

## Notes on Some Recently Published Magic Bowls in the Schøyen Collection and Two New Parallels<sup>1</sup>

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[This article comprises a series of comments on the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic magic bowls published in Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford & Siam Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls, 1* (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity, 1; Leiden: Brill, 2013). Several readings and translations are corrected and supplementary comments are added on various grammatical and lexical features of the texts. The grammatical features discussed include 3 m.pl. perfects with *nun* suffix; the *pa.* passive participle **מקטיל**; and f.pl. nouns ending in *-ātā*. Lexical features discussed include the dialectal forms **דדקי** “boys”; **איתיה** “his wife”; **תום** “again”; **לילתא** “lilith(/s)”; and **לבלי** “your heart” (the latter three terms outside the corpus). The article also presents editions of two new bowls paralleling bowls in the above mentioned volume, one with the “Rabbi Joshua b. Peraḥia and the overseas *geṭ*” formula and the other with the “Elisur Bagdana” formula, and a re-edition of Museo Sefardí 1073 (Borobio 2003).]

**Keywords:** magic bowls, incantation bowls, Jewish magic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, non-standard spellings, Schøyen Collection, Rabbi Joshua b. Peraḥia, Elisur Bagdana.

The Aramaic magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection are being edited by Shaul Shaked in collaboration with the present author and Siam Bhayro. The first volume, comprising 64 Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA) bowls, has recently been published.<sup>2</sup> While reading the proofs of the volume, the present author

1. I would like to thank Prof. Shaul Shaked (The Hebrew University) for permission to quote from unpublished bowls in the Schøyen Collection; Prof. Joachim Marzahn (The Vorderasiatisches Museum) for facilitating my study of the VA bowls; Prof. José Redondo Cuesta (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha) for facilitating my study of the bowl in the Museo Sefardí, Toledo; and Dr. Filip Vukosavovic of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem for facilitating my study of the BLMJ bowls. I am also grateful to Prof. Matthew Morgenstern (Tel Aviv University) for reading a draft of this article and making a number of helpful comments. Bowls labelled JNF, Wolfe, Davidovitz, Barakat and AS are in private collections and are being prepared for publication by the present author. I am indebted to Ms. Lisa Marie Knothe, Mr. L. Alexander Wolfe, Mr. Gil Davidovitz and Ms. Ester Davidovitz, Mr. Emad Barakat and Mr. Akram Sawalha, respectively, for access to the bowls and for generously facilitating their study. Bowls labeled PC are in a private collection and are being prepared for publication by the present author and/or Matthew Morgenstern. The photographs of the bowls from the Schøyen Collection and JNF 104 were taken by M. Morgenstern, JNF 317 was photographed by L. M. Knothe, photographs of Museo Sefardí 1073 were kindly supplied by the Museo Sefardí, Toledo, and the remaining photographs were taken by the present author. A small circle above the letter in the transcriptions indicates a damaged letter. The research for this article was supported by the Israel Science Foundation grant no. 1306/12.

2. Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford & Siam Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls, 1*. Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity, 1; Leiden: Brill, 2013 (= MRLA 1).

came across a number of passages which seemed worthy of further comment, but it was too late to make the changes to the manuscript. I am thus taking the liberty of publishing these comments and a few others as a separate article in my own name. The order of the texts discussed follows the order of their appearance in the book.

איתברן **“they were broken” (JBA 3:12):** Morgenstern (MRLA 1, p. 43) notes that the final *nun* in the 3 m.pl. perfect איתברן (JBA 3:12; 4:11; 7:12) is unexpected (see also אִישְׁתָּדְרִין “they were sent” in JBA 7:12). New evidence for this form can now be adduced from BM 91739:5 (CAMIB 025A): אינון דאיתמנון עליכון: “it is they who were appointed over you and sent you this writ”.<sup>3</sup>

ליילית דיברא **“lilith of the open field” (JBA 15:3):** In the commentary it was suggested that דיברא may be a secondary reading derived from a corruption of דיכרא “male”. It should be stressed, however, that semantically (and linguistically - see the commentary *ad loc.* and Morgenstern’s note on p. 47) the reading is appropriate as it stands. For the association of demons with the open field or steppe, see, for example, Ford 2002a:181-182 and Müller-Kessler 2001:340-343.

גברין גבנין **“mighty thieves” (JBA 18:10):** The translation should be corrected to “thieving men”, or the like. This expression occurs in a number of bowls in the Schøyen Collection and elsewhere (e.g., JNF 8:5; JNF 84:9), written by various hands, and the first word is consistently spelled גברין. In MRLA 1 this was analyzed as a defective spelling of גיברין “strong, mighty” (see p. 289), but in such a case one would expect at least an occasional *plene* spelling to turn up. Furthermore, some of the parallels to JBA 18:9-10 read גברין גיברין “mighty men”, where גברין is undoubtedly the plural of גבר “man” and not גיבר “strong, mighty”. Compare, for example, גיברין גיברין שיתין עליכון מיתינא “I will bring against you sixty mighty men” (MS 2053/173:21). The interpretation proposed here is conclusively proven by MS 1927/54, where the corresponding singular גבר “thieving man” parallels אנחתא גנביתא “thieving woman”: ומיחזיא בליליא כיגבר: “and who appears at night as a thieving man, and calls them at night like human beings and as a thieving woman” (MS 1927/54:3-4).

כפתיון לכיפי ארעה **“I have tied up the rocks of the earth” (JBA 23:1):** The interpretation of כיפי in this context as “rocks” goes back to Naveh & Shaked 1985:158-159, 161-162, and has been accepted by M. Sokoloff in his dictionary.<sup>4</sup> The correct translation of כיפי ארעה, however, is surely “the edges of the earth”. The same formula appears with שמיא “sky” in AS 13:1 (see Appendix 1), where the translation “rocks of the sky” is clearly inappropriate: “I have subdued the edges of the sky, I have bound the constellations of the firmament”.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 1: כפתיון לכיפי שמיא (AS 13:1)

3. The material reading proposed here is equivalent to Segal’s לכוון איגרתא חדא “who were appointed for you and sent you a letter” (Segal 2000:66). Segal interprets both verbs as participles. His interpretation, however, is dubious, as it entails emending איתמנין to מיתמנין and taking שדרין as a *pe.* stem, whereas according to Sokoloff 2002:1112-1113 the common verb שד”ר is attested in JBA only in the *pa.* and *etpa.* stems (as elsewhere in Aramaic).

4. Sokoloff 2002:577, s.v. כיפא #1 “stone, rock”. See also Shaked 1999:183. Shaked, *ibid.*, 192 translates the same word in Moussaieff 2 as “cliffs”.

5. For a discussion of כפתיון, see Appendix 1, note to AS 13:1.

Note also MS 2053/129:4-5 (and parallels): “by the seal of ‘**wrbyd**, by which are sealed the edges of the sky and the earth”. The use of כיפי “edges” with respect to both ארעה “earth” and שמיא “sky” finds precedents in Sumerian *ub.da.an.ki* “corner of heaven and earth”<sup>6</sup> and Biblical Hebrew קצות “edges” in the expressions קצות הארץ “the edges of the earth” (e.g., Job 28:24) and ארבע קצות השמים “the four edges of the sky” (Jer. 49:36).

The parallelism כיפי שמיא “edges of the sky” // מזלי רק(יע)ה “constellations of the firmament” in AS 13 corresponds to כפי שמיא “edges of the sky” // כוכבי שמיא “stars of the sky” in an incantation against scorpions from the Cairo Geniza: עקרבה עקרבוניתה מיכאל על מקרניך ועל קרנותיך כפי שמיא על מתנתיך וכוכבי שמיא אסרין בהרציך “Scorpion, little scorpion, Michael is upon your stinger (?) and upon your pincers, the edges of the sky are upon your waist, and the stars of the sky bind your loins”.<sup>7</sup> In a parallel context כפי שמיא is replaced by the semantically equivalent expression גבי שמיא “the sides of the sky”: אל על עוקציך מיכאל רברבן: “El is upon your stinger, the great Michael is upon your pincers, the sides of the sky are upon your waist, God is the one who binds you and I carry you”.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, M. Morgenstern has kindly directed my attention to the similar binding of the two *k'ph* “edges” of the sea in CP 20:1-2: *'sir ima 'siria trin k'ph d-ima* “bound is the sea, bound are the two edges of the sea”. The same formula appears in the Mandaic incantation bowl JNF 40:7. The etymological relationship between JBA ארעה כיפי “the edges of the earth” and Mandaic *k'ph d-ima* “the edges of the sea” is corroborated by Akkadian *kibrāt erbetti* “the four regions (lit. edges) (of the earth)”, as *kibrātu* derives from the singular *kibru* “bank (of a canal, a river), seashore; rim, edge (of an object)”.<sup>9</sup>

**“is written (and) specified” (JBA 23:3):** As noted *ad loc.*, both forms should be regarded as passive participles. The form כתב is a defectively spelled *pe.* passive participle. In the present corpus see also סתר “disheveled” (JBA 24:3) for סתיר and שמיע “heard” (*ibid.*, line 4), where the *yodh* was added above the line. The spelling כתב also occurs in MS 2053/245:8-9: ומחזיק<sup>10</sup> ומתפקר<sup>11</sup> “this amulet is written and validated and given power”. Outside the Schøyen Collection, see, for example, אסר “bound” (CBS 16096:1; AIT 30)<sup>11</sup> and דיחתם “because it is sealed” (HS 3001:3).<sup>12</sup> The form מפריש is a *pa.* passive participle for standard מפרש. See also מחזיק “given power” for standard מחזק in MS 2053/245:8-9 (quoted above).<sup>13</sup> Isolated examples of this form have already been noted by H. Juusola and A. H. Faraj.<sup>14</sup> The

6. See the discussion by Horowitz 1998:299.

7. MSF, G24, 2:3-6 (p. 223; cf. p. 225-226). Naveh & Shaked translate “the domes of the sky”. The translation of מקרניך as “your stinger” is based on the context (the collocation with קרנותיך “your pincers”) and the parallel (see below). Cf. Ford 2001:204, n. 10.

