Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition

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Edited by

Gideon Bohak, Yuval Harari
and Shaul Shaked

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CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION IN THE MAGICAL TRADITION: A JERUSALEM SYMPOSIUM AND ITS WIDER CONTEXTS

Gideon Bohak, Yuval Harari and Shaul Shaked

The present book has long roots. Its seeds were sown when the three editors first began discussing the possibility of organizing a research group at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem, with an international group of scholars working on different aspects of magical texts and practices in the various cultures of the ancient and medieval world, "pagan," Jewish, Christian and Muslim. These deliberations resulted in a full proposal, titled "Occult Powers and Officiants in Non-official Cults within Near Eastern Cultures," which we submitted to the Institute and which was approved for a period of half a year, from March to August 2006. During this period, the group's eight members—Tzvi Abusch, Gideon Bohak, Alexander (Sandor) Fodor, Yuval Harari, David Jordan, Reimund Leicht, Dan Levene and Shaul Shaked—met for a weekly seminar as well as on numerous informal occasions, compared notes and discussed each other's work, all in a remarkably friendly and cooperative manner. Toward the end of this period we organized a three-day conference (July 17th–19th, 2006), focused on the theme of "Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition." In addition to the group's regular members, eleven other scholars were invited to present their work. In choosing our participants we made every effort to bring together a group of scholars who are deeply involved in the study of one or more ancient or medieval magical traditions, but are also open to communication across disciplinary boundaries and outside their own narrow linguistic expertise. This resulted in a most interesting and stimulating encounter between experts in different ancient and medieval cultures whose subject matters and research methods share much in common, as will readily be seen from the papers gathered below.

While these papers deal with magical texts in numerous different languages—and none of the participants in the conference could boast a reading ability in all the languages and scripts covered by the other participants—they often employ the same analytic techniques

and encounter similar textual, ritual and cultural phenomena. Thus, our emphasis in the present volume is not so much on the contact between different magical traditions (although this issue comes up in some of the papers) as on the recurrence of similar phenomena in magical texts as far apart as the Akkadian cuneiform tablets and an Arabic manuscript bought in Egypt in the late-twentieth century. Such similarities demonstrate to what extent many different cultures share a "magical logic" which is strikingly identical, and in particular they show the recurrence of certain phenomena when magical practices are transmitted in written form and often preserve, adopt and adapt much older textual units.

This brings us to one central theme of the present volume. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the magical traditions covered in the following papers is their scribal nature; rather than being "old wives' tales" (as such materials used to be referred to dismissively in the past), the magical materials covered here were the purview of scribes and scholars, or, at the very least, of literate individuals who received much of their detailed knowledge in written form or memorized large chunks of text and then reproduced it orally or in writing. These practitioners copied, edited, revised and used their textual sources, transmitted them to their colleagues and disciples, and in some cases composed entirely new texts, often made up of older textual materials. Thus, they may be seen not only as active magicians, serving their clients, being paid for their services and being encouraged, tolerated or persecuted by the religious and secular authorities, but also as men (possibly also as women) of letters, whose scribal and editorial activities are intertwined with their magical ones, since it is these activities which form the basis of their special knowledge. Most of the papers in the present volume deal with one aspect or another of the complex interplay between continuous transmission, sometimes over remarkably long periods of time, and innovation, gradual or abrupt, as well as transformation, borrowing and adaptation of magical knowledge in different periods and places from ancient Mesopotamia to the Middle Ages and beyond.

Another feature of the scribal character of the magical technology is the growing emphasis over a period of time on specialization and on the distinction between different branches of knowledge. Thus, one feature of ancient and medieval magic is a growing demarcation of different fields of knowledge and action, often with different specialists, technologies and terminologies for each of these specific fields. Thus, one more major theme covered by the papers below is that of

the separation, or overlaps, between magic and divination, magic and medicine, magic and astrology and magic and mysticism in different societies in Antiquity. While these relations are differently reconfigured in each culture and society, the very emergence of these distinctions and overlaps seems common to all the cultures covered by the present volume, and is in part the result of the growth of highly complex bodies of magical and related knowledge.

The focus on processes of continuity and innovation, and on the delimitation of the magicians' specific expertise, is bound to yield some surprising results. Thus, to give just one example, magicians often boast of the hoary Antiquity of some of their recipes and rituals, and even attribute them to sages of old, like Solomon or Zoroaster. Yet most practitioners of the magic arts were ill-equipped to assess the real age of the textual materials they handled, and did not really care how old these materials were, as long as they were deemed ancient enough to be exceedingly potent. The academic scholar, on the other hand, often approaches these texts with a deep seated hermeneutics of suspicion, virtually taking for granted that neither Solomon nor Zoroaster had anything to do with their composition or dissemination. However, the same scholar is forced to admit that some of the magicians' textual materials (though not necessarily those deemed to be ancient by the magicians themselves) are in fact extremely old, and in some cases the scholar can even reconstruct their origins and development with some precision. The scholar is also sensitive to the relations between the magicians' productions and actions and those of some of their contemporaries in related fields, and is always looking for such connections and the clues they provide with regard to the identity of the anonymous practitioners, their social standing, and the breadth and depth of their knowledge outside the field of magic. Modern scholars are in fact looking over the shoulders of the ancient magicians and muttering, "Look, this is an edition of a much older recipe…but this piece is newly made up…and this bit is borrowed from another culture or translated from another language…and here the author is slipping into the realms of divination, or showing off with some medical terminology…and there the style is that of a mystic of the same period, with a somewhat different twist." Such mutterings, though couched in a more scientific language and supported by the necessary philological apparatus, form the backbone of the following studies.

To highlight the diversity of the present volume, and the common threads that run through the papers, which are arranged in a rough chronological order, beginning with Mesopotamia and Egypt and

ending in the Middle Ages, let us briefly summarize the contents of each paper.

In the first essay, Tzvi Abusch uncovers the textual and redactional history of some of the elaborate incantations of the *Maqlû* anti-witchcraft rituals from ancient Mesopotamia. Focusing on two specific incantations, he shows that the repetitions and inconsistencies they display are best explained as resulting from a gradual process of textual expansions and interpolations of older and shorter spells. Such processes are also evident when different tablets with the same incantations are compared, as they too display variants which are due not to scribal errors but to conscious editorial activities. Thus, the later texts are made up of numerous primary and secondary units, with the latter sometimes inserted into the former and sometimes between them, and with recurrent repetitions and resumptions which reveal the original shape of the units. As we shall see, an analysis of the Babylonian incantation bowls of more than a millennium later reveals a surprisingly similar picture.

Turning from Mesopotamia to Egypt, Joachim Friedrich Quack searches for the Egyptian precedents for the *charitesion*, the magical procedure which seeks to give charm and grace to a specific individual, a procedure which is well attested in the Greek magical papyri and related texts. Quack traces the use of the Egyptian words for "favor" and for "love" from the second millennium BCE to the Roman period, and especially the numerous occurrences, both in non-magical texts and in some hymns and spells, of the notion of finding favor with the gods and with the king and thus acquiring protection from one's enemies as well as personal success. By this analysis Quack can show that many of the elements of the Greek *charitesion* are already attested in pre-Hellenistic Egyptian culture. He then turns to a detailed examination of the Demotic and Greek *charitesia*, showing that some of their salient features may be Egyptian in origin, and offering some important guidelines for anyone who seeks to define the cultural origins of a specific magical text or practice.

Still in Roman Egypt, where Quack ends his survey, Jacco Dieleman focuses on the Greek, and especially the Demotic, magical papyri. His starting point is the fact that the Greek magical papyri display much Egyptian influence, but are certainly not Greek translations of earlier Egyptian documents. He also notes that the Demotic magical papyri are written in a language and script which were only accessible to Egyptian priests but are certainly not copies of copies of

older Egyptian priestly texts. By surveying the different forms and genres of Egyptian magical recipes and recipe-books from Pharaonic to Roman Egypt, Dieleman can show both the continuity of some forms and the emergence in the Demotic magical papyri of recipe-types and magical practices which did not exist in pre-Hellenistic Egyptian medicine and magic. Thus, he concludes that the Demotic magical papyri were produced by Egyptian scribes who had access to older Egyptian temple libraries, but were in no way confined to using what they found there, as they also had access to some more recent magical technologies, and may even have developed some of these technologies themselves.

From the Egyptian temples of the Roman period we turn to the contemporaneous developments in the Greek-speaking world. First, Fritz Graf provides a detailed analysis of two very different sources, an inscription from Ephesus and a passage from Porphyry's philosophical writings. These illustrate the complex relations between magic and divination in Late Antiquity. In the first example, an Apolline oracle identifies a plague as brought about by witchcraft, and offers a *Maqlû*-type description of how this sorcery will be dissolved if the citizens carry out the prescribed rituals, but does not try to identify the culprit(s) who perpetrated the magical attack. In the second case, the same god suggests the use of magical rites to free a specific person from the demons that were binding him down to his material nature and to enable him to achieve contact with the divine. Thus, Graf suggests, "magic" could be seen in one context as the source of an evil plague and in another as a tool to be used for noble beneficial aims, and both views can be documented in earlier Greek texts as well. In both contexts, moreover, "magic" and "divination" were not seen as overlapping activities. This would change with the triumph of Christianity, which saw the pagan oracles as demonic in nature and equated divination with magic.

The second paper to deal with the Greek-speaking half of the Roman Empire is by Christopher Faraone, and it too seeks to illustrate the relations between magic and a related field of knowledge, medicine, with the help of two very different examples. The first is the notion, which was shared by magicians and doctors alike, that the womb often moves within a woman's body and thus generates various gynecological disorders which were interpreted as "uterine suffocation." Here we can see that some of the magicians were kept abreast of the medical knowledge and terminology of their time, including their

assumptions about the shape of the uterus, often depicted on uterine amulets. A similar picture emerges from Faraone's second example, an amuletic gemstone with an elaborate inscription whose contents display remarkable similarities with the structure of the popular medical handbooks of the time. Thus, rather than seeing Greek and Roman doctors as learned scientists, set apart from the ignorant magicians on the margins of their society, Faraone develops a view of physicians and magicians as deriving from the same social circles and sharing some of their knowledge and terminology.

Turning from Greeks and Romans to Jews, Ithamar Gruenwald uses the insights gained from recent studies of ritual to analyze the place of magico-theurgical practices in the corpus of ancient Jewish mystical texts known as the Hekhalot literature and in ancient Jewish magic. First, he stresses that the aim of such practices is the transformation of reality or of the practitioner who uses them, thus creating a unique world governed by their own ritual theory. Then, by analyzing one specific example from *Sefer Ha-Razim*, the Hebrew "Book of Mysteries," probably written in Byzantine Palestine, Gruenwald exposes the internal ritual logic of an extremely detailed magical recipe whose aim is "to speak with the moon or with the stars about any matter," and especially matters of love. Rather than being a hodgepodge of strange practices and "superstitions" (yet another term used by past scholars to dismiss such materials), the ritual turns out to be consistent with its own assumptions and presuppositions, and quite in line with what we find in other magical traditions.

With the next paper we move from the late-Roman Empire back to Babylonia, but more than a full millennium after the period covered by Abusch's paper. Looking at the Jewish incantation bowls of the Sasanian period, Shaul Shaked focuses on three bowls which were produced for a single client by three different scribes, and show a great degree of textual overlap. By looking at these bowls synoptically, and analyzing their similarities and differences, Shaked shows how a single textual unit could be used in different ways by different scribes, how different textual units served different functions within the bowl-texts, and how some smaller units served as bridges between the larger textual units, which the scribes then mixed and matched according to the specific circumstances. Among the factors that seem to have influenced the layout of the bowl texts, mention may be made of the physical size of the bowl, or the names of the client or clients who

commissioned them. Thus, while it is not always clear whether these practitioners used written books of magical spells, as we know the Jews of Byzantine Palestine did, it is quite clear that they had access both to oral prototypes and to actual bowls, and used these sources when producing their own bowls.

Dan Levene's paper is also devoted to the Babylonian-Jewish incantation bowls, but here the emphasis is on one specific sub-genre of bowls, those which identify themselves as a *qybl'*, a kind of counter-spell intended to return aggressive magical actions upon their perpetrators. Like Shaked, Levene too points to the similarities and differences between the texts on "parallel" bowls, but his main interest lies in the relations between the *qybl'* texts and the bowls on which they were written, which were apparently often bound together in pairs, one bowl facing the other, tied with cords and sealed with bitumen. The effect of this arrangement was to create a dark space between the bowls, symbolizing the spells' "counteractive" nature. This observation opens the way for the identification of more bowls that display the remains of the bitumen used to seal them, and an analysis of their texts reveals some similarities with the *qybl'* bowls, including the frequent recurrence of the Yaror demons. Such similarities between the texts of the spells and the manipulations exercised on the objects on which they were written, once again indicate the complex ways in which magical know-how was transmitted and used among the bowl-producers of late-antique Mesopotamia.

From Jewish magic we turn to the Jewish interest in astrology. Kocku von Stuckrad begins his essay with a survey of the biases and misleading categories that still plague the study of ancient astrology, and turns to a detailed analysis of the numerous astrological elements in the *Testament of Solomon*, and especially the attempt to control different cosmic powers. He then focuses on the veneration of planets, especially of the Sun, evident in the above-mentioned *Sefer Ha-Razim*, and notes how this practice, which is supposed to be forbidden by Jewish law, is amply paralleled in the Greek magical papyri. Finally, an analysis of the ascents to heaven described and prescribed in the Jewish mystical texts known as the Hekhalot literature illustrates yet another facet of the Jewish infatuation with the heavens and their contents in Late Antiquity. Such examples, von Stuckrad argues, prove that the neat borderlines scholars used to envision between magic and astrology, or between "Jewish" and "Christian" texts and practices, are

mostly artificial. While some ancient Jews kept such fields of knowledge as astrology at arm's length, others adopted it with zeal even if it contravened some of their forefathers' religious regulations.

Still focusing on astrology and on its Jewish practitioners, Reimund Leicht takes us in a somewhat different direction, by tracing the gradual development of the Jewish interest in astrology, and especially the planets. He begins his paper by noting that both in the biblical corpus and in the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, there is little evidence of Jewish interest in astrology, and no evidence of Jewish familiarity with planetary astronomy or astrology. He then moves on to rabbinic literature, which shows that toward the end of the second century CE, or the beginning of the third, the rabbis' interest in the luni-solar calendar made them study which days and hours are governed by which planets. This included the acceptance and adaptation of some astrological predictions relating, for example, to the fate and character of seasons which begin, or persons who are born, under the influence of a certain planet. This important shift in the Jewish view of astrology also paved the way for a whole host of later Jewish astrological texts, and in fact marks the birth of what may be seen as the "Jewish" branch of ancient and medieval astrology.

With Yuval Harari's paper we move from astrology to divination through dream inquiries, a common practice among Jews and non-Jews alike. The paper offers a detailed survey of the uses of dreams in ancient societies, and especially in the Jewish world, from the Hebrew Bible to the Middle Ages, followed by a brief survey of late antique and medieval Jewish magical practices for gaining material success. At the intersection of the manipulation of dreams and the desire for financial success, Harari locates the highly specific phenomenon of dream inquiries intended to find out the location of a hidden treasure. He then re-edits one such dream request found in the Cairo Genizah, first published a long time ago, but misunderstood by its original editors. In his discussion Harari tries to reconstruct the possible circumstances surrounding the production of this text.

From Genizah dream requests we turn to Genizah *rotuli*—that is, to long and narrow vertical parchment scrolls which were in use in early Genizah times for various purposes, including the writing of magical recipe books. Surveying the extant fragments of three such *rotuli*, and focusing on the one which is both the oldest and the best preserved, Gideon Bohak assesses the importance of this unnoticed stage in the transmission of Jewish magical literature. As the magical recipes on

this *rotulus* are all aggressive in nature, and can be shown to have originated in late-antique Palestine, they provide an unusually revealing perspective on some aggressive magical aims. They also demonstrate some unorthodox magical technologies used at least by some Jews in the pre-Muslim period. These texts were still being transmitted as late as the ninth and tenth centuries. As most of these recipes seem to have gone out of circulation in the later periods, Bohak suggests that they might have been seen as excessively violent in the eyes of the Jewish public in the medieval period.

