are shaken (?) and hobbled; banned are the teeth and deafened the ears of the curses and invocations, turned away from the house (9) and body of Chosroes son of Apra-Hormiz and from all that is in his house. Gift and offering are accepted and they appoint it (10) and deliver it to its owner, (author), my curser who cursed me, Chosroes. Averted and far removed (11) from me and delivered to its author, to him who curses me; to him and his wife and his sons and his daughters and the house of him who curses me. They are split, cut, snatched, and estopped and banned (12) and far removed from me Chosroes son of Apra-Hormiz and from my sons and from my daughters and from my house and from everything that is in my house. In thy name! Suppress (13) and trample in the name of the angel Gabriel and male Rampit and female Ramptan. In the name of the sixty male shrine-spirits and the eighty female Ishtars, bound (14) and sealed and cut and muzzled and encompassed and whipped and blinded (?) and stopped and deafened are the curse and invocation and the envious eye of poverty and...... Muzzled and stoned (15) and closed are all the evil mouths from Chosroes son of Apra-Hormiz. Let there go out invocation and distress and
18.
 aggiunta (17) רֹאֲשָׁהּ וַתְּהִי לְכַסְרוֹדָה וּבַשְּׂרָהָהּ
 וַלִּיחֹדָהּ לֶבָנָן (גְּנָה) רָלְבָנָאָהָּ.
poverty, evil sorceries and evil practices from Chosroes son of Apa-Hormiz (16) and hatred and knocking and curse and poverty and confusion and wickedness from the house of Chosroes from his wife Ahat, daughter of Masta(i), and Dodaya, son of Ahat, and from his property. And may there be salvation and protection for Chosroes son of Apa-Hormiz and his wife and his sons and daughters.
19.

על עסיך א버בגון על יפהן ידידים ישלישם ראה ידידים לילך
אתא שביתת יאלף ערמזבביך חלהון לילך וה介紊לאון לילך
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בראייכו ידימאו לילך מתא בברק סמואה
5 ראותק אברבגון וניהינן נשקיכי ידימאו רמותכיון זהלך
ליגלאו רונכלאו לילך מתא ידימא ידימא רמותכיון הזהלך
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שוואיס י(Contact

ורדהו

גש ידימא רמותכיון הזהלך
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כבר-
דואני לילך המתא א Wrestler
 Mongo

דו-

בישג ידגים ירימה ילהלאונך
מהשלאון על-

ורודו עים ריהוטאך מ
ברג
ידימא ידימא רמותכיון הזהלך
ליגלאו רונכלאו לילך

10 לקמא
דה
בישג ידגים ירימה ילהלאונך
מהשלאון על-

רוו
בישג ידגים ירימה ילהלאונך
מהשלאון על-

15
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For the binding of Abugdana king of the devils and great
ruler of all Liliths. (2) I adjure you and I conjure you, Lilith
Haldas and Lilith Taklath, (3) granddaughter of Lilith Zarnai, who
is residing in the house and on the threshold of the house of (4)
Hormiz son of Mahlaphta and of Ahatha daughter of Dade, and who
is smiting and (trying to) kill, and striking and (5) throttling
boys and girls. I adjure you and conjure you, Lilith Haldas,
(6) and Lilith Taklath, granddaughter of Lilith Zarnai, that you
be smitten in (7) your innermost heart even with the lance of
Qatriawi the monarch who rules over magical arts (8) and devils
and demons and spirits and curses and liliths. I have written
this against you (9) Lilith Haldas and (with) this I have banished
you from the house and body of Hormiz son of Mablaphta (10) and
from his spouse Ahatha daughter of Dade and from his sons and daugh-
ters. As the demons write (11) a divorce-writ for their wives in
truth—and they do not return or come back (?)—here! (12) Take
your writ and receive your ben, Haldas, Lilith Haldas, and flee and
get out (13) and be gone and betake yourself afar from the house
and domicile and dwelling and buildings and from the couch (?)...
(14) and pillow of Hormiz son of Mahlaphta and from his spouse
Ahatha daughter of Dade and from their sons (15) and daughters
and from their bed and pillow and you shall not appear to them
either in dreams (16) of the night or in visions of the day because
the house (17) of Hormiz son of Mahlaphta is bound and sealed, his
dwelling, his residence, his buildings, and his wife Ahatha (18)
daughter of Dade and his sons and daughters in the power of Sir Geliph the deity. In thy name (19) 'Amatî'ama—has 'Abarhagwat Cod, Cod, Cod, ya, ya, yad, yad, yat, yat,--(20) bound and sealed are Lilith the male and female by the might of (21) Solomon the king son of David, and of Sir Geliph the deity whose name is great and powerful: (22) Geliph the deity whose name is specified and... He established the days in the beginning: (23) subibat, subibat: yoda, yoda, yoda: true and firm forever is this divorce-writ; (24) bound by this bowl is the lilith and far removed from the house of Hormiz son of Mahlaphta and from (25) his spouse Ahatana daughter of Dade and from their children. And Life is victorious!
APPENDIX I

MAGICAL BOWL DISCUSSIONS SINCE ROSENTHAL'S

DIE ARAMAISTISCHE FORSCHUNG


APPENDIX II

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN WORD ANALYSIS PP. 20-36

Practically all of the abbreviations listed below are those adopted by Rose, *A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts*, pp. 115-118. The bowls published by Professor Gordon outside the A-L series, the 1-11 series and the "Two Magic Bowls in Teheran", I have designated by the notation *Fr* (= fragment) and/or museum accession number.

<table>
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<th>Text Numbers</th>
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<td>Go:10, 11</td>
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All the following Gordon bowls are found in *Orientalia*, 10 (1941), pp. 276-284 and 359-360.

19745
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<tr>
<td>Schwab:A to E</td>
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