8. MSF, G11, 3:1-3. Naveh & Shaked tentatively translate “ponds of heaven”.

9. Following CDA 156; AHw 471; and Horowitz 1998:298-299 (see p. 299). CAD K 331-333, 334-336 treats *kibrātu* and *kibru* as distinct lexemes, but the plural *kibrātu* is also occasionally attested with the meaning “edge, shoreline” (see CAD K 333, meaning c).

10. Read ומתקף.

11. Cited by Juusola 1999:200.

12. For the reading of HS 3001, see Ford & Morgenstern, Forthcoming (a). For additional examples of the defective spellings אסר and חתם, see PC 98:8-10: מתאשו בר מתאשו ... אסר ויחתם בעיזקתא דחור צמי אסיר חתם ביתיה דשילי בר מתאשו “Furthermore, it is bound and sealed by the signet-ring of **lhṭws** ... bound and sealed by the signet-ring of **hwr šmy**. Bound and sealed is the house of Š. son of M.”. Compare line 7: מתאשו בר מתאשו “Bound and sealed is Š. son of M.”.

13. The parallel JNF 266:7 is written in accordance with standard orthography: וקמיעא דין כתיב מתקף ומחזק.

14. Juusola (1999: 215-216) tentatively understands מאהיד (AMB B12b:5) as a *pa.* passive participle, but suggests that the spelling may be the result of a scribal error. Faraj (2010:62) analyzes מחתים (IM 118114:1) as an unequivocal *pa.* passive participle. He proposes the vocalization *mḥuttem* based on the Neo-Syriac passive participle **ܡܚܘܬܝܡ**.

form is particularly well attested with the verb חת"ם "to seal". In addition to IM 148114:1, discussed by Faraj (see above, n. 14), note also the following examples: חתים ומחתים ביתיה ובניה ואיסקופתיה "sealed and doubly sealed is his house, and his children, and his threshold" (M 121:1; Levene 2003:81); חת{ימ}ים "sealed and doubly sealed is the house of A. son of M." (MS 2053/226:8-9); בר כורניק "sealed and doubly sealed is the house and the threshold of M. son of K." (PC 52:1); אחת דמיתקרי כאפני בר אחת "sealed and doubly sealed is B. son of A., who is called K. son of A." (PC 79:1); רב הונא בר סאסאי "sealed and doubly sealed is Rav H. son of S." (idem, line 7). In PC 79 the form מחתים appears a total of three times, to the exclusion of מחתם, and cannot be a "scribal error".<sup>15</sup> The same spelling appears in the Syriac bowl MS 2055/13:4 (Manichaean script): אשוי סאענב סאענב סאענב סאענב סאענב "Bound and sealed and doubly sealed is this house".<sup>16</sup> The vocalization of these forms, presumably *məqattīl*, has probably been influenced by the vocalization of the *pe.* passive participle *qəṭīl*, which often directly precedes them in the texts. Similar forms in the *af.* stem are attested in Mandaic magical texts, mostly from geminate or II-y/w roots.<sup>17</sup> For example: *usdimia hrimia uksisia u'kisia umakisia umšamtia umbaṭlia zihia umazihia zimia umazimia bšuma d-pišrun ziua gabra pašura* "and they are restrained, and banned, and rebuked, and rebuked, and doubly rebuked, and anathematized, and annulled, gone forth and driven away, bridled and curbed in the name of Pišrun Ziwa, the exorcist" (DC 29, 360-364; Šapta d-Pišra d-Ainia); *'sira mrhqa umaziha umbṭala umšmtta* "they are bound, and removed, and driven away, and annulled, and anathematized" (JNF 40:9).<sup>18</sup>

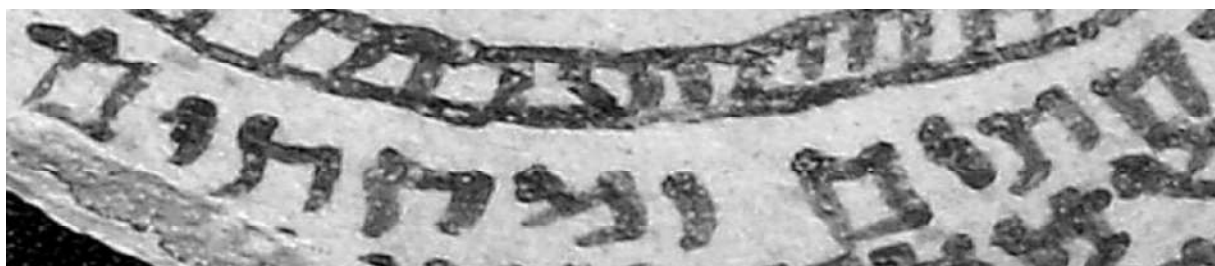


Fig. 2: חתים ומחתים (PC 79:1)

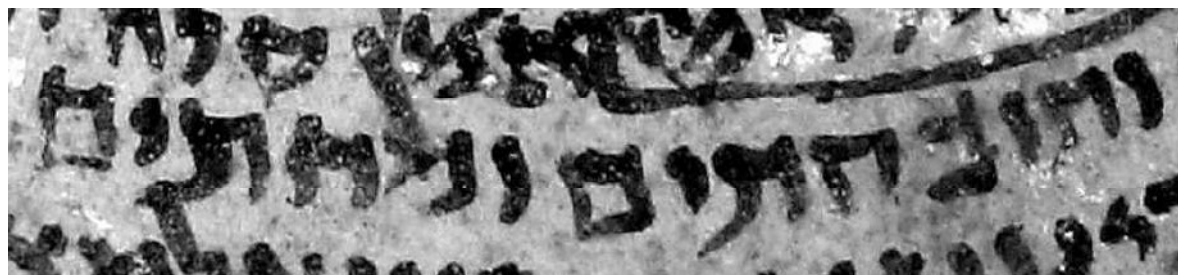


Fig. 3: ותוב חתים ומחתים (PC 79:7)

15. See also lines 4-5. The feminine equivalent appears twice in this text as חתימא ומחתימא in accordance with standard orthography (lines 6 and 7).

16. The formula is probably based on an originally Jewish spell. Line 10 reads אשוי סאענב סאענב סאענב סאענב סאענב in accordance with standard orthography.

17. Yamauchi 1967:128 cites *mksistun* "you are shattered", which he analyzes as a *pa.* stem.

18. See further the discussion of JNF 40:9 in Ford & Morgenstern, Forthcoming (b).



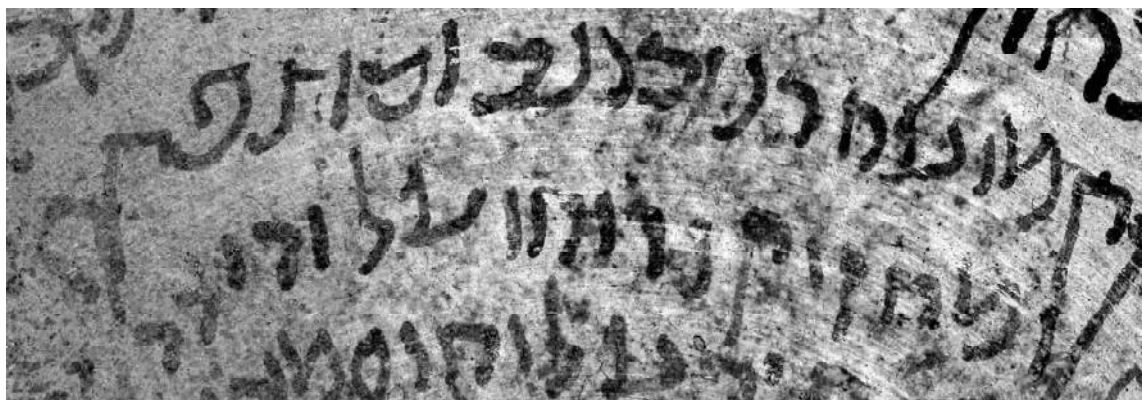


Fig. 4: קמיעה דגן כתב ומתפקף / ומחזיק ויהוי על: (MS 2053/245:8-9)

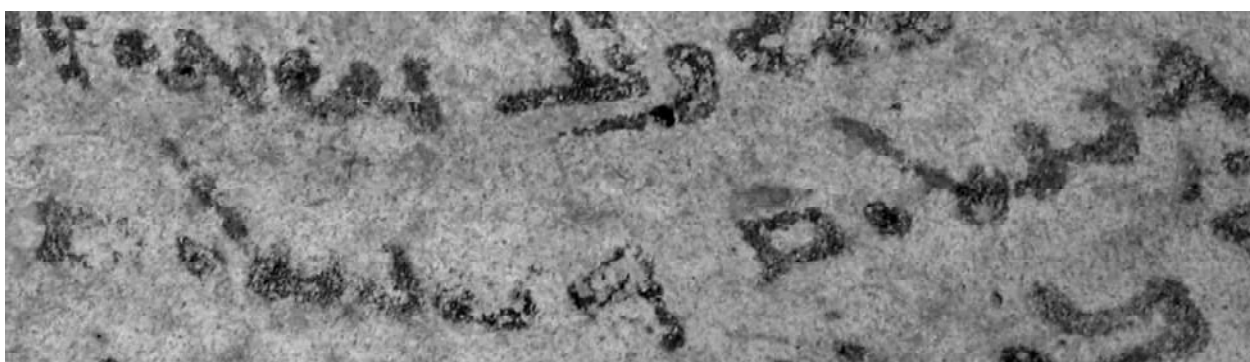


Fig. 5: סגולת סגולת (MS 2055/13:4)

דדקיהון **“their children” (JBA 25:5)**: Additional examples of this form can be adduced, all from the Elisur Bagdana formula, but written by different hands: ומחיא וטרפא דדקי ודרדקתא (HS 3026:4-5);<sup>19</sup> וטרפא דרדקי ודרדקתא (Davidovitz 27:9-10 [see Appendix 2])<sup>20</sup>. The form may have developed from דעדקי (e.g., JBA 23:2; JBA 38:3), with loss of the *‘ayin*.<sup>21</sup>

**“every form (of) women” (JBA 35:7)**: For this form of the *status constructus* of דמותא (instead of דמות), see Morgenstern & Ford, in press, note to no. 66, and the bibliography cited there.