Last but not least, Alexander Fodor examines a modern magical manuscript bought in Egypt in 1973, which includes, *inter alia*, an Arabic version of the *Sword of Moses*, a Jewish book of magic written in Aramaic and Hebrew some time in the first millennium CE. Through a detailed analysis of some of the recipes provided by the Arabic text and their constant comparison with the previously-known versions of the *Sword*, Fodor shows that the Arabic version restructures the original text in order to fit it into a wider textual framework. The Arabic version strips away much of the specifically Jewish flavor of the original text, and adds some unmistakably Egyptian-Arabic elements to the resulting text. This analysis provides an interesting indication of the cultural context of at least one of the redactors of the Arabic text, who may have been a Coptic Christian. The recurrent influence of Jewish liturgical formulae and Hekhalot-related materials on the magical procedures presented by the Arabic text shows that its textual forerunners must have undergone some editorial revisions by Jewish editors long before being translated into Arabic. Thus, a single Arabic manuscript bears witness to a whole millennium of continuity, innovation, translation and adaptation in two or three different magical traditions.

These are the main contours of the papers gathered below. We tried, as editors, to exercise a light touch, and to let the scholars follow their own mode of academic writing in matters of article length, density of footnotes, and depth of philological or historical analysis. Thus, some of the papers included in the present volume include some notes and discussions whose full merits and implications we cannot judge, as we lack the specific linguistic and historical expertise. Yet we remain convinced that the study of ancient and medieval magical texts, with their unique styles, complex terminologies and varying states of preservation, can only be fruitful and worthwhile when carried out by competent scholars who patiently read and re-read their sources and dissect

them with the finest philological tools. We are at the same time convinced that for such studies to be useful to scholars beyond the narrow fields of Akkadian, Egyptian, Greco-Roman, Jewish or Islamic Studies, they must use the minute philological analysis to support wider-ranging arguments, and especially to highlight textual, historical and phenomenological processes which might be valid in other cultures as well. In the present volume, we have tried to bring together a whole set of such papers, each of which should prove important for scholars in its specific discipline and useful for students dealing with magic of other times and places.

Finally, it is a duty and a pleasure to thank all the bodies and institutions that made this volume possible. First and foremost, the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem and its director, Professor Eliezer Rabinovici, hosted us for six months in a most gracious and scholarly environment, and thus made the entire project feasible and delightful. The Institute's associate director at the time, Pnina Feldman, with the members of the administrative staff, Shani Freiman and Dalia Avieli, made every effort to assure the success and well-being of the group, including the conference whose results we publish here. Throughout this period, Naama Vilozny served as the group's research assistant, and helped the group and each of its members, in a most devoted and pleasant way; she was replaced for part of the time by Shahar Shirtz, a very competent and knowledgeable helper. The conference itself was funded both by the Institute for Advanced Studies and by The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. We are grateful to both institutions for their support.

Professors Guy G. Stroumsa and David Shulman have kindly accepted our volume for this series, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, which seemed like the obvious venue for a book on magic conceived and nourished in Jerusalem. The book itself was meticulously edited by Esther Rosenfeld, who went over each paper with a keen eye and endless patience. Ortal-Paz Saar proofread the entire manuscript, and prepared the Index. We are grateful to both of them for making this a much better book than it would otherwise have been. And, last but not least, our Brill editors, Maarten Frieswijk and Marjolein Schaake, have made every effort to ensure a smooth, professional and extremely friendly production process. Without the joint efforts of all these "invisible hands," the present book, with all its linguistic and typographical complexities, would never have been completed.

Two of the editors of the present volume should like to acknowledge with sincere gratitude the extra effort undertaken by their friend Gidi Bohak, who performed the major part of the editorial chores. It is our joint hope that the end result will be found to be a useful and worthwhile contribution to the study of magic.

THE REVISION OF BABYLONIAN ANTI-WITCHCRAFT INCANTATIONS: THE CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF INCANTATIONS IN THE CEREMONIAL SERIES *MAQLÛ**

Tzvi Abusch

Introduction

In this paper, I shall try to shed some further light on modes of revision of Akkadian incantations. Individual incantations were not static and often took on more than one form. We know of the existence of these forms through several means. Sometimes, we actually have extant variant forms of an incantation that are similar enough to indicate a genetic relationship but sufficiently different to suggest that they had separate identities.[1] In other instances, internal tensions or inconsistencies in a text suggest that the preserved text was produced by the revision of an earlier version. In the latter instance, we establish the existence of different forms of the text by means of a critical analysis that focuses primarily upon the aforementioned internal tensions or inconsistencies.

Elsewhere, I have compared extant forms of individual incantations (and expect to do so again).[2] Here, I shall discuss some results obtained through critical analysis of incantations in the Akkadian magical series *Maqlû*, "Burning." This series is the longest and most important Mesopotamian composition concerned with combating witchcraft; its text served as the script of a ceremonial performance. *Maqlû* contains a

* This paper was first drafted while I was a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, during the spring and summer of 2006. I am grateful to the institute and its staff for their support and hospitality, to the other members of the research group "Occult Powers and Officiants in Near Eastern Cultures" for their collegiality, and to Brandeis University for supplementary support. Versions of this paper were read at the institute's conference "Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition," Jerusalem, July 2006, as well as at the 217th meeting of the American Oriental Society, San Antonio, 2007.

[1] In some instances, we must try to determine whether the differences are no more than performance or aesthetic variants.

[2] See, e.g., my *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature: Case Studies*, BJS 132, (Atlanta, 1987 [a revised version of my 1972 Harvard dissertation]), pp. 9–44 (see below).

ritual tablet and eight incantation tablets that record the text of almost one hundred incantations directed against witches and witchcraft. The present form of the text seems to be a creation of the early first millennium BCE, the standard long text having developed from an earlier short form by means of a series of sequential changes. A critical examination of many of the incantations in *Maqlû* (as in other Mesopotamian series, collections, and shorter rituals) would produce interesting literary and/or textual results, but those on which we focus our attention here were re-studied recently because of problems encountered during the latest stage of editing and translating the series.[3] In the course of this recent work, a number of incantations were subjected anew to critical analysis; this close and detailed study led to some new results as well as to the confirmation of some earlier impressions.

I shall present here only a few of these results. I shall discuss two incantations that may be said to have undergone expansion. These incantations contain interpolations that enumerate evil forces or destructive actions associated with the witch. These interpolations are in the form of lists, and their inclusion is marked off by repetitive resumptions.[4]

The reconstruction of stages of development of an incantation through critical analysis starts from the premise that an incantation should and will normally exhibit a coherence of thought and congruence between its parts. Such qualities are to be expected of relatively short literary works produced by a single composer. But sometimes a single incantation contains multiple motifs, sections, or just lines that are not wholly congruent, that are repetitive and/or awkward, that may even be contradictory, or that are at home in different incantation types or compositions. The mixture of non-congruent materials should usually be understood as a consequence of development or alteration.[5]

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[3] Whereas in previous studies, I followed the line division and count in the edition of *Maqlû* by G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, AfO Beiheft 2 (Berlin, 1937), and "Studien zur Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû," *AfO* 21 (1966): 71–81, in this study I follow the line count of my own forthcoming edition; this new line count has now been used also in T. Abusch and D. Schwemer, "Das Abwehrzauberritual *Maqlû* ('Verbrennung')," in B. Janowski and G. Wilhelm, (eds.), *Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörungen*, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge 4 (Gütersloh, 2008), pp. 128–186.

[4] For an alternative hypothesis regarding the formation of these incantations, see the final paragraphs of this paper.

[5] See my "Water into Fire: The Formation of Some Witchcraft Incantations," *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Towards a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature*, AMD 5 (Leiden, 2002), pp. 197–198.

While it is true that the incongruity of parts in an incantation may be due to the utilization of frozen traditional blocks or segments in the initial formation of the incantation, this incongruity is more often due to the revision of an already existing incantation. The revision may be part of a general tendency or development, or it may be no more than an idiosyncratic creation.

The revision of an incantation and incorporation therein of new materials (and the creation thereby of incongruence) are due to such factors as: the adaptation of a text for a new purpose; the correlation of an incantation with a new or added ritual action; the integration of a simple text into a new, more complex, and larger ideological and/or ritual framework; the adaptation of a text to new religious beliefs or cognitive/intellectual norms. In more general terms, one may say that often the change of a text will reflect a change of ideas, a change of purpose, and/or a change of ritual usage. Overall, these changes are functions of developments in the areas of religious thought and literary norms.

Over the years I have identified many relatively simple examples of change, changes that are easily comprehendible because the revision involved no more than the insertion of a line or two.[6] But the two *Maqlû* incantations here considered, Tablet II 19–75 and Tablet IV 1–79, will be seen to contain expansions and interpolations of significant length. In these instances, change seems to have produced a complex text; however, because the insertions are relatively long and in list form, the revisions are often more easily identifiable than some other revisions that are also extensive but more subtle. Moreover, in these incantations, the interpolations are marked off by a repetitive resumption, a device often referred to by the technical term *Wiederaufnahme*. This term refers to the fact that when a digression of a thematic or generic nature had sundered connections in a text, a redactor might repeat in identical or similar words lines of the text that preceded the break created by the interpolation.[7] A *Wiederaufnahme* is a particularly

[6] See, e.g., "Water into Fire," pp. 198–199.

[7] See, e.g., M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 84–86 (note particularly the references in p. 85, n. 19) as well as A. Rofé, *The Prophetical Stories* (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 63, n. 13. But note that a *Wiederaufnahme* may also be an authorial feature "when an inclusio is involved. The latter is manifestly a stylistic device which frames a text and marks its own integrity: it does not mark off another literary unit" (Fishbane, p. 86). It is also a narrative-strategic device (see, e.g., M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* [Bloomington, 1985], p. 414). See also J. H. Tigay, "Evolution of the

useful analytic signal, for sometimes it is one of the initial indicators of an interpolation, and in the right circumstances, its existence serves to confirm the analysis that a text had been expanded by means of insertions.

But before turning to the two aforementioned incantations, I would reiterate that the evidence underlying our conclusion that incantations in *Maqlû* may sometimes be revised by means of interpolation and expansion is not simply limited to the results of critical analysis; it is evident in the manuscript tradition as well. For when we examine the manuscripts of incantations that contain lists or enumerations, we occasionally find that some of the manuscripts do not contain the list or contain shorter versions thereof. Three examples suffice to illustrate this point: *Maqlû* III 1–30, V 26–35, and VII 114–140. It should be noted that like the incantations studied in this essay, the expansions in *Maqlû* III 1–30 and V 26–35 are also set off by a *Wiederaufnahme*.

The first half of *Maqlû* III 1–30 describes the actions of a witch. *SpBTU* 3, 74a, a Babylonian manuscript from Uruk, omits lines 8–14. By itself, this omission might be explained as a haplography, but it is more likely that the Uruk manuscript represents an early form of the text. The theme of lines 8–13 is incongruous with that of the surrounding lines. For while those lines describe the witch's attack upon the commercial life by means of her spittle, lines 8–13 describe the witch's attack upon the sexuality of the young people of the town by means of her glance. Line 14, moreover, repeats three of the four words found in line 7. Given the thematic incongruity between the two sections and the repetition of line 7 in line 14, the omission of lines 8–14 in *SpBTU* 3, 74a attests to the fact that lines 8–13 were a later insertion and that line 14 was then added as a *Wiederaufnahme* for the purpose of reconnecting parts of the text that were sundered by the insertion, thereby resuming the commercial description of the original text.[8]

The incantation *Maqlû* V 19–47 contains (in lines 26–35) a list of destructive actions that are wished upon the witch and her witchcraft;

Pentateuchal Narratives," in J. H. Tigay, (ed.), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 48–49 and idem, "Conflation as a Redactional Technique," *ibid.*, pp. 69, 74, and n. 46 for *Wiederaufnahme* as an editorial device; and idem, "Conflation," p. 74, n. 46 for *Wiederaufnahme* as an authorial device.

[8] For a detailed presentation of this argument, see my "*Maqlû* III 1–30: Internal Analysis and Manuscript Evidence for the Revision of an Incantation," in M. Luukko, et al., (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, Studia Orientalia 106 (Helsinki, 2009), pp. 307–313.

each verbal action is compared to a plant because the verb is similar to the name of the plant and forms a word play. For example, line 32: *kīma ḫašê liḫaššûši kišpūša*, "Like a cress plant may her witchcraft pierce her." This section is absent in the fragment K 18618, which probably is part of the Babylonian manuscript K 2436 + K 6006 (+) K 5349 + K10161 (+) K 18618 (+) Sm 388 (+) Sm 741 + 2069.[9] And we note that in the texts in which it appears, this section is set off by a *Wiederaufnahme*, for both it and the following section begin (lines 26 and 36) with the address *epištī u muštēpištī*, "my sorceress and the woman who instigates sorcery against me." That the absence of lines 26–35 in the Babylonian manuscript is not simply due to haplography is evident from the fact that in the expanded text this section disturbs the development of a theme based upon forms of the word *nabalkutu*, "to turn against" (19–25 [see 21], 36ff. [see 37–39]).

An example even more similar to those studied in this paper is provided by the expansion of *Maqlû* VII 114–140. Already in a paper presented to the American Oriental Society in 1970 and worked out in greater detail in my 1972 dissertation,[10] I argued that this *Maqlû* incantation was created by the insertion of a lengthy list of evils into a base incantation like K 7594: 1'–8' (//*KAR* 165, rev. 1'–4')—thus VII 118–129 (as well as some lines following the central ritual in line 130) were an expansion. At the time, I imagined that the development took place prior to the incorporation of the incantation in *Maqlû*, an opinion that seemed reasonable in view of the length of the insertion. What I could not know then was that K 7594 was actually part of *Maqlû*. Recently, J. Fincke joined this Babylonian fragment to a Babylonian manuscript that I had pieced together over many years (K 5350 + 5374 + 7594 + 7610 + 7476 + 7631 + 8882 + 9635 + 11567 + 19154 + Sm 798b).[11] Accordingly, the development must have taken

[9] I am indebted to Daniel Schwemer for the knowledge of K 18618; he noticed that this fragment supported the argument presented in this paper and communicated it to me.

[10] See Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature*, pp. 13–44. I there referred to this incantation as VII 119–146 in accordance with Meier's line count.

[11] Even without K 7594, this manuscript presented such a deviant and problematic text that I questioned one of the joins and was even tempted in summer 1994 to break it in order to have it retested; I was only prevented from doing so when an additional join that I made that same summer indicated that my earlier reconstruction had to be right.

place not before the composition of *Maqlû* but in the course of its transmission.[12]

I am not unaware that the shorter/earlier manuscript in each of the three cases just cited is Babylonian—this is almost certainly significant.

Analysis

I now turn to the analysis of *Maqlû* II 19–75 (A) and IV 1–79 (B).[13]

A. *Maqlû* Tablet II 19–75[14]

19. Incantation. O Girra, perfect lord, "You are the light," (thus) your name is invoked,
20. You illumine the houses of all the gods,
21. You illumine the totality of all the lands.
22. Because you are present for me and
23. Decide lawsuits in the stead of Sîn and Šamaš,
24. Judge my case, render my verdict.
25. For your bright light, all the people await you (hence)
26. For your pure torch, I turn to you, I seek you.
27. Lord, I seize your hem,
28. I seize the hem of your great divinity,
29. I seize the hem of my god and my goddess,
30. I seize the hem of my city god and my city goddess.
31. […] have pity on me, O lord. The witch has (now) roared at me like a drum.
32. She has seized my head, my neck, and my skull,
33. She has seized my seeing eyes,
34. She has seized my walking feet,
35. She has seized my crossing knees,

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[12] In light of the new evidence, I have now restudied *Maqlû* VII 114–140 and subjected it and the related *Maqlû* VII 57–79 to a detailed analysis; see my "A Neo-Babylonian Recension of *Maqlû*: Some Observations on the Redaction of *Maqlû* Tablet VII and on the Development of Two of its Incantations," in J. C. Fincke, (ed.), *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anläßlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010* (Dresden, 2010), pp. 1–16.

[13] For transcriptions of the Akkadian of these incantations, see the Excursus to this paper.

[14] My translation assumes that a preterite form of the verb may sometimes function as a performative present.