**“girls” (JBA 37:6)**: As noted *ad loc.*, the standard form of this word is דרדקתא. The occasional addition of the feminine plural ending *-āṭā* to the f.s. marker *-t-* in JBA has already been noted by J. N. Epstein, who adduced שמעתתא “legal traditions”, מסכתתא “tractates” and אורתתא “nights”.<sup>22</sup> From the

19. For this reading, see Morgenstern 2010a:286. Müller-Kessler 2005:66 reads *dr<d>q[ע]*, correcting the text to the standard form.

20. Similarly, BLMJ 10374:12: [...] וטרפא דדקי ודרדקתא. BLMJ 10370:9-10, by the same hand, reads ומחיא וטרפא דרדקי ודרדקתא, in accordance with standard spelling.

21. Morgenstern 2010a: 286. For דעדקי in the magic bowls, see also Naveh & Shaked 1985:162; Juusola 1999:37-38.

22. Epstein 1960:119.

magic bowls one may add שבועתאתה “oaths” (JNF 317:6); פוכתתה “idem” (MS 2053/130:4); פוכתתה “bridles” (JBA 64:3) and ניקבתתה “female” (PC 78:5).<sup>23</sup>

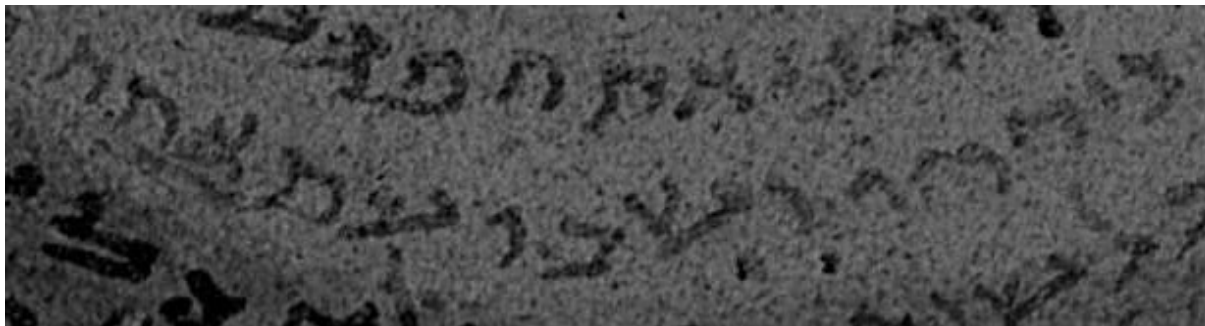


Fig. 6: נידרי ושבועתאתה (JNF 317:6)



Fig. 7: דיכרי וניקבתתה (PC 78:5)

Cf. the plural form פקותתהון “their throats” in a later incantation from the Cairo Genizah.<sup>24</sup> Th. Nöldeke cites two examples of the addition of the plural ending *-āṭā* to the f.s. marker *-t-* in Mandaic, namely, *qaštata* (< *qašta* “bow”) and *duktata* (< *duкта* “place”).<sup>25</sup> As opposed to דרדקתאתה, however, in both cases the f.s. marker assumes the role of a third root consonant. Compare JBA אורתתה and פוכתתה, cited above. The same may well be true of שבועתאתה and שמעתתה in JBA, given the weakening of *ʿayin* in that dialect. Even מסכתה has the appearance of a biliteral root, as the initial root consonant *n* has assimilated to the *s*.<sup>26</sup> O. Abudraham, however, has turned my attention to the forms *šiquptata* “blows” (var. *šaquptata*) and

23. Cf. זבפרהותתה דישמיה “and as birds of the sky” (MS 1929/1:11) [// ובפרהותתה דישמיה in AMB B13:13] and בנאתתה “daughters” (IM 212103:2; Al-Jubouri 2011), where the feminine plural ending *-āṭā* is tautologically added to the feminine plural forms פרהותתה and בנאתתה, respectively. O. Abudraham has turned my attention to a similar example in Mandaic, *mnautata* “portions” (Pognon 1898, B16:35) [// *mmuata* in *ibid.*, B15:12]. See further Abudraham & Morgenstern, Forthcoming, §3.2.3.

24. T-S K 1.163, 1a:52 (Schäfer & Shaked 1997:248). For the singular פקותתה, see Sokoloff 2002: 158, s.v. אפקותתה. The plural form is corroborated by Mandaic *apqutatun* and *puqtatun* (with the meaning “their necks”). See Drower & Macuch 1963:32, s.v. *apquta*; 168, s.v. *zirna*, quoting Šapta ḡ-Br ʿngaria Rba, DC 43G i, 15-16 (Drower & Macuch’s *pqutaihun ḡ-zirna* is a double misreading — the text actually reads *ḡ-hu tabar apqutatun ḡ-lamania hbiṭia puqtatun ḡ-zirana* “who breaks the necks of beaten down youths, the necks of young one(s)”; I thank M. Morgenstern for kindly locating the quotation).

25. Nöldeke 1875:171.

26. Cf. the examples of the treatment of the f.s. marker *-t-* as if it belonged to the stem in Classical Syriac cited by Nöldeke 1904:52-54 (§§78, 79B and 80).

*hṭptaiun* “their snatchings”, identified by Macuch in a lead roll.<sup>27</sup> In both cases, the word is formed from an easily recognizable trilateral root. In Neo-Aramaic dialects, as well, the feminine plural ending *-āta* (and its reflections) is occasionally added to the f.s. marker, but the majority of the examples with native Aramaic lexemes cited in the grammars are also from weak roots where the f.s. marker *-t-* assumes the role of a third root consonant.<sup>28</sup> Compare, for example, *yamtata* (< *yamta* “lake”) and *qultata* (*qulta* “animal trap”) in C.Barwar,<sup>29</sup> *qanuštāle* (< *qanušta* “broom”) in J.Arbel,<sup>30</sup> and *sotāta* (< *sota* “grandmother”) in J.Betanure.<sup>31</sup> Of these examples, only *qanuštāle* derives from a strong trilateral root.

כי מנחשא “like a diviner” (JBA 44:10): Several variants to this context are attested, as follows:

JBA 44:10	MS 1927/62:9-10	MS 2053/201:9	CBS 2916:11 <sup>32</sup>	JNF 12:8
נִפְקָא כִּי אַרְזָא	נִפְקַע כִּי אַרְזָא	נִפְקָא כִּי אַרְא	נִפְקָא כִּי אַרְזָא	נִפְקָא כִּי אַרְהָ
וְנִצְטְרִי כִּי בִּינָא	וְנִצְטְרִי כִּי בִּינָא	וְנִצְטְרִי כִּי בִּינָא	וְנִצְטְרִי כִּי בִּינָא	וְנִצְטְרִי כִּי בִּינָא
	וְנִזִּיל קְלִיָּה כְּקַל שׁוֹפְרָא			
[...] כִּי מְנַחְשָׁא	וְנִזְזוּם קְלִיָּה כְּמִים מִן נַחְשָׁא	נִזְזִי קְלִיָּה כִּי מְנַחְשָׁא	וְנִזְזוּם כְּמִזְזוּם נַחְשָׁה	וְנִזְזִי קְלָה כִּי מְנָא רְבָה, דְּחַבִּילָא
וְנִזִּיל קְלִיָּה בְּגִיגְלֵי שְׁמִיָּא	וְנִזִּיל קְלִיָּה כְּגִילְגְלֵי שְׁמִיָּה	{נ} נִיקוּם בְּשִׁמְתָא כְּמָא דְקָאִים בְּהָ קִיִּין בִּישָׂא בְּרִישָׂא	נִזִּיל קְלִיָּה בְּגִיגְלֵי שְׁמִיָּא	

JBA 44 is very poorly preserved, but the words כי מנחשא are reasonably visible and the same reading occurs in a number of unpublished parallels in addition to MS 2053/201. Other parallels read נחשא. The reconstruction of the text immediately preceding כי מנחשא in JBA 44 is uncertain, but there would seem to be space for only two words. The parallel context in CBS 2916 has been studied by several scholars. Naveh & Shaked translate “and may he be bound by a muzzle of brass”, analyzing נזוזם (Naveh & Shaked: נזוזים) as the verb זמ”ם (*etpe.*) “to be muzzled” and מזוזם as the putative noun מיזמא “muzzle”.<sup>33</sup> The cognate Mandaic verb ZMM I “to muzzle” frequently appears in magical texts with respect to subduing demons.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, in light of the statement נזוזל קליה “may his noise project, resound” in the subsequent phrase in CBS 2916 and in the corresponding phrase in some of the parallels, and especially the use of נזוזם with reference to קליה in MS 1927/62, a derivation from Mandaic ZMM II “to hum, resound” and Syriac ונצ I “to ring out, sound” seems preferable, following Montgomery.<sup>35</sup> The loud noise is apparently the result of the bursting of the demon described in the preceding sentence. Compare the simile נחשא “and

27. Macuch 1967:109-110. See further Abudraham & Morgenstern, Forthcoming, §3.2.3.

28. Greenblatt 2011:62 reports that in J. Amidya the f.pl. ending *-yaṭa* is likewise occasionally added to feminine nouns which retain the f.s. marker *-t-*. Compare, for example, *ʿarutyāta* (< *ʿarota* “Friday”) and *zroʿtyāta* (< *zroʿta* “planting, crop”).

29. For these and additional examples, see Kahn 2008:384-385, 386.

30. Kahn 1999:164.

31. Mutzafi 2008:97.

32. Montgomery 1913, Bowl 6. Cf. Epstein 1921:34; Naveh & Shaked 1985:154-155. Montgomery reads במיזם, but as far as I can discern the scribe does not distinguish between *beth* and *kaf*.

33. See also Sokoloff 2002:416, 665.

34. See Drower & Macuch 1963:169. The context cited by Sokoloff 2002:416 from Ginza Yamina also concerns the subduing of a demonic figure.

35. Montgomery translates, “and the sound of him shall resound with the resonance of brass in the spheres of heaven”.

may he resound like the resonating of bronze” with the metaphor *לְנִסְחָה לְנִסְחָה אֶת אֶת לְנִסְחָה מִלֵּךְ* “I have become bronze that resonates or a cymbal that makes noise” in the Peshiṭta to 1Cor. 13:1. Note also the common reference to “sound, noise” in *נִזְיֵל קְלִיָּה* “may his noise project, resound” and *נִסְחָה מִלֵּךְ* “makes noise”. I would suggest that *מְנַחֵשָׁא* also derives from *נְחָשָׁא* “bronze” and is a *sandhi* writing of *נְחָשָׁא* “bronze vessel”. MS 1927/62, in fact, preserves the reading *מִן נְחָשָׁא*, but the meaning of the passage as presently written is obscured by the apparent corruption of *\*כְּמִזִּים* to *כְּמִים*.<sup>36</sup> The word *מִנָּה* “vessel” is unequivocally preserved in JNF 12, although it is no longer said to be “of bronze”.<sup>37</sup> The proposed analysis is corroborated by Gy 282:10 (ed. Petermann), where one likewise finds a simile based on the cognate Mandaic verb ZMM II with reference to vessels of bronze: *zaimia akuat mania ḡ-nhaš* “they clang like vessels of bronze”.

**“the four corners (of) her house” (JBA 45:6):** For standard *אַרְבַּע זְוִיַּת בֵּיתָה* (e.g., CBS 2923:1-2; AIT 4). For the spelling of the *nomen regens* *זוּיַתָּה* with the final *ʾaleph* of the old definite article, see also MS 2053/160:11: *בְּאַרְבַּע זְוִיַּתָּה בֵּיתָה*. See the discussion of this general phenomenon in Morgenstern & Ford, in press, note to no. 66.

**“the king (of) dēvs” (JBA 49:5):** For standard *מְלַכָּא דְדִיּוּ*. The *d* of the relative pronoun has probably assimilated to the initial *d* of *דִּיּוּ*. See the discussion in Morgenstern & Ford, in press, note to no. 66, with additional examples. Note also Mandaic *hlin nišamata dadu ...* “these souls (of) Dadu ...” (MS 2054/109:13-14) and cf. Morgenstern *apud* Ford 2012:243, n. 79.

**“and again” (JBA 55:13):** The loss of final *beth* in this word regularly occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, even in the printed editions, but is very rare in the magic bowls. An isolated example is found in JNF 104:1: *אֲשֶׁבַעִית עֲלֵיכֹן גְּבֻרִין גִּבְרִין תּוּ דִּין כְּתָבָא לְדִיּוּ* “I have besworn against you mighty men. Furthermore, this is a writ for *dēvs ...*”. The same word is written *תּוּב* later in the text (line 6) in accordance with the usual spelling in the magic bowls: *אַמֵּן [ס] לָא תּוּב אֲשֶׁבַעִית עֲלֵיכֹן* “Amen, Selah. Furthermore, I have besworn against you”. Another possible example is found in JNF 276:6-8: *בְּשׁוּם דְּחַפְיָאֵל מְלַכָּה דְּדַחִיף כָּל שִׂידָא* “In the name of the angel Daḥpiel, who shoves (*dāhip*) all the accusing demons,<sup>38</sup> who is the chief of three

36. The scribe of MS 1927/62 consistently distinguishes between *beth* and *kaf*.

37. Similarly Princeton Mandaic Bowl no. Ex 4283, lines 54-56 (reading from a photograph courtesy of the Princeton University Library): *npqa kḏ ara unštrīa kḏ {b i} bīna unʾzil qala kḏ mana rba ḡ-hībīla*. See the forthcoming edition of this bowl by the present author. The previous editors did not decipher these lines (see Yamauchi 1967:294 and the bibliography cited *ad loc.*).

38. The form *רְגִמְיָא* is most likely an active *qaṭṭāl* pattern, as in *שִׂידָא רְגִמְיָא* (MS 1929/2:11-12): *הָדָא רוּחָא בִישָׁתָא וְרוּמְרָתָא* “bound is this evil spirit, and amulet-spirit, and demon, and *dēv*, and *lilith*, and accusing spirit, and every (demon) who dwells in this house and in this dwelling” (see also lines 4 and 13). The form *קְמִיעָה לְשִׂידָא רְגִמְיָא וְלִפְקָא וְלִשִׂידָא דְּשַׁחְתָּא וְלְרוּחָא* (MS 2053/158:11-12): *קְמִיעָה לְשִׂידָא רְגִמְיָא וְלִפְקָא וְלִשִׂידָא דְּשַׁחְתָּא וְלְרוּחָא* “An amulet for the accusing demon, and for the *pq*-spirit, and for the demon of (sorcerous) dispatches (?), and for the spirit, the amulet-spirit”. An identification with the Arabic epithet *al-šayṭān al-raḡīm* seems unavoidable. The explicitly active form of the epithet in MS 1929/2 supports Silverstein’s recent assertion that *al-šayṭān al-raḡīm* originally meant “Satan the Accuser” and derives from Akkadian *ragāmu* “to lodge a claim, to sue, to bring a legal complaint, to claim something by lawsuit” [CAD R 63-66] (Silverstein 2013). Although *ragāmu* in this sense does not appear to be attested with reference to demons, it is attested as an action of an *ilu* “god” *vis à vis* a human (see CAD R 66, meaning 4j), which would accord with the original status of Satan as a member of the divine retinue. Note that the cognate noun *rugummū* “legal claim” was similarly borrowed into Qumranic Hebrew as *רוּקְמָה* (see Hurowitz 2002). For *רְגִי* < Akk. *ragāmu* in Rabbinic Hebrew, see the forthcoming study by R. Goldstein & M. Morgenstern. It would thus seem that on the eve of Islam the meaning of the epithet *rgīmā* “accuser” was not totally forgotten, nor was it limited to the Arabian peninsula (contrast Silverstein 2013:33).

hundred and thirty-three thousand angels, who [are] appointed to annul its (the demon's) words. Furthermore, Furthermore, Furthermore, I hereby adjure you, Lord Bagdana". For additional evidence for the loss of final *beth* in this word in the incantation bowls, see Morgenstern 2007, 261 and the bibliography cited there.



Fig. 8: גיברין תו דין כתבא (JNF 104:1)

We may here add that the dialectal variant *תום*, characteristic of Mandaic, is now attested for the first time in JBA in a series of magic bowls, all bearing the “Elisur Bagdana” formula and written by the same hand. The first was published by E. M. Borobio in 2003 (Museo Sefardí 1073:8-9): כמה דכתבין שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום לא הדרין “just as demons write deed(s) of divorce for their wives and to not return (to them) again”.<sup>39</sup> Contrast, for example, JBA 27:6-7: כמא דכתבין שידי גיטי לנשהון ותוב לא הדרין עליהן: ותוב, in accordance with the usual form of the word in the JBA bowls, but the final *mem* is clearly visible in the published photograph.

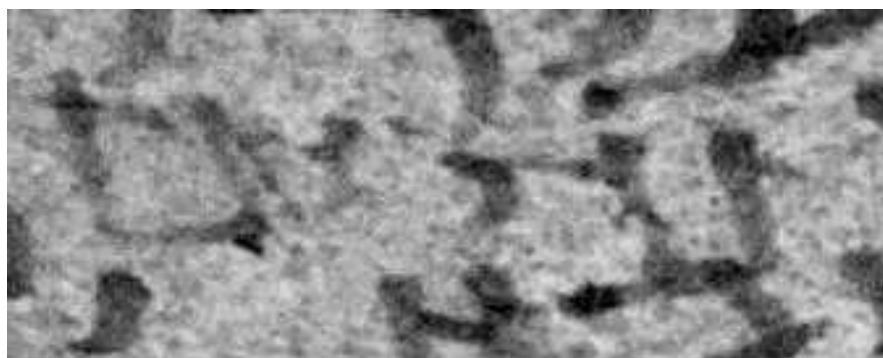


Fig. 9: ותום (Museo Sefardí 1073:8)<sup>40</sup>

39. See the revised transcription of this bowl in Appendix 2. Compare the use of *tum* “again” in the Mandaic parallel AO 2629:9 (Lidzbarski 1902, Bowl V): *kḏ ḏ-katbia šidia ḡiṭa l'nšaiun bkuṣṭa utum lahadria ulamkadria* “just as demons write deed(s) of divorce for their wives in truth and do not return (to them) again and do not ...”. The obscure *ulamkadria*, left untranslated by Lidzbarski (and Yamauchi 1967:230-231), is likely to be read *ulamkadbia* “and do not renege” (translation following an oral suggestion by M. Morgenstern), corresponding to *bkuṣṭa* “in truth”, as in the parallel, Davidovitz 11:10.

40. Courtesy of the Museo Sefardí, Toledo.

The same reading occurs in six other bowls, all written by the same practitioner: כמה דכתבין שידי גיטא (JNF 293:6-7); כמה דכתבין שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום לא הדרין (Wolfe 73:5'-6'); כמה דכתבין שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום לא הדרין (Davidovitz 12:18-20); כמה דכתבין שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום לא הדרין (Davidovitz 27:12 [see Appendix 2]); כמה דכתבין שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום לא הדרין (BLMJ 10370:13); כמה דכתבין שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום לא הדרין (BLMJ 10374:14-15).<sup>41</sup>



Fig. 10: לנשהון ותום לא הדרין (JNF 293:7)



Fig. 11: לנשהון ותום (BLMJ 10374:14-15)<sup>42</sup>

Occurrences of Mandaic dialectal forms in JBA bowls often bear witness to the differences between the literary language and the local spoken Jewish Aramaic dialect of the practitioner. In the recently published Schøyen bowls, compare the typical Mandaic forms דיברא “open field” (for standard JBA דברא) and ריחואה “wind” (for standard JBA רוחא), discussed by Morgenstern in MRLA 1, pp. 47 and 49, respectively.