36. She has seized my (load) bearing arms.
37. Now in the presence of your great divinity,
38. Two crisscrossed bronze figurines
39. Of my warlock and my witch,
40. Of my sorcerer and the woman who instigates sorcery against me,
41. Of my male and female encirclers,
42. Of my male and female poisoners,
43. Of the male and female who are enraged at me,
44. Of my male and female enemies,
45. Of my male and female persecutors,
46. Of my male and female litigants,
47. Of my male and female accusers,
48. Of my male and female adversaries,
49. Of my male and female slanderers,
50. Of my male and female evildoers,
51. Who have given me over to a dead man, who have made me experience hardship—
52. Be it an evil demon, be it an evil spirit,
53. Be it an evil ghost, be it an evil constable,
54. Be it an evil god, be it an evil lurker,
55. Be it Lamaštu, be it Labāṣu, be it Aḫḫāzu (jaundice),
56. Be it Lilû, be it Lilītu, be it Ardat-Lilî,
57. Be it *li'bu*-illness, the seizure of the mountain,
58. Be it *bennu*-epilepsy, the spawn of Šulpa'ea,
59. Be it *antašubba* ("fallen from heaven")-epilepsy, be it *Lugalurra*-epilepsy,
60. Be it Hand of a god, be it Hand of a goddess,
61. Be it Hand of a ghost, be it Hand of a curse,
62. Be it Hand of mankind, be it young Lamaštu, the daughter of An,
63. Be it *Sağḫulḫaza*-demon, the attendant who provides evil,
64. Be it swelling, paralysis, numbness,
65. Be it anything evil that has not been named,
66. Be it anything that performs harm to humanity,
67. That seizes me and constantly pursues me night and day,
68. Afflicts my flesh, seizes me all day,
69. And does not let go of me all night.
70. Now in the presence of your great divinity,
71. In pure sulfur, I am burning them, I am scorching them.
72. Look at me, O lord, and uproot them from my body,
73. Release their evil witchcraft.

74. You, Girra, are the lord, the one who goes at my side,
75. Keep me well, that I may declare your great deeds and sing your praises.

Maqlû II 19–75 is a rather long incantation. It begins with a hymnic invocation of the fire god Girra, followed by a statement that the victim is turning to this god for judgment and is taking hold of the fringe of his garment as well as the fringes of other gods related to the victim (19–30). Then, in lines 31–69, the speaker describes what the witches have done to him. This is a rather long description and is actually made up of several lists: First, the speaker states that the witch has attacked and seized various parts of his body (32–36). He then proclaims that now, in the presence of the fire god, he is presenting two crisscrossed figurines of bronze (37–38). These figurines are designated as representing the witch; here follows a long list of names of different kinds of witches (39–50), each pair introduced by the determinative-relative pronoun *ša*, "of" (e.g., *ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*, "of my warlock and my witch"). The list culminates in a one-line general description (line 51) of the harm to which the witches have subjected the victim: "who have given me over to a dead man, who have made me experience hardship." Lines 52–66 form a long list of demons and illnesses that likewise culminates in a description (lines 67–69) of how evil forces have seized and held on to the victim night and day. In lines 70–71, the speaker again says that he is performing the ritual act in the presence of the divinity, and here he states that he is burning the figurines in sulfur. In lines 72–73, he then asks for divine assistance—namely, that his lord look upon him and extirpate the evils (lit. "them") from his body and release their evil witchcraft. The text ends in lines 74–75 with a final invocation and promise of praise.

The text presents a number of structural and logical difficulties. The very length of the combined lists is problematic. More specifically, the following questions are among those that need to be answered: What is the function of lines 32–36, the section that describes how the witch has seized her victim? What relationship obtains between the list of witches and the act described in line 51? What relationship obtains between the list of demons and the preceding witchcraft section, generally, and line 51, specifically? What is the relationship of the list of demons to the description of activities in lines 67–69? Clearly, the most notable difficulties are those caused by the list of demons and illnesses (lines 52–66). These difficulties are of both a syntactic and a conceptual nature. The syntactic difficulty is due to the fact that the list

seems disconnected from its surrounding context and forms a parenthesis. The conceptual difficulty is occasioned by the very existence of a list of demons and illnesses (lines 52–66) here in a witchcraft ritual, for witches and demons are of different natures, the former human, the latter supernatural, and the absence of a clear syntactic connection means that the text does not state clearly what their relationship might be.

It is *a priori* probable that an oral rite containing several lists—particularly lists that disrupt the logical flow of the text—has undergone significant expansion and revision and that one or more of the lists were inserted secondarily into the incantation. This seems to be confirmed by the existence in lines 37–39 and 70–71 of a structuring *Wiederaufnahme* (repetitive resumption) surrounding the lists in lines 40–69:

> ***enenna ina maḫar ilūtika rabīti*** (37)
> *šina ṣalmī siparri etgurūti* (38)
> (*ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*) (39)
> ***enenna ina maḫar ilūtika rabīti*** (70)
> *ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti* (71)
>
> **Now, in the presence of your great divinity,**
> Two crisscrossed bronze figurines
> (of my warlock and my witch)…
> **Now, in the presence of your great divinity,**
> In pure sulfur, I am burning them, I am scorching them.

The existence of long lists and of a *Wiederaufnahme* indicates that the long central part of the text is made up of secondary elements. But let us first study the *Wiederaufnahme* and see its implications, leaving for later an examination of the lists. The *Wiederaufnahme* is realized by the repetition of line 37 as line 70. The inclusion of lists in lines 39–69 caused line 71 to be separated from lines 37–38—that is, the lists resulted in the separation of parts of a ritual statement from each other. Such a statement would have read:

> 37. *enenna ina maḫar ilūtika rabīti*
> 38. *šina ṣalmī siparri etgurūti*
> 39. *ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*
> 71. *ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti.*
>
> 37. Now, in the presence of your great divinity,
> 38. Two crisscrossed bronze figurines
> 39. Of my warlock and my witch
> 71. In pure sulfur, I am burning (them), I am scorching (them).

The text of II 77–103, the very next incantation in Tablet II, follows a ritual sequence comparable to the one just reconstructed for our incantation:

> *enenna ina maḫar ilūtika rabīti*
> *šina ṣalmī kaššāpi u kaššāpti ša siparri ēpuš qātukka*
> *maḫarka uggiršunūtima kâša apqidka* (II 91–93)
>
> Now, in the presence of your great divinity,
> By your power I have fashioned two bronze figurines of the warlock and witch,
> In your presence I cross them, and to you I give them.

This later incantation is also to the fire god. It thus supports the contention that lines 37–38 (and very likely line 39: *ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*, "of my warlock and my witch" [but see below]) and line 71 belong together, and that such a ritual statement constituted the original kernel of the text of II 19–75.

Thus, originally, the statement "now in the presence of your great divinity, two crisscrossed bronze figurines of my warlock and witch" would have been followed immediately by the description of ritual activity presently found in line 71: "In pure sulfur, I am burning (them), I am scorching (them)." But the insertion of various lists between lines 39 and 71 would have broken the connection (perhaps even splitting off the first part of the sentence [38–39] from its closing [71] and leaving the objects in 38–39 (*šina ṣalmī siparri etgurūti*…, "two crisscrossed bronze figurines…") disconnected from the verbs that governed them (*aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti*, "I am burning them, I am scorching them")), and the redactor would have felt the need to recreate the connection. For this reason, line 37 is repeated as line 70; this *Wiederaufnahme* refocuses the speech on the ritual and thus reconnects elements of the ritual that had been sundered by the major digressions.

It should be noted that a non-canonical or variant form of the incantation supports this analysis. In place of the form of line 38 of the canonical text, *KAR* 240 reads: *šina ṣalmī siparri etgurūti ušēpiš*, "Two crisscrossed bronze figurines of the warlock and witch I have had fashioned." This version has *ušēpiš*, "I have had fashioned," where the standard text has nothing. Regardless of whether we consider *ušēpiš* to be original or an addition, the reading *ušēpiš* supports the argument that the incantation has experienced a major interpolation that disrupted the incantation and split up the description of the ritual: Either *ušēpiš*

is secondary and was added in order to provide a verb to a statement that no longer had one, or it is original and the verb in line 38 was dropped so that as the present introduction of a long list of witches, line 38 might have the proper form of a header rather than serve as a verbal expression or description of the ritual.[15]

Having seen that the text has experienced major expansion and structural modification by means of interpolations, we should now turn our attention to the lists themselves. Let us deal with them in order.

Immediately prior to the description of the ritual, a list (lines 32–36) describes how the witch has seized the various parts of the victim's body. In addresses to gods, the description of the evils that the witch has done against the speaker usually precedes the statement of the ritual act that he is undertaking against the witch. Thus if, for example, we look again to the incantation that follows ours in Tablet II (an incantation which, as we have seen, evinces similarities to the incantation under study), we find that the speaker in lines 87–89 recites the foul deeds of the witch immediately prior to his ritual statement in the previously quoted lines 91–93:

> I have been attacked by witchcraft, and so I stand before you,
> I have been cursed in the presence of god, king and lord, and so I come toward you,
> I have been made sickening in the sight of anyone who beholds me, and so I bow down before you.

This suggests that also in our incantation, the description of the witch seizing the victim that appears prior to the ritual was part of the original text.

But if lines 32–36 are primary, the same cannot be said of the lists of witches and demons. That it is unnecessary to list a long series of witches is indicated, for example, by the ritually similar II 92, cited above: *šina ṣalmī kaššāpi u kaššāpti ša siparri ēpuš qātukka*, "By your power I have fashioned two bronze figurines of the warlock and the witch," where the mention of only the *kaššāpi u kaššāpti*, "the warlock

[15] Personally, I think that the verb is original to the text, for that form of the text is easier, even though the argument that it was needed to reconnect sundered lines might serve my analysis better.

and the witch," suffices and seems natural.[16] The present list in II 39–50 is an example of a standard expanded list (for which, see, e.g., *Maqlû* I 73–86[17] and *AfO* 18 [1957–58], 289: 1–5). It is possible, therefore, that the first pair, the warlock and witch (*ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*, line 39), was original and that a standard series of pairs of different kinds of "witches" drawn from a standard list was added on to it, though we cannot exclude the possibility that line 39 was also secondary and that a full list comprising the standard series of pairs was inserted as lines

[16] Note, moreover, that the version of our incantation preserved in *KAR* 240 does not contain lines 40–41 and skips from line 39 to line 42. This omission further suggests that the list of witches itself was built up over time, for the sequence *kaššāpu*, "warlock," + *rāḫû*, "poisoner" (39+42: *kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya* + *rāḫîya u rāḫītiya*) seems to be an earlier one (see, e.g., VI 127 // 135: *e kaššāptiya lū rāḫḫātiya*, "Ha! my witch, my poisoner," and cf. the many cases where we have just *kišpū ruḫû*, "witchcraft, spittle" [e.g., VII 161] and not the standard longer sequence). Assuming that line 39 existed in the original text (which in itself is not certain), lines 42ff may have been added first, and only later lines 40–41.

[17] *Maqlû* I 73–86 reads:

73. ÉN ^{d}*nuska annûtu ṣalmū ēpišiya*
74. *annûtu ṣalmū ēpištiya*
75. *ṣalmū kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*
76. *ṣalmū ēpišiya u muštēpištiya*
77. *ṣalmū sāḫiriya u sāḫirtiya*
78. *ṣalmū rāḫîya u rāḫītiya*
79. *ṣalmū bēl ikkiya u bēlet ikkiya*
80. *ṣalmū bēl ṣerriya u bēlet ṣerriya*
81. *ṣalmū bēl rīdiya u bēlet rīdiya*
82. *ṣalmū bēl dīniya u bēlet dīniya*
83. *ṣalmū bēl amātiya u bēlet amātiya*
84. *ṣalmū bēl dabābiya u bēlet dabābiya*
85. *ṣalmū bēl egerrêya u bēlet egerrêya*
86. *ṣalmū bēl lemuttiya u bēlet lemuttiya*

73. Incantation. O Nuska, these are the figurines of my sorcerer,
74. These are the figurines of my sorceress,
75. The figurines of my warlock and my witch,
76. The figurines of my sorcerer and the woman who instigates sorcery against me,
77. The figurines of my male and female encirclers,
78. The figurines of my male and female poisoners,
79. The figurines of the male and female who are enraged at me,
80. The figurines of my male and female enemies,
81. The figurines of my male and female persecutors,
82. The figurines of my male and female litigants,
83. The figurines of my male and female accusers,
84. The figurines of my male and female adversaries,
85. The figurines of my male and female slanderers,
86. The figurines of my male and female evildoers.

39–50.[18] That a standard series of pairs of different kinds of "witches" was added here receives further support from the fact that whereas a description of what the witches have done follows only after the enumeration in the other texts that contain the list, here we find descriptions both before (31–36) and after (51).

Line 51 describes the harm to which the witches have subjected the victim. But let us leave for later the discussion of line 51, which is best discussed alongside lines 67–69, and turn instead to the list of demons and illnesses in lines 52–66. This list is set off from the previous list of witches by the non-human nature of the entries and by the introduction of each entry by means of *lū*, "be it," rather than by the determinative-relative pronoun *ša*, "of," that introduces each pair of witches. Were the witches and demons part of one list, we would have expected also the demons to have been introduced by *ša*, as is the case, for example, in *anašši dipāru*, "I am raising the torch," the last incantation in Tablet I, and therefore for our text to have read something like "figurines of my warlock and my witch, of my sorcerer and the woman who instigates sorcery against me, of my male and female encirclers, etc.…, of an evil demon, of an evil spirit, of an evil ghost, of an evil constable, of an evil god, of an evil lurker, etc.…"[19] In addition, each list is characterized by a separate descriptive statement (51;

[18] That *kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*, "my warlock and my witch," of line 39 could either have been part of the original text and have attracted the rest of the list or have been part of a list that was inserted is further supported by the observation that this pair may have formed the first entry of a standard list. This inference is strongly suggested by *Maqlû* I 73ff. That list is difficult, but it seems to point to the existence of a list with *kaššāpu* and *kaššāptu* as the first pair. *Maqlû* I 73ff. begins with *ēpišiya*…*ēpištiya*, "my sorcerer…my sorceress," followed by *kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*, "my warlock and my witch," and then again *ēpišiya u muštēpištiya*, "my sorcerer and the woman who instigates sorcery against me," etc. Why is *ēpišiya* repeated twice? An explanation would be forthcoming were we to assume that originally I 73ff only had *ēpišiya u ēpištiya*, to which a standard list (that began with *kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*, followed by *ēpišiya u muštēpištiya*, etc.) was added. This solution would establish the existence of a list with *kaššāpu* and *kaššāptu* as its first entry. (I should note that the existence of a list that began with *kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya* and was identical with II 39ff. would render it more likely that line 39 was also secondary in this incantation and was introduced as part of the list.)

[19] For such a usage with demons and the like, see simply *Maqlû* I 135–139: *anašši dipāru ṣalmīšunu aqallu / ša utukku šēdu rābiṣu eṭemmu / lamašti labāṣi aḫḫāzu / lilû lilītu ardat-lilî / u mimma lemnu muṣabbitu amēlūti*, "I am raising the torch and burning the figurines of the demon, the spirit, the lurker, the ghost, Lamaštu, Labāṣu, Aḫḫāzu (jaundice), Lilû, Lilītu, Ardat-Lilî, and any evil that seizes mankind."

67–69). Thus, the fact that the two lists are characterized by different subjects, modes of enumeration, and descriptions[20] demonstrates their separateness and strongly suggests their compositional independence.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the list of demons is syntactically disconnected from its surrounding context and forms a parenthesis. As the text stands now, the list of demons seems to provide an explanation of the nature of the evil experience that, according to line 51, the witch made the victim experience. The list was apparently inserted to explicate and enumerate *namrāṣu*, "hardship," in the line that precedes the list and seems now to stand in apposition to line 51. Thus, while the expanded list was not part of the original incantation, the list of demons and illnesses was probably only added to the incantation subsequent to the development of the list of witches. Perhaps the list of demons and illnesses was incorporated into the text in order to expand the range of the witch's power and to (re)define her relationship to demons (cf. *Maqlû* V 57–75 and see below).

We turn now to lines 51 and 67–69. Line 51 (*ša ana mīti puqqudū'inni namrāṣa kullumū'inni*, "who have given me over to a dead man, who have made me experience hardship") seems to refer backward to the previously enumerated witches. One has this impression in the first instance because also this line is introduced by means of the determinative-relative pronoun *ša* (here with the meaning "who"), the mode of introduction of each item in the previous list of witches. But actually this form of introduction of line 51 may simply be due to the fact that when the citing of an individual witch or of a series of witches is followed by a description of her/their actions, that description is often introduced by the relative *ša* even when the mention of the witch had not been introduced by *ša*. Be that as it may, it seems reasonable to assume that this line was added following the expansion of the list of "witches" as a way of drawing the list together and of describing and summarizing what the group had done. But this chronology may not be correct; we shall reexamine this impression immediately below in our discussion of lines 67–69.

We now turn to the end of the list. Lines 67–69 seem to be part of the demon section because these lines come at its end, seem to summarize it, and, on the face of it, seem better to describe activities that

[20] Our conclusion stands even if (as is done below) the descriptions (51; 67–69) are treated together and understood to have been inserted into the text at the same time.

suit demons and illnesses,[21] particularly because of the phrase "that afflicts my flesh." Thus, it would be reasonable to assume—as we did with line 51 in regard to the preceding list of witches—that lines 67–69 were added following the expansion of the list of demons and illnesses as a way of drawing that list together and of describing and summarizing the harm that these evils had done.[22]

But the structure of lines 67–69 raises another possibility. Lines 67–69 read:

67. *ša ṣabtannima*[23] *mūša u urra irteneddânni*
68. *uḫattû šīrīya kal ūmi ṣabtannima*
69. *kal mūši lā umaššaranni*

That seizes me and constantly pursues me night and day,
Afflicts my flesh, seizes me all day,
And does not let go of me all night.

The structure of these lines is A-B-X-A'-B', X being the phrase "who afflicts my flesh." It seems likely that this phrase is an insertion in the middle of an otherwise closely knit parallel structure. As stated earlier, the phrase "who afflicts my flesh" suits demons and illnesses better than witches. If it is correct to regard the insertion of this phrase as part of a secondary revision, then also an earlier version of lines 67–69 might originally have referred to witches and have continued line 51.[24] If so, both summary statements might have been inserted into the text at the same time. In that case, the connection between lines 51

[21] Cf., e.g., W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi* (Wiesbaden, 1977), p. 131: 68–69 (transcribed and translated on pp. 144–145): *mimma lemnu ša* DIB-*an-ni-ma*(*iṣbatannima*) UŠ.MEŠ-*ni*(*irteneddânni*) *la'bann*[*i*] *lā umaššaranni*, "'Alles Böse', das mich erfasst hat und mich dauernd verfolgt, mich befallen hat, mich nicht loslässt,…" (but see note 23 below.).

[22] Accordingly, lines 67–69 would have been inserted following the insertion of the list of demons, but modeled on line 51.

[23] The form of *ṣabātu*, "to seize," in lines 67 and 68 is written *ṣab-ta*/*t*[*an*]-*ni-ma* and should be normalized as *ṣabtannima* (stative+suffix). While *ṣab-ta*/*t*[*an*]-*ni-ma* may possibly be an ancient mistake for the prefix form of the verb (*iṣbatannima*), it seems more likely that DIB-*an-ni-ma* in Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale*, p. 131: 68, should be transcribed as *ṣabtannima* rather than *iṣbatannima*.

[24] The beginning of *KAR* 235, obv. 2' (now missing on photo VAN 12912a and on the tablet) does not have the opening *ša* of line 67 (the rest of lines 67–69 are on obv. 2'–3'). Obv. 1' has only traces and does not indicate what preceded line 67 in this manuscript. In view of the absence of *ša*, we may be permitted to speculate that perhaps this manuscript reflects a form of the text in which line 67 immediately continued line 51 and accordingly did not require *ša* (**ša ana mīti puqqudū'inni namrāṣa kullumū'inni ṣabtannima mūša u urra irteddânni kal ūmi ṣabtannima kal mūši lā umaššaranni*); but note the shift from the plural to the singular form of the verb.

and 67–69 would have been disrupted by the insertion of the list of demons (and the similarity of lines 51 and 67–69 would then provide further support for the secondary nature of that list).

But both line 51 and lines 67–69 are odd; they are quite different from typical descriptions of the activities of witches, and we should not treat them as we would other descriptions. Thus, while it is reasonable to suppose that both summary statements were inserted into the text at the same time, their strangeness suggests that they were inserted not prior to the insertion of the list of demons but subsequent thereto—that is, after the insertion and expansion of both lists.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the insertion of lines 51 and 67–69 was to separate the lists from each other. If so, lines 67–69 were intended to describe what demons do, while line 51 was inserted to characterize the witches, introduce the demons, and connect the witchcraft and demonic sections (51a = giving man over to ghosts; 51b = giving man over to demons and the like). In any case, the witches are the ultimate cause (i.e., they give the person over to demons) and demons the proximate cause (i.e., they cause the present suffering) of the victim's plight.

Following the enumeration of demons and illnesses, the speaker first states that he is burning the figurines in sulfur and then, in lines 72–73, asks for divine assistance. The form of this final request provides further support for our conclusion regarding the secondary nature of the demon/illness section and helps us grasp more fully how the text was revised. Here the speaker turns to the god with the request: (*naplisannima bēlu*)[25] *usuḫšunūti ina zumriya / pušur kišpīšunu lemnūti*, "(Look at me, O lord, and) uproot them from my body, release their evil witch-

[25] It is probably not a coincidence that the god is referred to as *bēlu*, "master," both at the beginning of the request (31) and here at the end. Alongside *bēlu* we find the use of *rêmu* (*rēmanni*, "have pity on me") in line 31 and *naplusu* (*naplisanni*, "look at me") in line 72. Such usages are unexpected in an incantation to the fire-god as judge. These lines may form a secondary envelope construction that is intended to present the god not as a judge but as a gracious master. *Bēlu* also occurs in line 27; seizing the hem of the god(s) in lines 27–30 fits the representation of the god as a gracious master, and thus also lines 27–30 may possibly be part of the adaptation of the incantation or of the type.

Furthermore, note the use of a perfect form of the verb (*iltasi/u*, "has (now) roared") in line 31. Could the use of the perfect in that line rather than the normal preterite, and in contrast to the use of the preterite in lines 32–36, reflect the later insertion of line 31 and therefore belong to a different linguistic usage/stage? Elsewhere, I shall take up the question of the use of tenses/aspects in *Maqlû* incantations.

craft." The two requests, lines 72b and 73, seem to stand in parallel, but they cannot refer to the same entity for the following reasons: line 72b cannot refer to the witches and must refer to the demons and illnesses previously enumerated, for it is demons and illnesses that take up residence in the body, while witches normally seize their victim externally but do not invade the body.[26] (One extirpates demons and illness, but kills witches.) As the text now stands, "their witchcraft" of line 73 refers back to the demons of line 72. But witchcraft is practiced by humans and not by demons, and therefore line 73 cannot refer back to line 72. Accordingly, line 72b is also an insertion, for it is meant to refer to the demons who have attacked the victim. Thus, the first request refers to disease, the second to witchcraft.

At present, then, the designations of evil in the text seem to be organized along a secondary chiastic pattern of hysteron-proteron:

A_1 Enumeration of witches (39–51)
B_1 Enumeration of demons (52–69)
B_2 Request to remove the illnesses and demons (72b)
A_2 Request to release witchcraft (73).

Let us now summarize some of the developments that we have noted. The original kernel of the text of lines 37–73 would have read something like:

enenna ina maḫar ilūtika rabīti
šina ṣalmī siparri etgurūti (*ušēpiš*)
ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya
ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti
naplisannima bēlu pušur kišpīšunu lemnūti

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[26] There are exceptions, but these reflect the late merger of the witch and illness, a development that is reflected by or is taking place in our text (see, e.g., LKA 154 + 155 //, and my discussion in "Internalization of Suffering and Illness in Mesopotamia: A Development in Mesopotamian Witchcraft Literature," in *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 15 (1998) [= P. Xella, ed., *Magic in the Ancient Near East*]: 49–58 = Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft*, pp. 89–96).

A comparable situation may exist in *Maqlû* VII 12–16. Line 14 there reads: ^{d}*ningišzida lissuḫšunūti*, "May Ningišzida extirpate them." Since on the face of it *nasāḫu*, "to extirpate, uproot," seems to fit better with objects than persons, it seems to refer to the witchcraft rather than the witches. But that assumption creates problems and confusion in the text, for in the adjoining lines the 3rd person plural suffix (both object and possessive) refers to the witches. Perhaps, there too *nasāḫu* with the 3rd person plural object suffix has been added to the text. Alternatively, the usage may reflect a change in the image of the witches so that they are now demonic (this does not preclude the possibility that the line was added).

Now in the presence of your great divinity, (37)
Two crisscrossed bronze figurines (38)
Of my warlock and my witch,…, (39)[27]
In pure sulfur, I am burning them, I am scorching them. (71)
Look at me, O lord, and release their evil witchcraft. (72a, 73)

Subsequently, the incantation underwent the series of expansions and revisions that we have noted: A list of designations of different kinds of witches (39–50) was expanded in stages; then a list (52–66) of demons and illnesses was inserted.[28] Perhaps at this stage, line 72b was added to the request in order to cover the aforementioned demons and illnesses. Subsequent to these expansions, line 37 was repeated as line 70 in order to refocus the speech on the ritual and thus reconnect stages of the ritual that had been sundered by the major digressions.

The inclusion of the list of demons indicates a growth of power on the part of the witch. Demons were originally independent beings, but over time the witch became able to control non-human demonic forces in addition to other human beings. The demons' loss of autonomy vis-à-vis the witch is due to her increasing power, but it also appears to parallel (and be part of the same trend as) an increasing subordination of demons to the gods.[29] In any case, one may suggest that the insertion of the list of demons in this incantation reflects an expansion of the range of powers of the witch, serves to redefine her relationship to demons and illness, and indicates her increasing control over demons.[30]

B. *Maqlû* Tablet IV 1–79

1. Incantation. Burn, burn, blaze, blaze!
2. Evil and wicked one, do not enter, go away!
3. Whoever you are—the son of whomever, whoever you are—the daughter of whomever,

[27] The translation of the version of lines 38–39 with *ušēpiš* reads: "Two crisscrossed bronze figurines of my warlock and my witch I have had fashioned."

[28] Because of uncertainties, we leave lines 51 and 67–69 out of the summary.

[29] For the subordination of the demons to the gods, see K. van der Toorn, "The Theology of Demons in Mesopotamia and Israel. Popular Belief and Scholarly Speculation," in A. Lange, et al. (eds)., *Die Dämonen—Demons* (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 73–76.

[30] The witch's ability to dispatch demons (and illness) against her victims is evident in other incantations as well; an excellent example is provided by *Maqlû* V 57–75, especially 60–67.

4. Who sit and perform repeatedly[31] your sorcery and machinations against me myself:
5. May Ea, the exorcist, release.
6. May Asalluḫi, the exorcist of the gods, Ea's son, the sage, divert your witchcraft.
7. I am binding you, I am holding you captive, I am giving you over
8. To Girra, the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches.
9. May Girra, the burner, be joined to my side.
10. Sorcery, rebellion, evil word, love(-magic), hate(-magic),
11. Perversion of justice, *Zikurrudâ*-magic, aphasia, pacification,
12. Mood swings, vertigo, madness,
13. You have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release.
14. You have betrothed me to a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
15. You have handed me over to a skull,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
16. You have handed me over to a ghost of (a member of) my family,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
17. You have handed me over to a ghost of a stranger,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
18. You have handed me over to a roaming ghost who has no caretaker,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
19. You have handed me over to a ghost in the uninhabited wasteland,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).

[31] All verbs of bewitching in this incantation are 2nd person plural.

20. You have handed me over to the steppe, open country, and desert,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
21. You have handed me over to wall and battlement,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
22. You have handed me over to the mistress of the steppe and open country,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
23. You have handed me over to a kiln, a roasting oven, a baking oven, a brazier, a . . . -oven, and bellows,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
24. You have handed over figurines of me to a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
25. You have betrothed figurines of me to a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
26. You have laid figurines of me with a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
27. You have laid figurines of me in the lap of a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
28. You have buried figurines of me in the grave of a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
29. You have handed over figurines of me to a skull,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
30. You have immured figurines of me in a wall,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
31. You have laid figurines of me under a threshold,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).

32. You have immured figurines of me in the drainage opening of a wall,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
33. You have buried figurines of me on a bridge so that crowds would trample over them,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
34. You have made a hole in the mat (covering water) of a fuller and (therein) buried figurines of me,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
35. You have made a hole in the channel (full of water) of a gardener and (therein) buried figurines of me,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
36. Figurines of me—whether of tamarisk, or of cedar, or of tallow,
37. Or of wax, or of sesame-husks,
38. Or of bitumen, or of clay, or of dough,
39. Figurines, representations of my face and my body you have made
40. And fed to dog(s), fed to pig(s),
41. Fed to bird(s), cast into a river.
42. You have handed over figurines of me to Lamaštu, daughter of An,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
43. You have handed over figurines of me to Girra,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
44. You have laid my (funerary) water with a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
45. You have laid my water in the lap of a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
46. You have buried my water in the grave of a dead man,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).

47. You have buried my water [in?…] of the earth/netherworld,[32]
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
48. You have buried my water [in?…] of the earth/netherworld,[33]
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
49. You have drawn my water [in the presence of the gods of the night?],
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
50. You have given over [my water?] to Gilgameš,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
51. You have betrothed me [to the nether]world,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
52. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of the moon (*Sîn*),
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
53. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Jupiter (*Šulpa'ea*),
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
54. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Cygnus (*Nimru*),[34]
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
55. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Lyra (*Gula*),[35]
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
56. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Leo (*Urgulû*),
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).

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[32] Perhaps [waste]land.

[33] Perhaps [a crevice] in the earth.

[34] More precisely, Cygnus, Lacerta and parts of Cassiopeia and Cepheus (so H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden, 1999), p. 274).

[35] Or Aquarius: One manuscript has ^{d}*gu-la* (Lyra), another MUL.GU.LA (Aquarius).

57. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Ursa Major (*Ereqqu*),
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
58. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Scorpio (*Zuqaqīpu*),
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
59. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Orion (*Šitaddaru*),
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
60. *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of Centaurus (*Ḫabaṣīrānu*),
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
61. *Zikurrudâ* magic by means of a snake, a mongoose, a dormouse[?], a *pirurūtu*-mouse,
    You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).
62. *Zikurrudâ* magic by means of a corpse[?], […], *Z*[*ikurrudâ* magic] by means of "spittle" (*ruḫû*),
    <You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release).>
63. [You have fed] me bread, food, (and) fruit,
    "You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)".
64. You have given me to drink water…[ ] beer and wine,
    "You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)".
65. You have washed me with water and potash,
    [You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
66. You have salved me with oil,
    [You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
67. You have had gifts brought to me,
    [You (have performed against me, have had performed against me: may Girra release)].
68. You have caused me to be dismissed from the presence of god[!], king, noble, and prince.
69. You have caused me to be dismissed from the presence of courtier, attendant, and palace personnel.

70. You have caused me to be dismissed from the presence of friend, companion, and peer.
71. You have caused me to be dismissed from the presence of father and mother, brother [and] sister, wife, son and daughter.
72. You have caused me to be dismissed from the presence of household and city quarter, male and female servants, young and old of the household.
73. You have made me sickening in the sight of one who beholds me.
74. I have (now) captured you, I have (now) bound you, I have (now) given you over
75. To Girra, the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches.
76. May Girra, the burner, undo your bindings,
77. Release your witchcraft, [releas]e[?] your scatter-offerings.
78. By the command of Marduk, Ea's son, the sage,
79. and blazing Girra, An's son, the warrior. Incantation Formula.

The incantation begins with a call to the fire to destroy the witches (line 1). In lines 3–4, the speaker addresses his enemies in the second person and imputes to them the repeated performance of witchcraft against him. He then asks that the two gods of magic, Ea and Asalluḫi, help him—that is, that Ea release and Asalluḫi turn back whatever witchcraft the witches had performed against him (lines 5–6). The speaker then states that he is binding the witches and giving them over to the fire god Girra, "the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches," and expresses the wish that the fire god stand at his side and aid him (7–9). Then, in lines 10–73, the text specifies almost every imaginable act of witchcraft and repeats after each act the request that Girra undo whatever witchcraft the witch had performed. Finally, in lines 74–77, the speaker states that he has bound the witches and given them over to the fire god Girra, "the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches," and expresses the wish that the fire god undo the witchcraft and the ritual paraphernalia used to perform witchcraft.

The most notable feature of this incantation is the extensive list of witchcraft activities found in lines 10–73. Most of the entries are followed by the antiphon: "You have performed against me (or) have had performed against me: may Girra release." In the main, the entries are not unrelated items, but appear rather in blocks that contain a number of related entries describing what the witch had done. Though there is

some overlapping between blocks, each block appears to be characterized by a different action or perspective: for example, handing over (usually the verb *paqādu*) the victim to various entities, most notably ghosts (*eṭemmu*) (lines 14–23); burial and other treatment of figurines (*ṣalmū*) of the victim (some entries are parallel to entries in the preceding group) (lines 24–43); placing water (*mê*)[36] of the victim among the dead (lines 44–51); performance of *Zikurrudâ* magic in the presence of various astral bodies, etc. (lines 52–62); bewitching the victim by means of food, drink, washing, salving, and messages (lines 63–67); causing the rejection (*ina maḫar…šuškunu*) of the victim by various people and groups (lines 68–73).