**“his wife” (JBA 56:9):** For standard איתיה (as in line 3 of the same text). The text should not be emended, as this spelling is otherwise sporadically attested in the magic bowls: ביתיה ונפשיה וקיניניה ובניה

41. In Barakat 2, also by the same practitioner, the relevant word is illegible.

42. From the David and Jeannie Hendin Collection. Courtesy of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem.



“the house, and the person, and the possessions, and the sons, and the daughters, and the wife, and the grandchildren, and the people of the household of A. son of H.” (MS 1929/5:5); “and for his wife, and for his sons, and for his daughters” (VA Bab 2780:2); “the *mevakkalta* that accompanies the house and the dwelling of A. son of T. and (accompanies) G. daughter of N., his wife” (MS 1928/31:4).



Fig. 12: ובניה ובנתיה ואיתיה (MS 1929/5:5)



Fig. 13: איתה (MS 1928/31:4)

See further Morgenstern 2010b:510-511, who notes the equivalent form *ettā* in Neo-Mandaic. The Neo-Mandaic form appears to have ancient roots within Mandaic as well, as Macuch has discerned it in an early Mandaic lead amulet: *u l bnḥ u l ath* “and upon his sons and upon his wife”.<sup>43</sup> It is now also attested in two Mandaic magic bowls in the Schøyen Collection. The first reads *ubaiia lparu[l]ia ta mn gbra* “and she seeks to separate the woman from the man” (MS 2054/03:19).

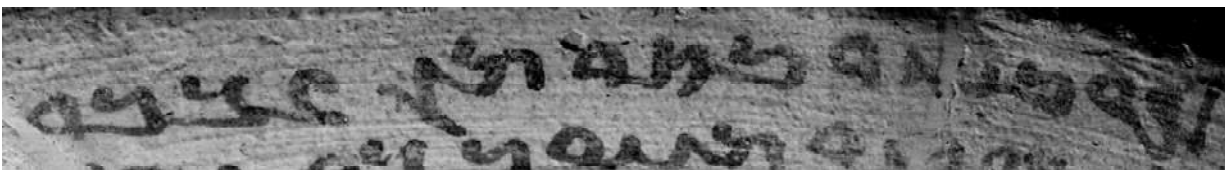


Fig. 14: *lparu[l]ia ta mn gbra* (MS 2054/03:19)

43. Macuch 1967:103 and 136-137.

The corresponding passage in line 20 reads: *ubat d- 'tta mn gbra t' pral* “and she sought that the woman would become separated from the man”.<sup>44</sup> In the second bowl the form *'ta* appears three times, to the exclusion of *'tta* or *'nta*. For example, *lbith d(a)dadu br arpanus gabara uzauh 'ta ulbanium* “for the house of D. son of A., the man, and his spouse, the woman, and for their children” (MS 2054/109:33-34).<sup>45</sup>



Fig. 15: *uzauh 'ta* (MS 2054/109:34)

אטש בר קאקאי “**Buftay**” (JBA 63:5): Read ביפתאי “Biftay”. The individual is said to be the wife of אטש בר קאקאי “Aṭaš son of Qaqay”.<sup>46</sup> The couple belongs to a well documented family, headed by Aṭaš’s father בר ספראי “Safray son of Anihdag”. The family also possessed a number of Mandaic bowls, but there Aṭaš’s wife is called *b'btai pt šišai* “Bivtay daughter of Šišay”. For example, MS 2054/70:12-13: *šum hiia {adk} adkrait 'lh d-b'btai u' l z[i]ra uhalba ubna ubnata u' l zaua aṭaš* “I proclaimed the name of Life upon Bivtay and upon her seed, and her milk, and her sons, and her daughters, and upon her spouse Aṭaš”. The orthography of the Mandaic version of the name indicates that the letter in question in the Jewish script is to be read *yodh*, rather than *waw*. For the devoicing of *b/v > p/f* before an unvoiced consonant in a PN, compare the variant forms כּוּצבּל (AMB B10:13) and כּוּצבּל (ibid., 7, 10); דּוּבשאי (JNF 189:6) and דּוּפשאי (ibid., 3).<sup>47</sup> The reading ביפתאי is corroborated by the PN כּוּצבּל כּוּצבּל in JNF 234:4, written in the Manichaean Syriac script which clearly distinguishes between *yodh* and *waw*.

#### APPENDIX 1: A New “Rabbi Joshua b. Peraḥia” Bowl (AS 13)<sup>48</sup>

Among the bowls published in MRLA 1 are two referring to R. Joshua b. Peraḥia and the “overseas *gef*” (JBA 23; JBA 25:3-10). The basic formula has been known since the publication of AMB B5 in

44. The interpretation of *t' pral* as a *pe.* stem was suggested to me by O. Abudraham. For the form *'tta*, which corresponds to JBA איתתא, see Morgenstern, 2010b:510-511. The parallel passage in YBC 2364:23-24 (cf. Müller-Kessler 1996:188; idem 2012: 17) has the equivalent form *'tata* each time (reading from a photograph courtesy of Dr. U. Kasten): *ubaia lparulia 'tata mn gbra ... ubia d- 'tata mn gbra t' (plar)*. For the insertion of the vowel *a* between two identical consonants, see Nöldeke 1875:31-32.

45. See also lines 2 and 15.

46. See also MS 1929/12:2-3 and 8-9.

47. See Naveh & Shaked 1985:183 and Ford 2012:259, n. 58. Cf. also מרכבתיה “his chariot” (MS 2053/247:7) for standard מרכבתיה (see Ford, *ibid.*); שורפתה “his tribe” (HS 3041:5) for standard שורבתה (see Ford & Morgenstern, *Forthcoming* [a]; similarly, Wolfe 105:4; PC 90:6; PC 91:5); and *drptaia* “of a mistress” (MS 2054/50:26) for standard *drbtia* (quoted in Morgenstern & Ford, *in press*, note to no. 69). The voicing of *f > v* is also attested before *t* in איסקובתיה (Gordon 1941 B5:5) [vs. standard איסקופתיה in lines 7 and 12]; אסקבתא (Gordon 1934, Bowl G:11); איסקובתא (Wolfe 22:5) [vs. standard איסקופתא in line 3].

48. The bowl is in the collection of Mr. Akram Sawalha of Amman, Jordan. I would like to thank Mr. Sawalha for his generous permission to study and publish the bowl.

Naveh & Shaked 1985. Another parallel, Moussaieff 2, was published in Shaked 1999:192.<sup>49</sup> The texts are all quite similar, but each contains slight variations.<sup>50</sup>

Physical Description: 17.9 x 6.1 cm. No figurative design. The interior surface of the bowl is divided into two registers by a line and the text is written parallel to the line in each section, beginning in the center. The writing is enclosed by a circle. The final line of the text is written on the outside along the rim within another circle or cartouche. Part of the writing is faded, especially on the outside.

Client: Maḥlafa son of Immay.

- 1 כפתיון לכיפי שמיא ואסרתיון למזלי רק(יע)ה<sup>51</sup>
- 2 כבשתיון ליתהומי תחתאי כפתיון אסרתיון
- 3 לקטתיון לכל שידי ומזיקי כולהון דאית
- 4 בעלמה בין דכר ובין נוקבה מירברביה[ון]
- 5 ועד דעדקיהון מעולמיהון ועד
- 6 סביהון בין דידענא שמיהון וב[ין]
- 7 דלא ידענא שמיהון
- 8 דידענא שמי[הו]ן
- 9 כבר פרישו לי מיששת ימי בראשית ודלא פרישו ל<sup>י</sup>
- 10 מיששת ימי בראשית כבר פרישו לי בגיטא דאתא
- 11 לנא מן עיבר ימה וכתבו ושדרו לה לרבי יהושוע בר
- 12 פרחיה כד הות ה<sup>י</sup>א ליליתא מנוקא בבני אנשה
- 13 שדר רבי יהושוע בר פרחיה שמתא וקבילת
- 14 עלה מיח[מת] דלא הוה ידע שמה וכתבו
- 15 שמה בגיטא [ואכריון] עלה בירקיעה בגיטא
- 16 דאתא לנא מן [עיבר י]מה אף אתון כיפיתון
- 17 אסיריתון וח[תימית]ון נקיטיתון כולכון
- 18 תחות כפות ריגליה דמחלפא בר אימ[י]
- 19 בשום גב[רי]אל גיבר תקיף ד...
- 20 (ו)קטל כל ס[טני] כולהון ...<sup>52</sup>
- 21 בקרבה יהואל מיכאל...

49. Cf. the comments on this bowl by Morgenstern 2005:364-365.

50. Other unpublished parallels include JNF 26; JNF 31; JNF 61; JNF 192; Wolfe 79 and PC 81.

51. The doubtful letters appear to comprise a correction of some sort. It seems likely that the scribe first wrote *ayin* and then corrected the right-hand stroke to *yodh* and rewrote the *ayin* by lengthening the original left-hand stroke and adding an additional stroke.

52. Read possibly דנצה[ין] "who are victorious" with the parallels.

*Outside (as continuation of text):*

24 [כול]הון בש[ר]ם יה יה יה יי צבאות אמ[ן] א[מן] סלה

*TRANSLATION*

1 I have subdued the edges of the sky, I have bound the constellations of the firmament,  
 2 I have suppressed the lower abysses; I have subdued, bound,  
 3 (and) seized all the demons and noxious spirits, all of them, that are  
 4 in the world, whether male or female, from [their] big ones  
 5 to their little ones, from their young ones to  
 6 their old ones, whether I know their names and whe[ther]  
 7 I do not know their names.  
 8 Those that I know [the]ir names  
 9 have already been explicitly stated to me from the six days of creation, and those that were not  
 explicitly stated to me  
 10 from the six days of creation have already been explicitly stated to me in a deed of divorce that came  
 11 to us from overseas. They wrote and sent (a request) to Rabbi Joshua bar  
 12 Peraḥia when a certain lilith was harming people.  
 13 Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia sent a ban (against her) and she <did not> accept (it)  
 14 upon herself, bec[ause] he did not know her name. So they wrote  
 15 her name in a deed of divorce [and made a proclamation] concerning her in heaven, in a deed of  
 divorce  
 16 that came to us from [overs]eas. You, too, you are subdued,  
 17 bound and se[aled], you are held, all of you,  
 18 beneath the soles of the feet of Maḥlafā son of Imm[ay]!  
 19 In the name of Gabriel, the mighty hero (*gibbār*), who ...  
 20 and (?) kills a[ll] sa]tans, all of them, ...  
 21 in battle, Yeho'el, Michael ...  
 22 who stops up the mouth of all  
 23 heroes,

*Outside (as continuation of text):*

24 [all of] them. In the name of Yah Yah Yah, YYY of Hosts. Ame[n], A[men], Selah.