This catalogue of witchcraft acts presents a relatively comprehensive account of what the witch can do. But various literary features—notably that the list can be divided into discreet blocks, that these blocks have some overlap, that some blocks are a bit disorganized, that some individual items deviate from the material with which they are grouped, and that the antiphon does not occur with all blocks[37]—all immediately suggest that the list is composite.[38] But whether composite or not, the list in its present form was not originally part of the incantation, for the length and scope of the list are disproportionate to its present setting in an incantation that centers upon the invocation of the fire and the description of the ritual burning of the witches. Perhaps more

[36] I had originally thought that *mê* here referred to semen (actually, or perhaps just metaphorically), but I now accept D. Schwemer's suggestion that "water" here refers to the water offered in a funerary ritual and thus represents the death (and death ritual) of the victim.

[37] At the present time, I am not able to work out all the details of the blocks or of their incorporation. Some entries do not conform and deviate from their present environment. It is more than possible that not all long blocks were inserted at one time, and perhaps some entries were already present at the time of the composition of the incantation.

The following do not conform to the overall blocks. Is it possible that they are original?

14. *ana mīti taḫīrā'inni*, "You have betrothed me to a dead man."

15. *ana gulgullati tapqidā'inni*, "You have handed me over to a skull."

24. *ṣalmīya ana mīti tapqidā*, "You have handed over figurines of me to a dead man."

25. *ṣalmīya ana mīti taḫīrā*, "You have betrothed figurines of me to a dead man."

29. *ṣalmīya ana gulgullati tapqidā*, "You have handed over figurines of me to a skull."

51. ⌜*ana*⌝ *a*[*ral*]*lê taḫīrā'inni*, "You have betrothed me [to the nether]world."

[38] I have not yet been able to work out the relative chronology of the incorporation of the sections.

important in this regard is the fact that the list distances elements of a continuous performance from each other.

These descriptive and critical impressions are confirmed by the existence here, too, of a *Wiederaufnahme*:

> *akassīkunūši akammīkunūši anamdinkunūši*
> *ana girra qāmê qālî kāsî kāšidu ša kaššāpāti (7–8)*
>
> *aktamīkunūši aktasīkunūši attadinkunūši*
> *ana girra qāmî qālî kāsî kāšidu ša kaššāpāti (74–75)*
>
> I am binding you, I am holding you captive, I am giving you over
> To Girra, the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches.
>
> I have (now) captured you, I have (now) bound you, I have (now) given you over
> To Girra, the burner, the scorcher, the binder, the vanquisher of witches.

We immediately note that lines 7–8 are repeated, with slight variation, in lines 74–75. This repetition is a consequence of the fact that several long series of actions were included in the incantation, and they thereby separated the beginning of the incantation from its end. Lines 74–75 were thus meant to reconnect the beginning and end of a text that had been disconnected by a major digression (or expansion of an element).

As noted, lines 74–75 repeat lines 7–8, but the repetition is not mechanical: the statement in line 7 is in the durative verb form (*akassīkunūši akammīkunūši*,…, "I am binding you, I am holding you captive,…"); that in line 74 is in the perfect (*aktamīkunūši aktasīkunūši*,…, "I have (now) captured you, I have (now) bound you,…").[39] Because of the massive expansion of the incantation, a verbal expression that originally referred to an act taking place at the same time as the utterance, now referred to an act that had already been completed and was in the past.

The repetition of elements is not limited to these lines and extends also to the short request to the fire god that follows upon the speaker's

[39] Given the position of these lines near the beginning and end of the incantation and the use of a durative in the one and a perfect in the other, it is possible to regard this repetition as an inclusio. All the same, it is a *Wiederaufnahme* because of the existence of blocks of material that seem to have been inserted into the incantation. The alternative would be to imagine the (composition and) incorporation of many of the blocks at the time of initial composition. This is not impossible, but would then reflect authorship on the basis of previously existing materials. See below.

statement that he is giving over the witches to him. In line 9, the text reads: "May Girra, the burner, be joined to my side." This is expanded and paralleled by lines 76–77: "May Girra, the burner, undo your bindings, release your witchcraft, [releas]e[?] your scatter-offerings." Thus, when the author repeated the earlier lines 7–8 in lines 74–75, he also repeated the earlier line 9 in expanded form in lines 76–77. Actually, it would appear that originally, prior to the expansion of the text and the subsequent creation of repetitive resumptions, line 9 was followed immediately by the final *ina qibīt* formula of lines 78–79: "By the command of Marduk, Ea's son, the sage, and blazing Girra, An's son, the warrior." This is suggested by the fact that lines such as 9 normally occur at the end of an incantation. See, for example, the two incantations in *KAR* 80 and duplicates, where we find our line at the end of each incantation: *^{d}nuska šurbû ina qibītika litallil idāya*, "At your command, may grand Nuska be joined to my side" (rev. 14); *^{d}šamaš ina pīka ^{d}girra tappûka litallil idāya*, "Šamaš, by your order, may Girra, your companion, be joined to my side" (rev. 35–36).

In any case, prior to the addition of the lists of lines 10–73, the earlier text ended with lines 9+78–79; in this earlier text, lines 3–4 functioned as the description of the witches' actions against the victim and were followed by a request in line 5(+6) that Ea and Asalluḫi release the witchcraft. Therefore the later recurring antiphon was modeled on line 5(+6); this line takes the description of the witches' actions in line 4 as its understood object. Thus, we may conclude our analysis by saying that the original text probably was the present lines 1–9 + 78–79 and that the lists of malevolent actions that the witch could perform were all added secondarily. Each entry served to exemplify the general statement of line 4, and each was provided with an antiphon parallel to line 5.[40] Finally, lines 7–9 were repeated in a modified form as lines

[40] Line 13 (*tēpušāni tušēpišāni girra lipšur*, "You have performed against me, have had performed against me: May Girra release") is the model for the antiphon in lines 14ff. represented by *te-*. The model for lines 10–13 is lines 4–5. Both in lines 4 and 13 as well as in the antiphones in lines 14ff., DN *lipšur*, "May DN release," does not seem to have a direct grammatical object, though clearly the witchcraft or the act of witchcraft is the functional/logical object of the verb. But whereas the antiphones in 14ff. do not take the preceding entry as their direct grammatical object, both *tēpušāni tušēpišāni*, "you have performed against me, have had performed against me," of line 13 and *tēteneppušāni*, "you who perform repeatedly," of the second half of line 4 do take the preceding entries (10–12 and the first half of line 4, respectively) as their direct objects. Is it possible, therefore, that line 13 may have served originally not as

74–77 in order to recreate the connection sundered by the insertion of the aforementioned lists presently found in lines 10–73.

Taken together, the entries generalize the power of the witch. Perhaps, then, the expansion reflects an attempt to present a full catalogue of all malevolent ritual activities that the witch could perform and thus to present her not as the limited force that she had previously been but as an almost universally powerful being.[41]

Conclusion

In my estimation, the texts that we have examined here are the result of expansion, and the various lists were secondarily added.[42] But in conclusion, I would acknowledge that it is not inconceivable that texts of this sort may sometimes have been composed in the form in which we have them, the composer himself having put the disparate materials together.[43] For, surely, not all repetitive resumptions represent revision. Resumption may function as an authorial device,[44] and either serve an artistic purpose for a skilled craftsman or help a less than successful writer to deal with his own verbosity, expansiveness, listings, and digressions.[45] Thus, even were a lengthy composite incantation to have been put together by one hand, the mode of analysis exemplified in the present essay will have provided a model by which to

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an "antiphon," and that lines 10–13, like lines 3–5, may have been part of the original incantation?

[41] It is probable that the types of malevolent actions attributed to the witch expanded during the first millennium to include activities that were previously not part of her primary repertoire. If one assumes (as I do) that the omen-witchcraft connection and therefore the *zikurrudâ* (a deadly magical practice, lit. "throat cutting") connection are relatively late, the fact that this incantation has included such activities in prominent positions in the list would suggest that the incantation has intentionally expanded the purview of the witch's activities by incorporating malevolent activities that were previously not associated with her.

[42] Cf. Sh. Shaked's observation on the structure of the Aramaic bowl incantation MS 2053/170: "The way in which different formulae are put together in a single text.... One has the feeling, though, that a long text can evolve out of a fairly free juxtaposition of separate elements, that are used like building blocks" ("Form and Purpose in Aramaic Spells: Some Jewish Themes [The poetics of magic texts]," in Sh. Shaked, ed., *Officina Magica. Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), p. 7.

[43] Of the two incantations examined in this essay, this possibility is more likely to apply to the second rather than the first.

[44] See above, note 7.

[45] I am indebted to Martin Worthington for nudging me to reiterate the point that not all repetitive resumptions represent revision.

understand how a composer created a long and complex incantation by assembling preexistent materials and combining disparate elements (some of his own creation) into the incantation that we now have.

But where there are other reasons to believe that the text has been redacted, then the repetitive resumption should be treated as part of a revision and not as original. Often such evidence exists, and I would therefore conclude by affirming my belief that the incantations studied here, as well as many others, are the result of expansion. The texts surely exemplify continuity and innovation in the Mesopotamian magical tradition.

Excursus: Transcription of Maqlû *II 19–75 and IV 1–79 (partial)*[46]

A. *Maqlû* II 19–75

19. ÉN ^{d}*girra bēlu gitmālu* ^{d}*nannārāta nabi šumka*
20. *tušnammar bītāt ilī kalāma*
21. [*tu*]*šnammar gimir kal(î)šina mātāti*
22. *aššu attā* [*ana yâš*]*i tazzazzuma*
23. *kīma* ^{d}*sîn u* ^{d}*šamaš tadinnu dīnu*
24. *dēnī dīn(i) purussâya purus*
25. *ana nūrika namri nišū kalîšina upaqqāka*
26. *ana elleti dipārika asḫurka ešēka*
27. *bēlu sissiktaka aṣbat*
28. *sissikti ilūtika* [*rabīt*]*i aṣbat*
29. *sissikti i*[*liya u* ^{d}*ištariya*] *aṣbat*
30. [*sissikti il ā*]*liya u* ^{d}*ištar āliya aṣbat*
31. [ ]-x-*ma rēmanni bēlu kaššāptu kīma lilissi iltasi eliya*
32. *iṣbat qaqqadī kišādī u muḫḫī*
33. *iṣbat īnīya nāṭilāti*
34. *iṣbat šēpīya allakāti*
35. *iṣbat birkīya ebberēti*
36. *iṣbat aḫīya muttabbilāti*
37. *enenna ina maḫar ilūtika rabīti*
38. *šina ṣalmī siparri etgurūti*
39. *ša kaššāpiya u kaššāptiya*
40. *ša ēpišiya u muštēpištiya*

[46] Partially broken individual signs are represented as complete except where some uncertainty remains or where adjoining morphemes are completely broken.

41. *ša sāḫiriya u sāḫirtiya*
42. *ša rāḫîya u rāḫītiya*
43. *ša bēl ikkiya u bēlet ikkiya*
44. *ša bēl ṣerriya u bēlet ṣerriya*
45. *ša bēl rīdiya u bēlet rīdiya*
46. *ša bēl dīniya u bēlet dīniya*
47. *ša bēl amātiya u bēlet amātiya*
48. *ša bēl dabābiya u bēlet dabābiya*
49. *ša bēl egerrêya u bēlet egerrêya*
50. *ša bēl lemuttiya u bēlet lemuttiya*
51. *ša ana mīti puqqudū'inni namrāṣa kullumū'inni*
52. *lū utukku lemnu lū alû lemnu*
53. *lū eṭemmu lemnu lū gallû lemnu*
54. *lū ilu lemnu lū rābiṣu lemnu*
55. *lū* ^{d}*lamaštu lū* ^{d}*labāṣu lū* ^{d}*aḫḫāzu*
56. *lū lilû lū lilītu lū ardat lilî*
57. *lū li'bu ṣibit šadî*
58. *lū bennu riḫût* ^{d}*šulpa'ea*
59. *lū antašubbû lū* ^{d}[*lugalurra*]
60. *lū qāt ili lū qā*[*t* ^{d}*ištari*]
61. *lū qāt eṭemmi lū qāt* [*māmīti*]
62. *lū qāt amēlūti*[47] *lū lamaštu ṣeḫertu mārat* ^{d}*ani*
63. *lū saḫḫulḫaza mukīl rēš lemutti*
64. *lū dikiš šīrī šimmatu rimûtu*
65. *lū* [*mimm*]*a lemnu ša šuma lā nabû*
66. *lū* [*mimm*]*a ēpiš lemutti ša amēlūti*
67. *ša ṣabtannima mūša u urra irteneddânni*
68. *uḫattû šīrīya kal ūmi ṣabtannima*
69. *kal mūši lā umaššaranni*
70. *enenna ina maḫar ilūtika rabīti*
71. *ina kibrīti elleti aqallīšunūti ašarrapšunūti*
72. *naplisannima bēlu usuḫšunūti ina zumriya*
73. *pušur kišpīšunu lemnūti*
74. *attā* ^{d}*girra bēlu ālik idīya*
75. *bulliṭannima narbîka lušāpi dalīlīka ludlul*

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[47] Perhaps the names in lines 60–62 are to be construed as Sumerian loan-words rather than ideograms read in Akkadian; if so, read: *šudingirrakku, šu'inannakku, šugidimmakku, šunamerimmakku*, and *šunamlullukku*.

B. *Maqlû* IV 1–79 *(partial)*

1. ÉN *bišlī bišlī qidê qidê*
2. *raggu u ṣēnu ē tērub atlak*
3. *attāmannu mār manni attīmannu mārat manni*
4. *ša ašbātunuma ipšēkunu upšāšêkunu tēteneppušāni yâši*
5. *lipšur* ^{d}*ea mašmaššu*
6. *lišbalkit kišpīkunu* ^{d}*asalluḫi mašmaš ilī mār* ^{d}*ea apkallu*
7. *akassīkunūši akammīkunūši anamdinkunūši*
8. *ana* ^{d}*girra qāmê qālî kāsî kāšidu ša kaššāpāti*
9. ^{d}*girra qāmû litallal idāya*
10. *ipšu bārtu amāt lemutti râmu zīru*
11. *dibalâ zikurrudâ kadabbedâ šurḫungâ*
12. *šabalbalâ ṣūd pānī u šanê ṭēmu*
13. *tēpušāni tušēpišāni* ^{d}*girra lipšur*
14. *ana mīti taḫīrā'inni*: *tē*(*pušāni tušēpišāni* ^{d}*girra lipšur*)

…

74. *aktamīkunūši aktasīkunūši attadinkunūši*
75. *ana* ^{d}*girra qāmî qālî kāsî kāšidu ša kaššāpāti*
76. ^{d}*girra qāmû l*[*ipaṭ*]*ṭir riksīkunu*
77. *lipaššir kišpīkunu* [*lipašš*]*ir sirqīkunu*
78. *ina qibīt* ^{d}*marduk mār* ^{d}*ea apkalli*
79. *u* ^{d}*girra āriru mār* ^{d}*ani qardu* TU_6 ÉN

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FROM RITUAL TO MAGIC: ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PRECURSORS OF THE CHARITESION AND THEIR SOCIAL SETTING

Joachim Friedrich Quack

Introduction

Among the magical rituals attested in the Greek-language papyri of the Roman imperial period, there is one specific genre called charitesion. This aims at giving the beneficiary favor, love and similar gains, normally before the king or men (and women!) in general. Up to now, three specific studies have been devoted to it. One is an article by Faraone (1990) later reused as parts of a book (Faraone 1999: 97–110), another is a lengthy remark within the commentary by Kotansky (1994: 353–360) on such a spell attested in a Greek magical amulet. Finally, Winkler (1991, esp. pp. 218–220) noted the interlacing of spells for charm and violence, stressing how this is the necessary form in an agonistic, masked and duplicitous society.

Faraone started from the Homeric description in the Iliad (14th book) of how Aphrodite provided Hera with a *kestos himas* to give her affection and desire in order to subdue all gods and mortals. Discussing the various uses of straps, special rings or facial ointment, he pointed out some parallels in Assyrian cuneiform texts, as well as noting the relevant passages in the Greek magical papyri and the Cyranides (although they lay outside the time-span he was really dealing with). In spite of the enormous time-gap separating those sources, he spoke confidently of a long-standing Greek tradition of such devices, only partly visible in the extant evidence, that may be traced back directly to Mesopotamia (Faraone 1999: 104). He also noted the blurring of the categories between spells for friendship or love, for good luck and for restraining anger.

Faraone's remarks have to be seen within the context of his general work on Greek magic. This is characterized by two basic assumptions. He tends to regard as Greek much that was transmitted in the Greek-language magical manuals from the Roman Period, rather downplaying the Egyptian religious influence in them. If he looks for foreign

sources and influences, his eyes are more intensely directed toward Mesopotamia, even if he still admits the presence of Egyptian elements (e.g. Faraone 1992; Faraone 1995). Although his work is understandable as a reaction to some excessive claims of Egyptian origin made by Ritner (which in turn were a reaction to previous graecocentric works), Faraone sometimes underestimates the explanatory potential of the Egyptian culture.

Kotansky took his lead from the occurrence of the rare word ἐπαφροδισία "loveliness, elegance" in the amulet he published. He noticed that exactly such an expression was used in a distinct "blessing"-formula attested in the Ptolemaic papyri of the 3rd century BCE. Apart from the documentary texts, the word is only attested in literary texts of the 2nd century CE, and only in authors having strong links with Egypt. As already noticed by Tait (1980: 194) and taken up by Kotansky, this blessing formula can be related to a Demotic greeting formula. Kotansky also demonstrated that extensions of this wish found in other letters combine the wish for loveliness with other items, which closely match the longer lists in some of the magical spells.

In indicating the occurrence of the same rare Greek word in the magical papyri, Kotansky concluded that there was a sharing of Graeco-Demotic terms, and that the magical spells would be the natural outcome of earlier prayers, or blessing formulae, in which favor and loveliness before Pharaoh were invoked. He also noticed that the social context changed, with the magical spells becoming more commercialized and opportunistic. They also often ask for favor before all men and women. Still, quite often, even in the magical papyri, favor before the king was specifically requested.

Although Kotansky did not really discuss the question of ethnic origin, his remarks have done much to clarify the situation. At the same time, it is a challenge to take up where he left off, concerning the relation of the magical spells to the letter formulae, while at the same time taking the lead from his pointing out Demotic Egyptian antecedents in order to arrive at a clearer conception regarding the ultimate origin. I intend to pursue those lines further, and to add a further line of inquiry—namely, concerning similar formulae in Egyptian ritual texts not normally considered magical. The two most important Egyptian key-words are *ḥs.wt* "favor" and *mrw.t* "love"—the latter, according to the typical Egyptian way of expression, the love which one inspires, not the love which one oneself feels.

Finding Favor in Egyptian Letters

Given that the question of letter-formulae was only touched upon by Kotansky for the Ptolemaic period, it seems necessary to expand on it. Already sporadically attested during the Old Kingdom, during the Middle Kingdom it is normal in letters to wish for the addressee that he may find favor in the eyes of specific gods (for many examples, see Collier and Quirke 2002).

Forms of politeness are also attested in an oral greeting transmitted in the literary tale of pWestcar (7, 23f.) from about 1600 BCE. There, the prince is greeted with "in peace, very much, oh prince Hardjedef, beloved of his father. May your father Kheops favor you (*ḥsi*), may he promote your place in old age, may your Ka enchant things against your enemy, may your soul know the ways of yonder to the portals of the necropolis district"—a speech which is explicitly designated as "greeting of a prince" in the text. The high political standing of the addressee explains why favor before the king is mentioned here, whereas in other cases the letter-formula is restricted to wishing for the favor of the gods. We should note that the wish for a personal favored status is explicitly connected in this case with an antagonistic stance involving an anonymous enemy.

Also during the New Kingdom, in the introductory formulae, it was common to wish for the addressee that he/she should be in the favor of one or another god.[1] I would like to take as a sample a relatively large group of letters written at the turn of the Twentieth to the Twenty-First dynasty (Černý 1939; Janssen 1991; Demarree 2006). The typical greeting phrase is: "Be in life, prosperity and health," followed by "in the favor of god X" (LRL 2, 2; 4, 2; 5, 2; 6, 2; 7, 2f.; 9, 2; 12, 2f.; 14, 1f.; 15, 15f.; 17, 5; 21, 6; 22, 9; 27, 3; 28, 15f.; 38, 1f.; 39, 14f.; 41, 12; 44, 7; 55, 4f.; 57, 3; 62, 5; 65, 3); or "I say to god X: 'Grant you favor before god X'" (LRL 1, 4; 12, 5), expanded to: "I say to god X: 'Grant you life, prosperity and health. Grant you favor before god X'" (LRL 3, 3; similarly 38, 2f.; 39, 8f.; 42, 13–15; 44, 13f.; 57, 5f.; 67, 8f.; 68, 16–69, 1); or "Grant you much favor" (LRL 4, 3; 7, 9; 23, 8); or "Grant you favor before the gods and men every day" (LRL 13, 5; 16, 1f.; BM 10440, rt. 5f.); or "Let you be in the favor of the gods and men" (LRL 40, 1f.).

[1] This topic was discussed only very briefly by Bakir 1970: 55.

More specifically: "I say to every god and every goddess whom I see daily: "Grant you life, prosperity and health, and much favor before the general, your lord'" (LRL 14, 6f.; similarly 22, 12; 28, 1; 48, 11f.; 66, 7f.;); combined as: "Grant you life, prosperity and health, a long life and a good old age, and very many favors (*ḥsw.t*) before Amonrasonther and before the general, your lord" (LRL 27, 8f.); without mentioning the gods (LRL 29, 7–9); or simply: "Grant you many favors before the general, your lord" (LRL 31, 12f.).

Also instructive is a letter which the mayor of Elephantine writes to the chief of taxes, both of them high-ranking officials (Gardiner 1950). The greeting formula at the beginning is: "May Amun-Re favor Menmaatrenakht! The mayor of Elephantine Meriunu sends a message: (Be) in life, prosperity and health, in the favor of Amonrasonther. [I say to] Amun-Re, to Harakhte when he rises and sets, to Khnum, Satis and Anukis, all gods of Elephantine: Keep the chief of taxes in health; give him long life and a good old age! Give him favor (*ḥsw.t*) before Amonrasonther, his good master, and before Pharaoh, his good master every day" (pValençay 1, 1–6).

A shorter notice in another letter is not directly linked to the greeting, but rather set within the main text as a wish for a positive reaction after having heard good news: "May Amonrasonther favor (*ḥsi̯*) you, may Month favor you, may the Ka of the Pharaoh, your lord, favor you, after you have driven off the enemies of the Shasu" (P. ESP, l. 53–55; Helck 1967: 148).

These last examples show options with persons of somewhat higher standing. For them, not only the favor of the gods (with whom everybody had to deal) was important, but they were also in closer contact with high-ranking entities such as the general or even the Pharaoh himself, so that it made sense to wish for favor before them specifically.

Some remarkable points can also be gleaned from model letters of the New Kingdom preserved in several Ramesside manuscripts (Gardiner 1937; Caminos 1954). A fairly simple greeting formula mentioning just the gods is, for example, "Be in life, prosperity and health, in the favor (*ḥsi̯.t*) of Amonrasonther. I say to Re-Harakhte at his rising and his setting, to all the gods of the city of Ramses, beloved of Amun, the great Ka of Re-Harakhte: May you be in the favor (*ḥsi̯*) of Amonrasonther, the Ka of Merenre, your good lord every day!" (LEM 7, 12–16); or "I say to Amun, . . . to all gods and goddesses of Thebes: May you be healthy, may you live, let me see you being healthy, and that I

fill my embrace with you, you being in the favor (*ḥsw.t*) of gods and men!" (LEM 10, 5–11). The last case invokes the favor of men as well as gods, but only on a very unspecific level.

A somewhat fuller form is: "Be in life, prosperity and health, in the favor (*ḥsi̯.t*) of Amonrasonther. I say to Re-Harakhte, to Seth, to Nephthys and all gods and goddesses of the pleasant area: May you live, may you be healthy, let me see you being healthy, and let me fill my embrace with you, and furthermore: I have heard the many good deeds which you have done for my boat in letting it come. May Montu favor (*ḥsi̯*) you, may Re favor you, your good lord!" (LEM 5, 14–6, 3). In this case we have the specific element of personal thanks because of services rendered; it is deemed suitable to express this only by again asking for the favor of the gods, not of the government.

Other instances involve the king or the administrative elite: "Be in life, prosperity and health, in the favor (*ḥsi̯.t*) of Amonrasonther. I say to Re-Harakhte, to Amun, to Ptah and the gods and goddesses of the western shore: May you be healthy, may you live, may you be rejuvenated, and may you be in the favor (*ḥsi̯*) of Pharaoh, your good lord, every day!" (LEM 6, 16–7, 3; similar 8, 10–13).

"May the one of the primeval time of the two lands, Amun-Re the creator of the gods, act for you, may he grant you the favor (*ḥsw.t*) which is with the king, your mouth being safe, without a fault of your lips being brought up, you being in the favor of the king in your time, the Horus, beloved of Maat" (LEM 38, 10–13)—continued in the style of mortuary glorifications. We should note the stress laid on the absence of negative acts of speech (mouth and lips) which will be of relevance for the global interpretation.

"May you find Amun, that he may act according to your heart in his hour of grace, you being favored (*ḥsi̯*) among the princes, and set firmly in the place of truth" (LEM 45, 14–15).

"Be in life, prosperity and health; be in the favor of Amonrasonther, the Ka of the king User-Kheperu-Re, whom Re has chosen. I say to Re-Harakhte: 'Keep the Pharaoh in health, our good lord! Let him celebrate millions of jubilees while you are daily in his favor!'" (LEM 62, 1–5; cf. 66, 12–15; 69, 15–70, 2; 70, 13–16; 125, 10–15). In one case, this formula gains particular relevance since it is couched in a letter of congratulation for receiving promotion as a military officer.

Given that these are mainly model letters, not actual archival material, we gain access to higher levels of society than is usual in our preserved record from Egypt. That could explain the relatively high

amount of wishes for favor before the king which decidedly surpasses that in original letters.

For the Demotic letters, the spectrum of attestations can also be broadened by some interesting cases (see Depauw 2006b). First, the text already adduced by Kotansky: "We are greeting Sarapion, the dioicetes, here before Soukhos, lord of Pay, Isis Nepherses. They may make for you every protection of life, and they may grant[2] you every long life, every good thing,[3] and they may grant you favor (*ḥsi̯.t*), love (*mri̯.t*) and worth (*šw*) before the king…in eternity" (pOx. Griffith 13, rt. 5–9; Bresciani 1975: 12f.; pl. 4). This text again is notable for mentioning the favor before the king, and is again directed to a very high-ranking official—namely the dioicetes whose function is comparable to that of a minister of finance of the state.

Another example from the same archive: "I greet the priests of Soukhos, lord of Pay, and of Isis Nepherses before the gods of the city of the lions, and may they grant you all protection of life, favor (*ḥs.t*) and love (*mri̯.t*)" (pOx. Griffith 25, 2–5; Bresciani 1975: 28f.; pl. 14).

A rather different formula from Elephantine, probably somewhat earlier, is: "I greet Nes-Khnum-Meti, the first prophet before Osiris, Horus and Isis, the gods of Abydos. May they grant that you be high in the favors of Khnum, the great god." (pBerlin 13587, x+1–5; in Zauzich 1978).

From a different locality, we have: "I greet the overseer of fields before Soukhos. He will make stable the house of Teos, the overseer of fields, in the favor (*ḥsi̯.t*)[4] of the king in eternity" (pLoeb 6, 6–11; Spiegelberg 1931; 17f.). Once again, for a high-ranking official the favor of the king is specifically mentioned.

On an unusual writing surface—namely, a limestone tablet—we have: "[May Amonrasonther the] great [god grant] you a long life, and he will give you favor (*ḥsi̯.t*) before the king Haronophris [beloved of Isis], beloved of Amonrasonther, the great god, together with all those of the royal palace" (Tablet Cairo 38258; see Depauw 2006a: 97).

More in the line of spells for averting danger or damage is the following: "It is [NN son of] Petesis who greets Petosiris-Espmet, Son

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[2] Read probably *či̯.t* rather than *sḥn* (thus Bresciani), in spite of the strange sign which precedes it.

[3] Read *ꜣḥꜣ ḳy nb⌜i⌝ḫ(y) nbnfr*.

[4] To be read *ḫn tꜣ ḥsi̯(.t)*, and not *ḫn nꜣ ḥsi̯.w*, as proposed by Spiegelberg.

of Bai-ankh . . . here before Khnum Nikephoros, and may he save you, and preserve you, and let everything befitting happen to you, and may he grant that we will see your face without any damage in every good affair" (pBerlin 15518, 1–7; in Zauzich 1978); similarly, "I greet you here before Osiris, Horus and Isis, the gods of Abydos, and may they grant that I encounter you without damage" (pBerlin 13564, 1–4; in Zauzich 1993); similarly, "I greet you before Ptah, the great god. May he grant that I will see you without damage" (pBerlin 15617, 1; in Zauzich 1993). For evaluating the Late Antique magical attestations, it should be mentioned that such wishes can serve as a valid alternative to wishes for favor.

It should be noted in fairness, however, that all cases cited here are rather exceptional. The most normal demotic epistolary formula, if any is used, is simply, "may the sun-god grant you a long life."

Perhaps it is not inappropriate to point out that the words in question can have a very basic meaning in the context of other letters. In particular, this concerns requests by lower-ranking people to their superiors. There, we have phrases such as *ỉw=f ḫpr ỉw mrỉ=w s ỉ:ỉr-ḥr=k* "if it happens that it is loved before you" or *ỉw=f ḫpr ỉw=s ḥsỉ* "if it happens that it is favored" as highly polite and indirect introductions. Such usages are instructive regarding what the wish really implies. When the recipients of letters will find themselves in a situation confronting higher-ranking entities, be they gods or the king, they would hope that their proposals and desires will be granted.

From the Greek side, a typical expression already cited by Kotansky is: "Know that Hesies is Isis, may she grant you favor [before the king]" (PSI IV 328 = P. Zenon Pestman 50, 5f.; cf. Hölbl 1993: 17–20) dating from the 3rd century BCE. Equally relevant are some phrases in the archive of the Katochoi of Memphis, where the addressee is thanked for his accomplishments, such as: "for this now, may Sarapis and Isis grant you loveliness, grace and shape before the king and the queen" (UPZ I 33, 8–10 = 34, 5–6 = 35 12–14 = 36, 10–12; Kotansky 1994: 358f.).

Summing up, we find many instances of wishes for favor in Egyptian letters and greeting speeches of all periods. Typically, this is the favor of the gods. Wishes for favor before the king or high-ranking officials are relatively rare, and seem to be restricted to persons of particularly high social standing. This makes sense, because only the elite would be likely to come into contact with the king in a situation where his favor would be an important factor. Quite notable in particular in the

Ramesside model letters, as well as in the greeting to a prince, is the antagonistic stance against enemies combined with one's own success. I will return to that later. Such combinations are instructive for the social reality behind the polite greetings.

Glorification-style Wishes for Favor

I would like to return now to the group of model letters I used earlier in order to take up some exceptional cases which by their length overstep the limits of ordinary politeness. There is a composition almost totally devoted to such formulae: "Oh Mapu, you will be firmly in place, your Ka with you every day; being daily in joy and exuberance, being favored (*ḥsi*) a million times. Happiness and rejoicing cling to you, your limbs are extolling health. You produce an excess of rejuvenation day by day. No adversary will approach you. The year will come, and your good deeds will be remembered. Nobody like you will be found. Your eye is bright every day, your ear firm, you will multiply good years. Your months are in safety, your days with life and strength, your hours in health; your gods are in peace with you. They are content with your utterances. The Good West sends to you. You are not becoming old, you are not becoming sick, you will complete 110 years on earth, while your limbs are firm, such as is done for somebody who is favored (*ḥsi*) like you, while his god favors him. The lord of the gods entrusts you to the lords of the western mountain, food offerings will come forth for you from Busiris, libations from the necropolis. May your soul come forth and walk around in every place it likes" (LEM 24, 11–25, 7; Tacke 2001: 34–35). This covers the whole life-span till beyond the burial, with earthly as well as funerary wishes—the former ones largely outnumbering the latter ones.

Some of the models in this collection are written in the style of longer glorifications (LEM 37, 8–38, 7; 63, 15–64, 6). Noticeable here is the confrontation with antagonists which is combined with the otherwise adulatory form. We hear a recurring phrase: "your enemy is fallen; the one who spoke against you, he does not exist. You have entered before the ennead and have come forth justified" (LEM 38, 6–7 = LEM 64, 5–6).