*NOTES TO TEXT*

1. כפתינון “I have subdued them” — All versions of this formula known to the present author begin with the verbal form כפתינון (or כפתינהו). The same form is usually repeated at the head of the following sequence of verbs with respect to demons (here lines 2-3). Theoretically, it can be derived from either כפ"ת “to tie up, bind” with the third root consonant *t* merging with the *t* of the 1 c.s. affix, as analyzed by Naveh & Shaked for AMB B5,<sup>53</sup> or כו"ף/כפ"ף “to bend, overcome, compel”, as suggested by Morgenstern 2005:364. The

53. Morgenstern 2005:364 objects that such an assimilation should not occur after the addition of the 3 m.pl. pronominal object suffix *-innəhu* (or *-innun*), but equivalent assimilated forms are attested in the magic bowls with the root נק"ט/ט"לק"ט. For

parallelism with אסרתינון “I have bound them” suggests the derivation from כפ"ת, and this analysis was tentatively preferred in MRLA 1 (see the note to JBA 23:1). Some of the versions, however, contain a corresponding series of 2 m.pl. passive participles referring to demons later in the text that includes a form from the root כו"ף/כפ"ף: כו"ף/כפ"ף תחות כולכון תחות ... אף אתון כיפיתון אסריתון כבישתון כולכון תחות: כיפ"ת רגלה דהדין מרנקה בר קלא כפתינון אסרתינון לקתינון לכל מזיקי ... אף אתון כפיתון אסריתון לקיתיתון כולכון תחות כפות ריגלי: “I have subdued, bound and suppressed all the demons ... you, too, you are subdued, bound (and) suppressed, all of you, beneath the soles of the feet of this M. son of Q.” (IMJ 80.1.1:3, 7; AMB B5); אנה פלניה בר פלניהא “You, too, you are subdued, bound, held, all of you, beneath the soles of my feet, I, NN son of NN” (PC 81:4-5).

Naveh & Shaked analyze כיפיתון in IMJ 80.1.1 as a by-form of כפיתיתון,<sup>54</sup> but as noted by Morgenstern (2005:364), כיפיתון is identical with the 2 m.pl. passive participle of כו"ף/כפ"ף. The form כפיתון in PC 81:4-5 is also more easily analyzed as a defective spelling of כיפיתון, than a syncopated form of כפיתיתון (compare לקיתיתון later in the line). It thus seems most likely that in these cases the practitioner interpreted כפתינון as the verb כו"ף/כפ"ף. One bowl, however, suggests that in some cases the practitioner may have understood כפתינון לכיפי ארעא ואסרתינון למזלי רקיעא ואסרתינון וחתמתינון לשידי ... ואף אתון ... כפ"ת חוה כפתינון לכיפי ארעא ואסרתינון למזלי רקיעא ואסרתינון וחתמתינון לשידי ... ואף אתון ... כפ"ת חוה: “I have tied up the edges of the earth, I have bound the constellations of the firmament ... and you, too, ... you are restrained, you are tied up, you are stopped up beneath the soles of the feet of M. son of H” (JNF 192:3-4, 8-10). Here the passive participle אתון כפיתין can only be derived from כפ"ת. Nevertheless, some doubt remains as to the relevance of the form for the interpretation of כפתינון, since the sequence of passive participles does not otherwise correspond to either of the sequences of verbs at the beginning of the spell. In any case, in light of the passive participle כיפיתון in line 16 of the present text (as in IMJ 80.1.1), the derivation of כפתינון in this particular text from כו"ף/כפ"ף seems preferable.

1. כיפי שמיה “the edges of the sky” — See the note to JBA 23:1.

3. לקטתינון “I have seized them” — The corresponding passive participle נקיטיתון in line 17 shows the phonetic variant root נק"ט.

13-14. ולא קבילת עלה “and she <did not> accept it upon herself” — The text should be emended to קבילת עלה based on the internal logic of the text and the numerous parallels.

19-21. The text is partly faded and difficult to decipher, but appears to diverge from the known parallels, such as IMJ 80.1.1:8.

example, כפתינון אסרתינון לקתינון לכל מזיקי (JNF 31:2-3); כפתינון וינקתינון ואסרתינון לכל שדי (JNF 26:3); נקתינון ואסרתינון לכל שדי (PC 81:1-2); שבע נקתינון בצוציתהון (MS 1927/10:6-7; MS 2053/11:5-6). Contrast the unassimilated forms in the following parallel contexts: שבע נקתינון ואסרתינון וכבשתינון לכל שדי (JNF 61:4-5); כפתינון אסרתינון לקטתינון לכל שדי (AS 13:2-3); שבע נקתינון בצוציתהון (JNF 63:4-5).

54. Naveh & Shaked 1985:163.



Fig. 16: AS 13



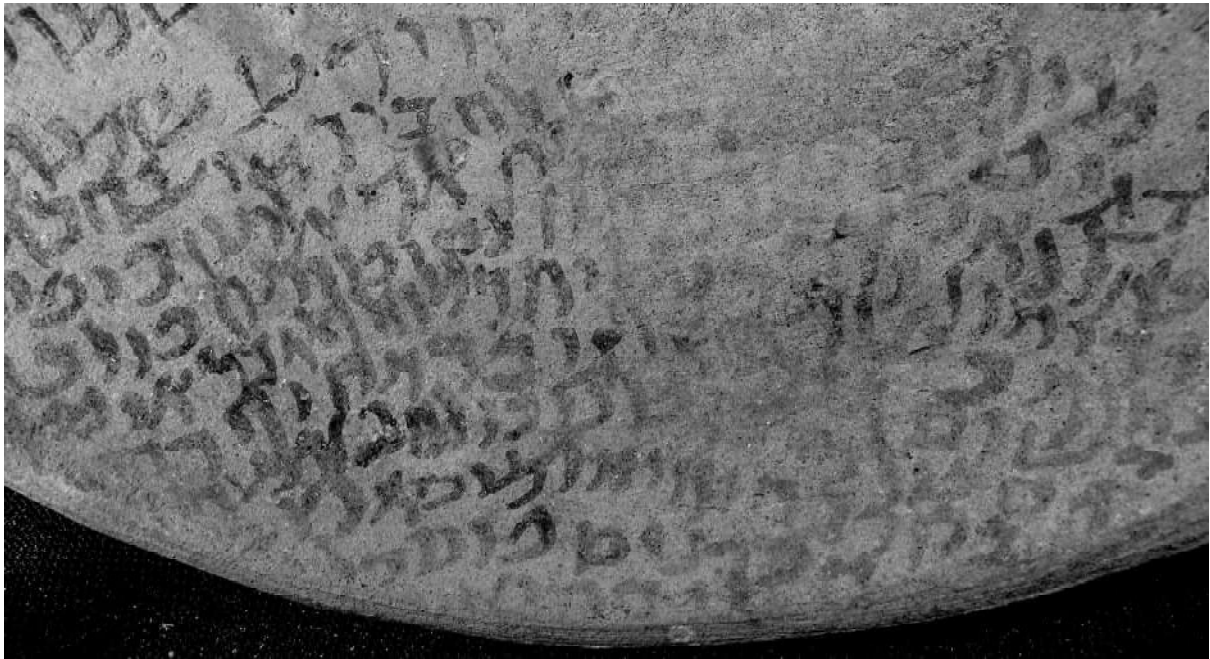


Fig. 17: AS 13 (closeup of lines 14-23)

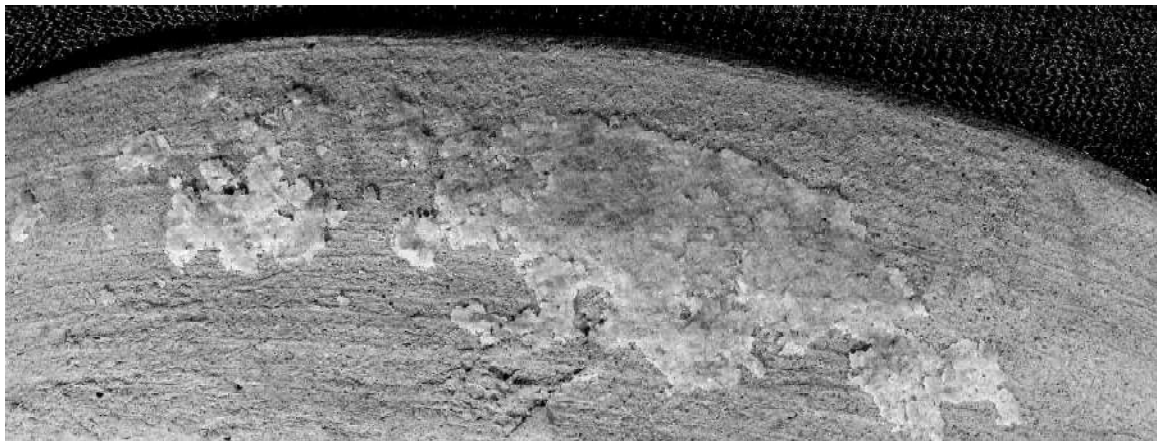


Fig. 18: AS 13 outside (a)