In my opinion, it is appropriate to follow the line of this antagonistic stance further by studying one particular composition which has up to now defied the interpretation of Egyptologists (pAnastasi V, rt. 7, 5–8, 1 = pChester Beatty V rt. 6, 7–12). The text runs as follows:

Praise to you, while the lotus is in blossom,
While the…-birds are pinioned,
While your troop is sent out into the field,
And their retainers are branded,
While your hot one is in the wrath of Amun!
He is an abomination for men,
The sun will not rise in his sight,
The inundation does not flow for him.
He is like a mouse trapped by high inundation.
He does not find a place to lean on.
The kite strikes in order to catch him,
The crocodile is ready for tasting of him.[5]

This was first understood as a description of the sorry plight of the army officer in summer-time (Gardiner 1937: 59). A more recent analysis has interpreted it as a description of epileptic fits (Fischer-Elfert 2005: 91–163). My own understanding of this composition would differ again. I propose reading the first four lines of this composition in the style of a glorification extolling the pleasant life of the addressee who enjoys a typical Egyptian pastime of the elite: going into the fields, fowling and fishing. To enhance this ideal, a contrast is drawn with the "hot one" of the addressee, whom I understand as the antagonistic adversary. For him, life in the countryside is supposed to bring about not enjoyment but the opposite: danger and even death. The Egyptians even seem to revel in the detailed description of his misery.

One highly important point should be stressed: Egyptologists tend to understand glorifications as funerary compositions (Assmann 2002: 13–37). In some of the cases I have adduced here, however, neither the context nor the actual wording gives any hints that the justification before the ennead has to be understood as a post-mortal judgment of the dead. At least, nothing else in the specific text has any mortuary implications.

This observation forces me to take up the thorny discussion about the origin of the judgment of the dead as codified in Book of the Dead, spell 125. It was once universal and is still the dominant position to understand it simply as a funerary composition. However, an alternative theory was presented by Merkelbach (1968; 1987) and Grieshammer (1974). They took their lead from a Greek-language papyrus containing

[5] The last two lines are translated here according to the version of pChester Beatty V, 6, 11f. pAnastasi V, 7, 8–8,1 has instead: "He is like a pinioned bird. He does not find an opportunity to fly."

an oath of Egyptian priests spoken at the occasion of the investiture. This contained phrases quite similar to the declarations of innocence in the Book of the Dead. The two German scholars postulated the origin of the funerary declarations in priestly customs. Others disagreed, mainly pointing out that the Greek papyrus of the 2nd century CE was too late to be of relevance for the much older attestations of the Book of the Dead (Griffiths 1991: 218–224; Lichtheim 1992: 127).

I myself have re-opened the question by pointing out that the Greek papyrus in question is only the translation of a passage from the Egyptian Book of the Temple (Quack 1997), but at the same time proposing that the chapter in the Book of the Dead more likely originates in rituals at the royal court, not the priestly milieu of the temple (Quack 2004a: 18–19). The most important reason for my position is the postscript preserved in some manuscripts of chapter 125. The crucial passage is: "Concerning the one for whom this text is made, he will prosper, and his children will prosper, he will be a confidant of the king and his court." This, combined with the importance of not having committed any sort of blasphemy against the king in the text, makes me wonder if the ritual might not originally have been designated to declare courtiers as pure (and thus fit to be in the presence of the king). The final aim of the ritual, to receive rations officially, would fit a hypothetical situation at the royal court (depending on royal largesse) as well as the funerary setting from which we have the actual attestations.

While the text, often designated as "negative confession," is outwardly a declaration of innocence, it has further-reaching implications. As a ritual, it is not only intended to note objective blamelessness, but also to constitute it by its very enactment. Performing the ceremony without fault would achieve a state of purity and innocence for the recipient independently of his real merits.

Rituals for Purification and Gaining Favor

This should induce us to look much more closely at several rituals for purification and protection for the benefit of the living, which are in any way combined with the justification against enemies. An important ritual involving Thot is preserved in pChester Beatty VIII rt. 1, 1–5, 3. It first enumerates the different courts of the gods, and praises Thot at the evocation of each one as the god who satisfied the heart of Osiris against his enemy. The final prayer runs as follows:

"May you be pacified toward NN whom NN has born, may every god and every goddess be pacified toward him, may you make his life-span enduring in years of life, his love (*mrw.t*), his charm, his sweetness in the belly of every man, every nobleman, every commoner and every sunfolk etc." (rt. 4, 1–3).

In this case, the aim of purification is obviously quite similar to the later charitesia; it is all about gaining affection; and the way to achieve it is to overcome all possible enemies at all possible judicial courts.

Of some significance is also the phrase, "The year will come, and your good deeds will be remembered" in the model letter quoted above (LEM 24, 15). The key-word "remember" induces me to take up another ritual of protection, this time in pChester Beatty IX vs. B 12, 10–18,10 (Gardiner 1935: 110f.; pl. 60; Quack 2006a: 149f.): "A good day! Your mouth is opened; all your enemies are felled among the dead and the living. Horus pours water over your fingers; Geb (the god of earth) hands over to you what is in him; your face is washed by your father Nun. Your face is rubbed dry by Hedjhotep(?).[6] Ptah turns himself to you with the clothing as he did for Re. Your mouth is opened with good speech and choice utterances. One remembers for you on the good day and forgets for you bad things on the good day. Heaven and earth are festive. The gods are rejoicing. Jubilation is in the great house, acclamation in the Benben-house. May you take food in the presence of the great ennead while everybody is praying for health for you; and your heart is rejoicing. Nothing 'wrinkled' which you have done will be reproached. There is no evil whatsoever adhering to your limbs, […] shall be heard for you in the presence of the lords of truth. Oh NN whom NN has born, Re purifies you at his coming forth, Thot at his appearance, when this utterance is told to you which Isis said to her son Horus: You are purified on the sixth day of the lunar month, you are protected on the last day of the lunar month" (pChester Beatty IX vs. B 12, 10–13, 9).

There follows a long list of divinities supposedly purifying and protecting the recipient. The final prayer runs as follows: "Oh all you gods and goddesses, come united that you may purify NN whom NN has born, may you drive out every evil from him, as Re is purified every

[6] This is a proposal for emendation. The *sḥtp* transmitted in the text does not make much sense, but altering only the first sign into a relatively similar shape would produce *ḥč-ḥtp*, the well-known god of weaving.

day, as the lords of primeval time are protected, as Isis protected her son Horus against his brother Seth! Oh these gods and goddesses whose names were pronounced, who sit in heaven and eat on earth, their uraeus-snakes on their heads, their souls in Busiris, their mummies in the necropolis, whose names are unknown—but you know their names, you know their businesses—come, may you be gracious toward the great(?)[7] soul,…be gracious regarding him! May you protect him, may you deliver him, may you loosen him from everything bad and evil, from every god, every goddess, every male and every female blessed dead, every male and every female adversary, every male and every female passer-by, every bitterness, every heat,[8] every deafness, every blindness, every swelling, every thirst, from every revolt, every disturbance, every weakness, every hostility, every raging…which is in all lands, being hidden in the course of every day; you[9] being <protected> like Re is protected every day, having overthrown your enemies in the course of every day. As for NN whom NN has born, he is Re, the sun-disk on his head, the gods being his protection, the ennead his guard. You, NN whom NN has born—<destined for> you[10] are these gods whose names have been pronounced. You were born in front of the kas of the living." (pChester Beatty IX vs. B 17, 1–18, 7).

This long text which has been somewhat neglected by Egyptologists is actually highly instructive. It is embedded in a long ritual of purification and protection. This seems to be enacted specifically according to important days of the lunar month. There is no very specific indication of the aims, but the antagonism against enemies turns up repeatedly, combined with the reception of food for the recipient of the ritual—the last point structurally similar to the promise of rations expressed in Book of the Dead, chapter 125. We should also note the phrase about the mouth being opened with good speech and choice utterances. This returns us once again to the question of appropriate speech-acts, which I discerned already in one formula of the model letters. Obviously, critical statements or even murmurs of rebellion (or things which could be so construed) were among the most risky

[7] The facsimile of the hieratic signs given by Gardiner is more in favor of a reading *c3* than of Gardiner's *ꜣ*.

[8] The words translated here neutrally as "bitterness" and "heat" are not unlikely to refer specifically to some skin diseases, see Quack 2005a.

[9] The text switches for one sentence from the third to the second person in speaking of the recipient.

[10] I emend to *ỉw* <*n*>*=k nn n nčr.w*. As it stands, the phrase is untranslatable.

acts for a member of the Egyptian elite, and this fits with the fact that in the execration texts, acts of bad thinking and bad speaking take a prominent position (Assmann 1994).

At the beginning of the recitation, we have the verbalization of actual acts of physical cleaning with water followed by rubbing dry (with a towel). An act of "natural" purification is often a starting point for ritual purification which has to be undergone (Stolz 1999). On the one hand, the action is elevated by being ascribed to deities; on the other, it is not simply a physical act—the verbal recitation gives it a higher meaning.

More outwardly than the Book of the Dead, chapter 125, this is not simply a text about ascertaining pureness, it is about creating it. Shortcomings are openly admitted and passed to a state of forgetfulness while only the good actions remain in memory, and this social memory is what counts when it comes to achieving the goals, which are to achieve protection in such a way that ensures further success in life, with no enemy being able to use potential flaws to his own ends and your downfall.

Another text meriting closer inspection is the ostracon Deir el-Medineh 1080 (Fischer-Elfert 1997: 108–113; Quack 1999: 139) which also seems to contain a sort of ritual purification. After an invocation to Thot as the one reckoning time and Sakhmet and other female goddesses, we get the key phrases: "May they provide protection of life, stability and strength, may they unite happiness. I am pure [...] on the sixth day of the lunar month. Nothing which enters my belly will go astray, nothing which is in me will get defiled. My house is equally provided. [...I will not] go down to [...], I will not be forgotten. Every implement is purified, pure like Re is pure in heaven, and Geb is pure in the earth. The four great ones, the lords of the sacred land purify me. [...]."

This text has the orientation in the lunar calendar in common with the previous one. Its state of preservation makes a close analysis more difficult. It might be no more than a "household-spell." However, the question about being forgotten or remembered establishes an inherent connection with the rituals I have discussed before, as does the date in the lunar month given here.

Quite instructive is a little-studied prayer to Thot preserved on a writing tablet of the early 18th dynasty (Turajeff 1895: 120–123). After an introductory hymn in honor of Thot, the relevant passage is: "Hail to you, Thot! I am the one who adores you. May you give me a house

and possessions! May you equip me, may you provide for my life in the land of the living for whose life you have provided in the island of fire! May you place my love (*mrw.t*), my favor (*ḥsw.t*), my [...], my sweetness, my protection in the belly, in the heart, in the breast of everybody, all noblemen, all commoners, all sunfolk etc.! May you overthrow my male and female enemy among the dead or the living!" (l. 6–8). Here again the social setting of love and favor is combined with the overthrowing of enemies. According to its postscript, the text is to be recited after having sacrificed to Thot, and it is a spell to justify a man against enemies—quite evidently in a non-funerary context.

More funerary in its setting, but still of clearly recognisable intention, is a text transmitted in the tomb of Ibi in the 26th dynasty (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 257f.) with a partial parallel of Ramesside date (Assmann 1983: 224–226). The basic text is a hymn to the sun-god with a particular emphasis on the overthrowing and destroying of its enemy. This is connected with a prayer in favor of Ibi, and the sun-god is asked to put his love, his charm and his renown in the belly of all men. Again we can see how achieving love and favor is connected with the overthrowing of enemies on the real and conceptual level.

Prayers for Favor and a Successful Career

To be reconsidered further are some prayers to gods, mainly preserved in the same corpus of papyri as the model letters which I have cited above (Fecht 1965; Assmann 1999: 407–422). They have been studied for their metrics as well as for their so-called "personal piety." What has been less focused on is their social setting. At least partially, they are prayers for success in the career as a civil administrator. The most obvious case is also a good starting point because it makes use of the key-word *ḥsi*.

"May you find Amun acting according to your desire in his hour of grace, you being in favor (*ḥsw.(t)*) among the high officials, made firm in the place of truth. Oh Amun-Re, your high inundation is overflowing the mountains, lord of fishes with many birds—every poor man is satiated! Place the high officials in the place of high officials, the great ones in the place of the great ones! Place the scribe of the treasury Qai-Geba before Thot, your truthful one!" (LEM 45, 14–46, 2; Fecht 1965: 62–65).

Such a text is a good example of how favor was equivalent to promotion and a successful career. It can be matched by several prayers

to Thot either asking for skill and success, or thanking him for having given his help (e.g. Fecht 1965: 52–58; 65–73). I will however concentrate on one fairly famous text, a prayer to Thot:

> Oh Thot, set me into Hermopolis,
> your city of sweet life!
> You will make provisions for me with bread and beer,
> you will guard my mouth in speaking!
>
> Would that I had Thot for me as protector tomorrow!
> 'Come,' it would be said,
> when I have entered before the lords,
> 'that you may go forth justified!'
>
> Oh great dum-palm of 60 cubits,
> the one on which there are nuts.
> There are kernels in the nuts,
> while there is water in the kernels.
> The one who has taken water from far away,
> Come, that you may rescue me, the silent one!
>
> Oh Thot, the pleasant well for a thirsty man in the desert,
> it is closed for the one who has found his speech,
> it is open for the silent one.
> May the silent one come, that he finds the well!
> Oh hot one, you are under control!"[11] (LEM 85, 15–86, 9).

This text has up to now generally been understood to refer to the judgment of the dead. On close examination, it seems difficult to pinpoint it to such an occasion, and several details would be much more appropriate in a setting for the living. The first part, with the wishes for a placement in the cultic city of Thot and for provisions, is certainly to be understood as benefit for the living, as is the last one concerning the well that is only accessible to the "silent one." Also, there is nothing of post-mortal relevance in the passage about the dum-palm and its nuts. Were it not for the preconceived opinions of Egyptologists (who are generally too concerned with death and the afterlife), nothing would prevent us from applying the judgment passage to a situation of the living. We could of course speculate, given the setting of the prayer within a manuscript which is probably a school-text, whether the crucial test for which help is desired might be the final exam deciding whether you would enter a career as a functionary of the state. In any event we can note that once again, special precaution is considered

[11] Literally "taken, grasped."

to be important when it comes to verbal utterances for which specific protection is desired.

Especially noteworthy is the last line. Most commentators have proposed more or less serious emendations while the text makes perfect sense as it stands. Given the other texts I have presented here, it is not surprising that a prayer for personal success is combined with an antagonistic stance against an enemy who is said to be in firm grasp, and thus under control and incapable of doing harm.

Besides, a further prayer with a similar theme should be compared, as already noted by Assmann (1999: 414). This one, on an ostracon in Cairo, runs as follows:

> "The one who is poor calls to you, oh Amun!
> The one who is powerful seeks you.
> The one who is in Syria (says) 'come, bring me back to Egypt!'.
> The one who is in the underworld (says) 'save me!'
> The one who stands before the ruler (says) 'Give breath, oh Amun!'
>
> Would that I had Amun as protector tomorrow!
> 'Come' would be said.
> I have looked behind me and I saw Amun.
> His breath entered my body.
> Happy is your servant, oh Amun!
> Every evil has left him." (HO 5, 1; Černý and Gardiner 1957, pl. 5; see also Kitchen 2007: 152).

The central motif of hope for the successful outcome of an impending lawsuit unites this text with the previous one. By positing the audience situation before a ruler as one of several situations where Amun can be helpful, the author makes the this-worldly situation a bit clearer. With the final phrase "every evil has left him," we reach the ground already covered by several of the previously cited texts. Complete guiltlessness is hardly a realistic option, but ritual and prayer serve to efface possible sins.

The "Hot One" as an Adversary

The key-word of the "hot one" which we have encountered in the prayer to Thot as well as in the passage contrasting the happy life of the addressee with the terrible fate of the "hot one" (pAnastasi V, rt. 7, 5–8, 1 = pChester Beatty V rt. 6, 7–12) makes it necessary to take up several more compositions treating this topic, especially the Ramesside

ostracon Deir el-Medine 1265 and the famous chapter 4 of the instructions of Amenemope. Recently, an effort has been made to understand all those descriptions of the "hot one" as somebody who is suffering from epilepsy (Fischer-Elfert 2005: 91–163). While such a diagnosis seems quite reasonable to me in the description of the suffering man in pDeir el-Medine 1 verso (Fischer-Elfert 2005: 142–148), a text that does not use the expression "the hot one," I seriously doubt its relevance for the actual attestations of this expression. In all of them, I prefer to understand the "hot one" as the adversary of the hero figure. This adversary is characterized either by negative behavior which he actively practices, or by the social punishments resulting from such behavior. As a case in point, I would mention the passage in oDeM 1265, II, 10 "he who twinkled with his eyes, he is fallen." Fischer-Elfert took this to be the description of a restless person who has fits (2005: 134). In reality, the verb *črm* is attested also in the negative confessions of Book of the Dead chapter 125, B 26 (Maystre 1937: 87). There it designates a blameable action, and most likely serves as a kind of signal for a hidden agreement between the judge and one of the two parties—which, in the case of the ostracon DeM 1265, does not succeed in defeating the just case of the righteous man.