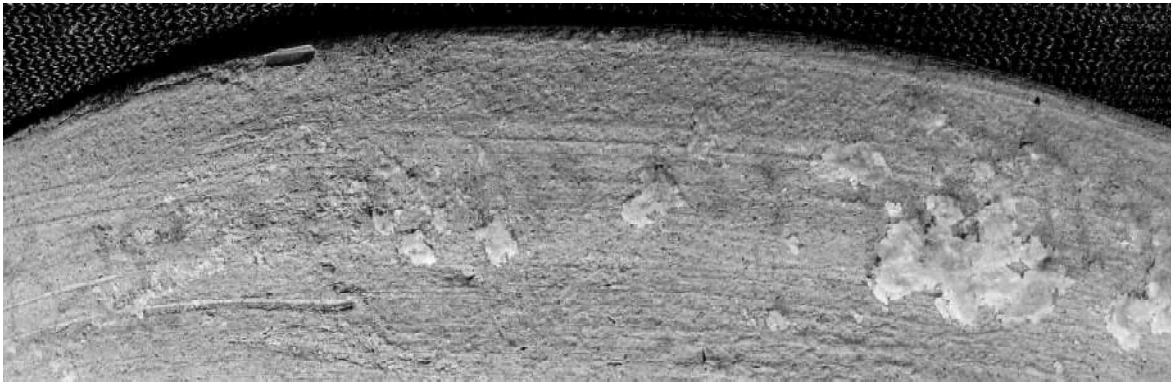


Fig. 19: AS 13 outside (b)

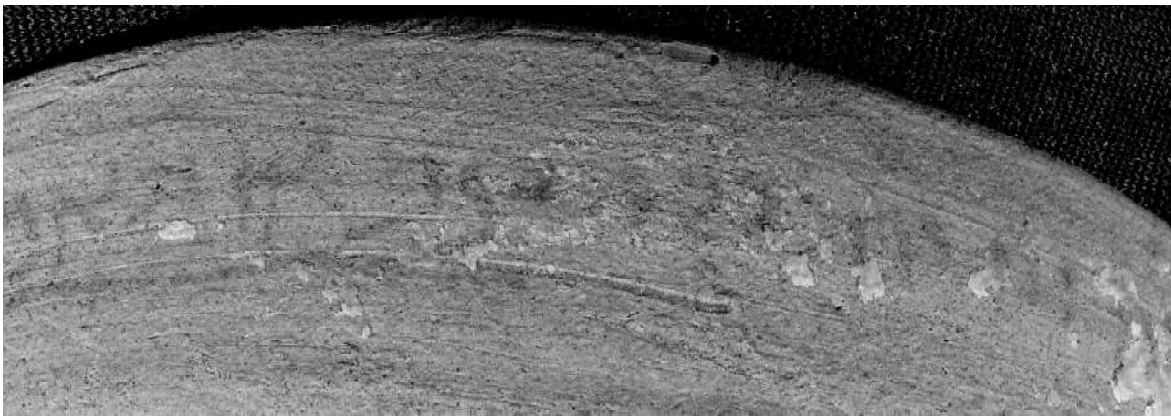


Fig. 20: AS 13 outside (c)

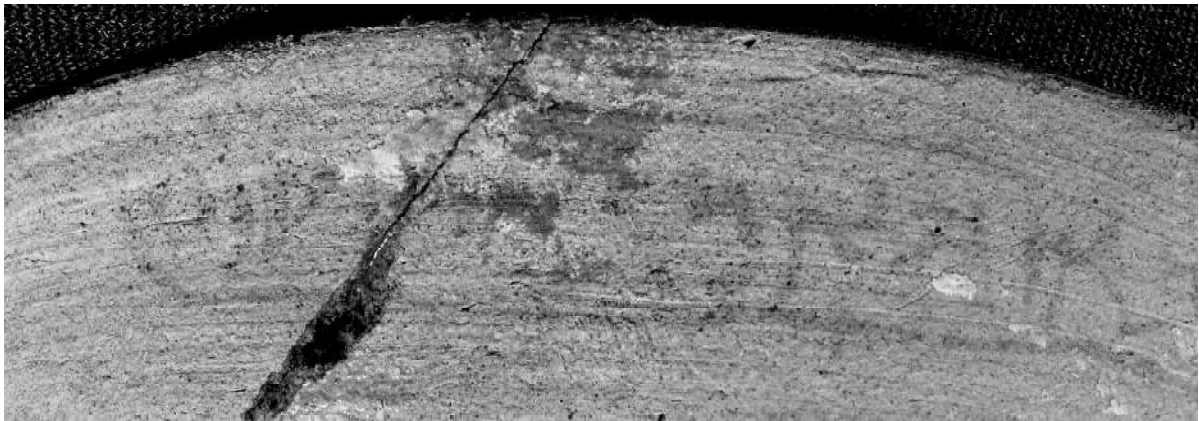


Fig. 21: AS 13 outside (d)

APPENDIX 2: A New “Elisur Bagdana” Bowl (Davidovitz 27)<sup>55</sup>

The “Elisur Bagdana” formula is one of the best attested formulae in the JBA magic bowls. In the Schøyen Collection it is represented by a total of twenty bowls (JBA 27-34, 36-47). The bowl presented here was written by the same hand as a bowl in the Museo Sefardí of Toledo (n<sup>o</sup>. inv. 1073), published by E. Martínez Borobio, and shares many of its peculiarities.<sup>56</sup> Other very similar unpublished bowls by the same hand known to the present author are Davidovitz 12; JNF 293; Wolfe 73; Barakat 2; BLMJ 10370; BLMJ 10374.

Physical Description: 16.5 x 5.8 cm. No figurative design. Unskilled hand. The writing begins at the center and, after a number of short broken lines, spirals towards the rim. The final lines are faded and largely illegible. On the outside is a short faded line of writing which likely comprised a label of some sort.

Clients: Name(s) not preserved.

1	איליסור
2	בגדנא
3	מלכהון דדיוי ושליטא
4	רבא <sup>57</sup> דלילתא משבענא
5	עלכי חבלס לילתא <sup>58</sup>
6	בת בריתה
7	דזרני
8	לילתא
9	דשריא על אסכופת בתיה מחיא וטרפא
10	דרדקי ודדקי ודרדקתא מומנא עלכי דתמהני בטרפס לבלכי
11	במרניתיה ד(ד/ר)קוס גיברא דשלט על שידי ועל דיוי ועל ליליתא וכתבת ליכ <sup>י</sup>
12	ופטרית יאתכי כמה [דכת] בין שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום לא [הדרין]
13	[...] מומת[כי] <sup>59</sup> וקדח <sup>י</sup> [ופוקי וע] רוקי מן בתיה ...
14	...
15	ל.ל.א.

*Outside (as a label?):*

55. I would like to thank the former owners of the bowl, Mr. Gil Davidovitz and Ms. Ester Davidovitz, for the opportunity to study it.

56. See Martínez Borobio 2003 and below. Martínez Borobio refers to the bowl as ac-msef.

57. The *'aleph* is written over a vertical stroke.

58. The *'aleph* appears to have been rewritten by the scribe.

59. Restored following the parallels. There is additional marking on the bowl which may not fit the proposed restoration.

## TRANSLATION

- 1 Elisur  
 2 Bagdana,  
 3 king of the *dēvs* and great  
 4 ruler of the liliths. I beswear  
 5 you, the lilith Ḥablas,  
 6 granddaughter  
 7 of the lilith  
 8 Zarni,  
 9 who resides upon the threshold of the houses (and) strikes and smites  
 10 boys and boys and girls. I adjure you that you should be struck in your pericardium  
 11 by the lance of the mighty **drqws** (or **rqws** / **dqws**) who rules over demons and over *dēvs* and over  
 12 liliths. I have written you (a deed of divorce)  
 13 and released you, just [as] demons [wr]ite deed(s) of divorce for their wives and do not [return (to  
 14 them)] again.  
 15 [... your] oath and flee [and go out and take] flight from the house ...  
 16 ...  
 Outside (as a label?):  
 17 ...

## NOTES TO TEXT

4. לילתא “lilith” — The present scribe not infrequently uses לילתא for both the singular and the plural of standard ליליתא. For the singular לילתא, see also לילתא בת ברתיא דזרנ[ן] (Davidovitz 12:6-8). Examples of the plural לילתא include מלכהון דדיי ושלטא רבא דלילתא (Barakat 2:3-4); מלכהון דדיי ושלטא רבא (Barakat 2:6). In general, the spelling without *yodh* is uncommon, but it is otherwise attested in the magic bowls, both for the singular and the plural. For the singular, see, for example, אנתי לילתה לילת דברה (CBS 16020:2; TMHC 7, B11a); לחדד לילתה (ibid., line 4);<sup>60</sup> פלחדד לילתה (ibid., line 9); מן לילתא ומבכלתא (CBS 16022:2; AIT 11); אנתי לילתא לילית דברא (CBS 2922:3; AIT 17); לחדד לילתה (ibid., line 6); לילתא פלחדד (ibid., line 11); לילתה בישתא (IMJ 69.20.265:6; AMB B8); ושידין ודיין ולילתא דיכרי וניקבתא (JNF 189:11). For the plural לילתא, see also ולילתא דיכרי וניקבתא (BM 91771:11-12; CAMIB 039A); אף אתון שידין ודיין ולילתא מבכלתא (Moussaieff 2:7; Shaked 1999).<sup>61</sup> Isolated examples of the singular and plural forms are also attested in a Mandaic and a Syriac bowl, respectively: *kul shra udiua ušida uru[h]a uhumrta ulilta ušiqpta upiṭiaruta* “every *sahra* and *dēv* and demon and spirit and amulet-spirit and lilith and blow and enmity-spirit” (MS 2054/86:18); ܠܠܘܬܐ ܕܠܠܘܬܐ ܕܠܠܘܬܐ “upon all mighty satans and upon mighty liliths” (JNF 231:10). The plural form לילתא cannot be considered a defective writing of ליליתא */līlyāṭā/* and must have been pronounced */līlāṭā/*, or the like. It thus seems likely that the singular לילתא, as well, is not merely a defective writing of ליליתא */līlyāṭā/*, but a distinct phonetic variant, */līlāṭā/*. Both may possibly be back-formations from the well attested m.pl. לילין.

10. דדקי “boys” — See the note to JBA 25.5 (above).

60. Reading from the photograph. Müller-Kessler 2005:46 reads פלחדד. Cf. the parallel CBS 2922:6 (cited below).

61. Reading from the photograph. Shaked 1999:192 reads ולייתא (וליליתא).

10. דתמחני “that you be struck” — Similarly, JNF 293:5; BLMJ 10370:12; BLMJ 10374:12; Museo Sefardí 1073:6 (the other parallels are illegible or uncertain). The *nun* of the 2 f.s. suffix appears to have been reinterpreted as a root consonant. See the discussion of דתמחני in MRLA 1, p. 158.

10. בטרפס לבלכי “in your pericardium (lit. in the membrane of your heart)” — Similarly, Barakat 2:5; JNF 293:5; BLMJ 10370:12; BLMJ 10374:13 and Museo Sefardí 1073:7. Davidovitz 12:13 shows the unique variant בתפס לבל[כי].<sup>62</sup>



Fig. 22: [..]בתפס לבל (Davidovitz 12:13)

In light of the consistent spelling לבלכי in the parallels, Borobio’s emendation of לבלכי to לבכי in Museo Sefardí 1073 appears unjustified.<sup>63</sup> The form לבלכי “your (f.s.) heart” thus comprises yet another of the many by-forms of ליבא “heart” + 2 f.s. suffix pronoun attested in this expression in the JBA bowls, others being ליביכי (JNF 1:8; JNF 143:3), לילבכי (JBA 40:2; JBA 31:5), ליבלביכי (JBA 29:6; JBA 43:6), and ליבביכי (JBA 30:10).<sup>64</sup> The forms ליבב-, לילב-, ליבלב- and ליבב- are at present attested in the JBA bowls (and in JBA in general) almost solely in the “Elisur Bagdana” formula,<sup>65</sup> but one attestation of the plural לילבי occurs in a magic bowl in a different context in an anti-witchcraft spell: “and perverted faces [and] perverted hearts and contemptible speech” (MS 1927/20:6-7).<sup>66</sup>

11. ד(ד/ר)קוס — The exact reading of the name of the supernatural hero is uncertain. Martínez Borobio reads דדקויס in Museo Sefardí 1073, which is paleographically equivalent to דדקויס. Both readings are also possible in the present bowl, as well as in Davidovitz 12:14; BLMJ 10370:12 and BLMJ 10374:13. The same name is defectively spelled דד/רקס in Wolfe 73:5'. Barakat 2:6 exceptionally reads דדקוס “of Darqos”, or the like. Most other Jewish practitioners used the name סקרוס/סיקרוס or קתרוס, or the like. It does not seem possible at present to convincingly determine the precise reading of the text.<sup>67</sup>

62. Wolfe 73 is illegible at this point.

63. Martínez Borobio 2003:324. See the new transcription below.

64. Cf. Morgenstern 2013:41 and Müller-Kessler 2011:237-238.

65. Müller-Kessler 2001:349, n. 50 appropriately compares לילבכין in the “Elisur Bagdana” bowl BM 91710:5 (CAMIB 013A) with the Mandaic plural *libbia* “hearts”, although in the opinion of the present author her claim that the text has a Mandaic *Vorlage* remains unproven. In fact, many of the “Elisur Bagdana” bowls written in JBA end with a distinctively Jewish formula containing references to the “ineffable name” and the “six days of creation” (in MRLA 1, see JBA 27-32, 34, 37, 39-42, 46-47). The same formula appears in the Mandaic versions of this spell in AO 2629 (Lidzbarski 1902, Bowl V) and Davidovitz 11 (Ford & Morgenstern, Forthcoming [b]) and, in a garbled version, in BM 91769 (CAMIB 098M). It thus seems more likely that these Mandaic versions are, rather, transcriptions or translations of a very well attested Jewish *Vorlage*.

66. Cf. *shria udiuia uruhia uhumria uliliata d-akpia l'libba[iun d-bnia anaša]* “*sahras* and *dēvs* and amulet-spirits and lilithe who pervert the hearts [of human beings]” (BM 117880:14; CAMIB 081M – cf. Ford 2002b:243). For אפי הפיכי, compare the Durham Bowl, line 8 (Geller 1980, Bowl D; collated from a photograph courtesy of D. Levene): “and impudent and perverted faces, and mighty enemies”.

67. If דדקוס “of Darqos” (Barakat 2) is the original reading, in the other bowls דדקוס could reflect assimilation of the relative pronoun to the initial *d* of the name, as in מלכא דיין “king of the *dēvs*” (see the note to JBA 45:9, above). On the other hand, דדקוס

12. והום “again” — See the note to JBA 55:13 (above).

In closing, the following revised transcription and translation of Museo Sefardí 1073 may be proposed (based on high resolution photographs courtesy of the Museo Sefardí of Toledo):

אליסור	1
בגדנא מלכהון	2
דדיוי	3
ושלטא רבא דליליתא משבענא עלכי חבלס	4
ליליתא <sup>68</sup> בת בריתה דזרני ליליתא דשרא על אסכופת	5
בתיא מחיא וטרפא דרדקי ודרדקתא <sup>69</sup> מומנא עלך דתמחני	6
בטרפס לבלכי במרניתה ד(ד/ר)קוס גיברא דשלט על שידי ועל דיוי	7
ועל ליליתא וכתבת ליכי ופטרתי יאתכי כמה דכתבינ <sup>70</sup> שידי גיטא לנשהון ותום	8
לא הדרין שקולי גיטכי וקבל מומתכי וקדחי ופוקי וערוקי מן ביתה דאצפא בר חובא	9
ומן חתי בת אימי אנתתי <sup>71</sup> {בש} בשום צאדיקהון בקלמסי גלפין	10
באשטת <sup>72</sup> זן	11

TRANSLATION

- 1 Elisur
- 2 Bagdana, king
- 3 of the *dēvs*
- 4 and great ruler of the liliths. I beswear you, the lilith Ḥablas,
- 5 granddaughter of the lilith Zarni, who resides upon the threshold of
- 6 the houses (and) strikes and smites boys and girls. I adjure you that you should be struck
- 7 in your pericardium by the lance of the mighty **drqws** (or **rqws** / **dqws**) who rules over demons and
- over *dēvs*
- 8 and over liliths. I have written you (a deed of divorce) and released you, just as demons write deed(s)
- of divorce for their wives and
- 9 do not return (to them) again. Take your deed of divorce and accept your oath and flee and go out and
- take flight from the house of Ašpa son of Ḥubba
- 10 and from Ḥatay daughter of Immay, his wife! In the name of **š' dyqhwn bqlmsy glpyn**

“of **rqws**” could comprise a metathesized form of the corresponding *d-* *qarus* “of Iqaros” in the Mandaic “Elisur Bagdana” bowl BM 91769:7 (or *vice versa*). For the reading דקוס “of **dqws**”, compare the corresponding דתיקס with the unvoiced equivalent of *daleth* in the “Elisur Bagdana” bowl BM 91710:5 (CAMIB 013A).

68. Probably corrected by the scribe from לילתא. Cf. above, note to Davidovitz 27, line 4, and compare the *taw* of the following word.

69. See Martínez Borobio 2003:324, note to line 6.

70. The form is anomalous. Most versions have the standard דכתבין, but Wolfe 47:3 (by a different hand) similarly reads כמה [דכ]תיבין שידי ג[י]טי לינשהון.

71. For the loss of final *h* of the 3 m.s. pronominal suffix, see Morgenstern 2007:253.

72. The reading באשפות is also paleographically possible, but the set of strokes in question and the *shin* are interchanged in Davidovitz 12, which suggests that the strokes represent a single letter.



11 b'štt zn.



Fig. 23: Davidovitz 27

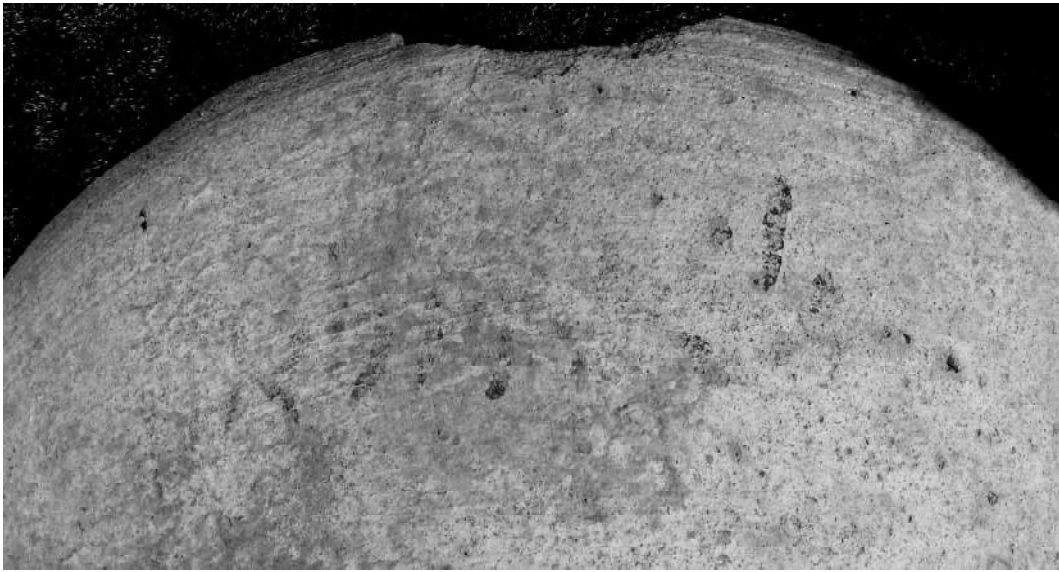


Fig. 24: Davidovitz 27 outside



Fig. 25: Museo Sefardí 1073 (a)<sup>73</sup>

73. Courtesy of the Museo Sefardí, Toledo.



Fig. 26: Museo Sefardí 1073 (b)<sup>74</sup>

74. Courtesy of the Museo Sefardí, Toledo.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

AIT = Montgomery 1913

AMB = Naveh & Shaked 1985

CAMIB = Segal 2000

MRLA 1 = Shaked, Ford & Bhayro 2013

MSF = Naveh & Shaked 1993

TMHC 7 = Müller-Kessler 2005