Highly instructive is ostracon Borchard 1 with a partial parallel in ostracon Torino CG 50367 (Mathieu 1996: pl. 22–24), a text overlooked by Fischer-Elfert (2005) and seriously misunderstood by previous commentators, who introduced unnecessary emendations and misunderstood the crucial points (Mathieu 1996: 114; Kitchen 1999: 398f.). As transmitted, the text can be easily translated:

> A happy day it is to see you,
> my brother, it is a great favor (*ḥsy(.t)*) to look at you!
> May you be introduced to me with beer!
> The musicians (*ḥsy.w*) are equipped with instruments,
> while their mouths are equipped with (songs of) entertaining,
> of joy and happiness,
> after your hot one was brought backwards,
> while you are clever in your office.
> One speaks, and then your voice is listened to.
> The one who has denounced you was brought down.
> Your capable sister is in adoration before you,
> kissing the ground to see you.
> May she be accepted as beer and incense,
> like the pacifying of a god.

Obviously, again we find the topic of favor combined with triumph over an adversary. There is an obvious word-play between "favor" (*ḥsy.t*) and "musicians" (*ḥsy.w*). As seen in this text, it is not a wish but has already happened. What makes this poem so special is that the theme of social favor and triumph here is obviously connected with personal love, expressed here in the mouth of a female lover who pronounces it and offers herself and her love as an offering fit for a god. This foreshadows in some way the shift of the charitesia from social success to gaining personal love, which will be relevant for the Graeco-Roman period.

Promises of Favor in the "Oracular Amuletic Decrees"

Besides the wishes, we also have promises. They occur within the framework of the so-called "Oracular Amuletic Decrees" which had a sudden peak of popularity in the 21st and 22nd dynasties (Edwards 1960; Bohleke 1997). They contain long lists of promises made and guaranteed by gods, mainly for protecting the proprietor and keeping him healthy. To some degree, they are also concerned with social success, and in three of them, granting favor is relevant. "I will grant her favor with A[mun], Mut, and Chons without his slaying; I will grant her favor with every action of Month without […]" (L2 rt. 87–90), or "We will grant her favor before Amun, Mut, and Chons, she being flourishing and she will not be slain" (T2 rt. 90). Both of these texts combine the promise of favor with the negation of "slaying" (*šꜣṭ*) which I take to mean the actual threat of capital punishment.[12] Such a contrast is also attested in the formulae of the donation stelae (see below). Slightly different is the last case: "I will put his favor and love in the heart of king Osorkon beloved of Amun, my beautiful child" (L7 27–30). Here, the beneficiary is of especially high standing, actually a prince, so the direct contact with the king is relevant. The fixed expression *ḥs(w.t)-mr(w.t)* should be noted, as it is the very one which occurs later in the demotic magical spells.

[12] Edwards (1960: 18 and 66) understood it simply as a reference to a ceasing or diminishing.

Wishes for Favor in Festive Situations

Also in relatively "private" situations, wishes for favor can be expressed. I would like to illustrate this by a few scenes taken from the tomb of Rekhmire, a vizier under the kings Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II. In a festival context, the daughters of the vizier Rekhmire present him with sistra while saying: "May the daughter of Re, who loves you, favor you; may she place her protection around you day by day. She embraces your flesh. May you lift her majesty, and then she embraces your breast. May you spend a long lifetime of happiness on earth, life, prosperity and health having joined you!" (Davies 1943: 60; pl. LXIII). To understand the text, it is essential that Hathor, daughter of the sun-god and goddess of love, was symbolized by the very sistrum Rekhmire is receiving and supposed to lift up.

In a festive contest, the mother of Rekhmire receives a friendly greeting while being poured a drink: "For your Ka, may you spend a happy day! May you exist on earth! Amun, your lord, has decreed it to you; may he favor you and love you!" (Davies 1943: 60; pl. LXIV).

At the same fest, a singer addresses Rekhmire directly: "How happy are those years which the god has decreed that you will spend, being joined with favor, in good health, and happy. You will be [enduring],[13] your voice will be justified, your enemy felled in your house which is united with all eternity!" (Davies 1943; pl. LXVI). This last case shows once again how wishes for success are not uniquely positive, but joined with the concomitant defeat of an antagonist. It can be regarded in the context of a long tradition of combining the motif of feasts and offering-meals with the annihilation of enemies (Quack 2006d).

Reflections on Favor Obtained

From all these wishes, prayers and rituals, we can proceed to reflections on the actual occurrences of favor. Since I have already mentioned above that apart from prayers to Thot for help in the professional career, there are also prayers thanking him for having achieved

[13] Given the fact that this word was deliberately hacked out, it is likely to have shown a graphic resemblance to the name of Amun which later fell victim to the iconoclasm of Akhenaton; so it is reasonable to restore *[mn].⌜tj⌝*.

success, it would be appropriate to begin with a composition transmitted in Demotic, the so-called "Book of Thot" (Jasnow and Zauzich 2005; Quack 2007). This text focuses on the access of a scribe to the higher levels of esoteric knowledge. It also contains praise to the teacher for having achieved success. The crucial lines, spoken by the candidate, are:

> "Oh may your art of elevating be rejuvenated in front of the house of documents with the children of your instruction.
> You have been a craftsman for me, you have reduced (?) my trouble, and you have taken control of my [...]
> You have been a cultivator for me while I was like a field; I being worthy that you make a registration (?) for me.
> I was given to you when I was a block; you have opened me as a statue, you have been a life-giving craftsman.
> You have set free my tongue, you have opened for me the path, you have given me the way of coming and going.
> You have diminished my hatred and brought my love (*mrỉ.t*), you have let my favor (*ḥsỉ.t*) come up quickly.
> You have made me 'old' while I was young, so that I could send those older than me in your business.[14]
> You have given me the status while I was a child; I could sit at rest while the great ones were standing.
> You have caused me to be abundant in nurses while I was solitary; you have made for me a troop of youths.
> The flame (?) of your mouth has revealed to me food provisions; the efficiency of your belly has flowed over me." (B 02, 7/4–13).

Much could be said about this complex text, but for my actual investigation it is sufficient to stress how the professional career (entailing food provisions and the respect of others) is bound up with questions of love and favor. The benefactor is in this case the teacher, although it can be disputed whether he is really the god Thot himself, as Jasnow and Zauzich thought.

A certain set of expressions shows a remarkable fluctuation between attributing favor and its benefits to divine or royal authorship (Assmann 1979; Assmann 1980). Some cases from the Amarna period, at a time when only one god was officially recognized and success to a great extent depended upon the king, can illustrate the expressions: "I will tell you the benefits which the ruler did for me. He let me

[14] Or "by your magical efficiency".

unite with the princes and courtiers, I was made great and honored, I thought about joining the princes. I found thee as a wise king. A sun is his majesty who has built the poor one whom he favors (*ḥsi*), who has made princes by his Ka. Destiny which gives life, lord of orders; one lives while he is at peace" (Tomb of Panehsy, Sandman 1938: 25, 6–9).

The Menace of Punishment

Such favors are typically connected with their antithesis—namely, punishment of lack of loyalty. In the same Amarna texts, there are also expressions such as, "He inflicts punishment on him who does not know (recognize) his teaching, his favor for the one who knows him according to the fact that you obey the king." (Sandman 1938: 86, 15–16).

With other cases, we definitely move from divine favor to gaining royal favor, which brings us closer to the magical spells I intend to study. Obtaining royal favor was an important point for the Egyptian elite, as evidenced by the ideal biographies put up in the tombs. Already in the Old Kingdom, we have many tomb inscriptions stressing that the owner was favored by the king, and sometimes showing that royal favor was accompanied by lavish gifts (Kloth 2002: 162–173). This phenomenon is also well documented for the 18th dynasty, for example, where stressing royal favor toward the first-person speaker was one of the most frequent topics (Guksch 1994: 39–54). In addition, from the Old Kingdom onward, actual letters of the king to his official frequently state that the recipient had done what the king loved and favored (Eichler 1991: 165).

Another text genre revealing such conceptions is the so-called "appeals to the living" (Garnot 1938). They typically contain phrases like "as you wish that the ruler favors you," used to interest the addressees in performing certain acts such as offering formulae for the deceased, or respecting purity regulations.

Also in the "Book of the Temple," a large manual for the ideal Egyptian temple (Quack 2000; Quack 2004a), we find instructions for the governor and overseer of the prophets: He should question all those who had been sent on a mission, and favor/reward (*ḥsi*) the competent and successful one while condemning the incompetent one. We have to understand that "favor" in Egypt actually meant rewards for

well-executed missions, and was not just a question of prestige—it also had implications of direct material gains (Jansen-Winkeln 2002). The most valuable expression of this was the so-called "gold of praise" (Butterweck-AbdelRahim 2002; Binder 2008) which in its actual formulation (*nb.w n ḥsw.t*) is rather a "gold of favor".

All this should be set against the background of a royal court which was most likely a cesspool of intrigues with different factions vying for power, trying to gain royal favor and to put their adversaries in the worst possible light. It is quite instructive to see how often elite tombs, even those of persons who emphasize in their inscriptions how close they were to the king and how firmly in his favor, end up with the depictions of the tomb-owner defaced and his name erased (e.g. the tomb of Haremhab; Brack and Brack 1980: 15f.)—royal favor might be fickle and royal wrath more swift and terrible than you would like. As expressed in an Egyptian didactic text about the king: "Lo, truly great is the favor (*ḥsw.t*) of the god, but also great is the punishment" (Instruction of a Man for His Son § 3, 5; Fischer-Elfert 1999: 58). Such a situation may also explain why one's own success is not really enough—being victorious over your adversaries is part of the game.

This game, however, has complicated rules which do not always allow for voicing the complete story. It was never difficult to tell of one's own success, and of having obtained favor. In contrast, it was much more problematic to speak openly about internal rivalries and conflict between factions. In the official autobiographies, decorum did not permit any private individual to mention specific enemies; this has led to a recent scholarly declaration that the Egyptians did not have enemies, only Pharaoh had (Franke 2005: 92). As a matter of fact, even in the official memorial inscriptions there is room for the negative characterization of unspecified persons (Franke 2005: 107f.), and as soon as we leave them, things look even more different. In the instructions there are several passages that mention possible antagonisms between private individuals (for the Middle Kingdom see Quack 2005b: 75 and 79; for the New Kingdom, Quack 1994: 152 and 180–181). It is equally possible to conceptualize the victory over enemies when they are not given a specific individual name but only a general blanket designation, as can be seen in the rituals and greeting formulae I have discussed here. Similarly, underlying rivalries could be expressed in the tomb decoration by showing surrogate images of bulls fighting each other (Seidlmayer 1999). Numerous internal quarrels and antagonisms come to light through actual letters (e.g. Wente 1990: p. 58

no. 67; p. 92 no. 117; p. 93 no. 120; p. 115f. no. 136; p. 120–122 no. 143; p. 124–126 no. 147; p. 127–128 no. 151–152; p. 129f. no. 154; 137 no. 168; p. 140 no. 177; p. 148f. no. 203–206; p. 152f. no. 213–216; p. 172f. no. 288–289; p. 178 no. 294; p. 189f. no. 312; p. 202 no. 329). In one case we even gain the information how a conflict was settled in court by royal decision, with the winner receiving royal largesse—but his boat was spoiled by opponents (LRL 59, 4–13; Wente 1990: 175).

One case might, more than anything else, illustrate the risks involved. It is the so-called "literary letter of Moscow" (Caminos 1977; Quack 2001a; Schad 2006: 63–150), a probably fictional composition preserved in a papyrus (Moscow, Pushkin Museum 127) from about 1000 BCE. It opens with one of the longest and most elaborate forms of polite greeting attested in all Egyptian letters. Within this framework, we find the wish, "May your favor (*ḥsw.t*) with the king's Ka happen to be stable" (1, 3f.). This wish, and all of the introductory section, take on a larger meaning far surpassing simple politeness when we consider the writer's own experience. He recounts how he was ousted from office by unnamed enemies and driven to a vagabond's life (Fischer-Elfert 2005: 215–232)—which is what can happen if your favor is not firmly settled with the king.

The dichotomy of promises and threats is expressed clearly in some classes of documents. One typical section is found in donation stelae, especially of the Third Intermediate Period. They usually contain threats against those who have overthrown the decisions combined with promises for those who abide by them.[15] A typical example is: "As for the one who will establish this decree, he will be in the favor of Amun-Re and his son will succeed him. As for the one who will disregard it, he will fall prey to the slaughter (*šꜣṭ*) of Amun-Re." (Smaller Dakhla-stela, l. 11–13; Janssen 1968: 167). Another one is "[As for the one who will disregard the field-plots…]…, he will be in the slaughter (*šꜣ.t*) of the king, they will cut off his head…As for the one who will establish these field-plots and not diminish their measuring-rope, he will be in the favor of the god of his town" (Stela Cairo JdÉ 85647; Bakir 1943: 79). The threat of slaughter is very frequent in those texts (Morschauser 1991: 104–109). As the counterbalance to favor, it illustrates very well what favor implied in Egypt.

[15] Morschauser 1991: 225–239 restricts himself to a presentation of the threats and thus fails to provide an adequate analysis of the complex.

Furthermore, such formulae are attested in juridical oaths, especially the royal oaths attested in the Ptolemaic Period (Minas 2000: 163–171). Two typical examples demonstrate the phraseology. "[By the king] Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, the god, by Arsinoe, the brother-loving [goddess], by the brother-loving gods, by the fathers and mothers, I will act for you according to everything which is written above, without falsehood in the oath given above. If I am doing it as perjury, I will be in the punishment of the king; if I will do it as truthful oath, I will be in the favor of the king" (pLille 117, x+7–10; de Cenival 1991: 17). "By king Ptolemaios, the mother-loving god, Isis, Oserapis and all the Gods of Egypt. We will act according to everything written above from [now on for ever.]…[If we will do the] royal oath given above truthfully, we are in his favor, if we do it as perjury, we are in his punishment" (pAshmolean Hawara 18, 10–12; Reymond 1973: 128f.). The word for "punishment" in these texts (*btw*) can often be used to mean capital punishment (Quack & Ryholt 2000: 149; Ryholt 2005: 39). As such, it is the structural continuation of the *šcṭ* "slaughter" we encountered in the donation stelae.

The King Finding Favor with the Gods

Up to now, I have mainly considered wishes for favor for the benefit of a private individual, either from the gods, the kings, or sometimes high officials. When going over to examples of the temple cult, we must also consider the king as the recipient of favor, for the simple reason that officially, the king is supposed to act in the temple liturgy; temple reliefs typically show the king, not priests, enacting the principal rituals.

Actually, one of the most fundamental epithets of the king is that he is beloved of some deity (Morenz 1956; Blumenthal 1970: 67–71; Grimal 1986: 199–201; Schade-Busch 1992: 55f.). This is so ubiquitous that the sheer amount of evidence has deterred most Egyptologists from entering into a more detailed discussion. Many Pharaohs stress that the god loved them more than any previous king. Such expressions are an obvious transposition of the hierarchy one stage higher. Just as the functionaries were dependent on the favor and love of the king (or of their immediate superiors), thus the king himself is dependent equally upon the gods.

A ritual act which is attested, at least during the New Kingdom, as being connected with wishes for favor from the gods, is the presen-

tation of the bouquet to the king (Dittmar 1986: 73 and 158–160). Relevant phrases are found especially in the tombs of high-ranking officials of the 18th dynasty. We have, for example, "For your Ka, the bouquet of your father Harakhte.... May he favor you, may he love you, may he make you live long, may he give you millions of years, annals and jubilees, all lands being under your soles. May he fell your enemies among the dead and the living. [All] happiness be with you, all health be with you, and all life be with you, may you remain on the throne of Re like Re in eternity" (Urk. IV 1780, 16–1781, 4); or, "For your Ka, the bouquet of your father Ptah. May he favor you, may he love you, may he make you live long, may your enemy among the dead and the living be felled!" (Urk. IV 1936, 7–13). Such texts show a rather stock formula in a probably frequent ritual setting. This setting can actually be identified because in the offering ritual of the New Kingdom (Tacke 2003), there is a scene of presenting a bouquet to the king on the sixth day of the lunar month (pChester Beatty IX rt. 14, 8–11). As so often in the material I am presenting, being in favor is combined with the downfall of enemies. There are late period adaptations of such formulae in the temple of Edfu where they are rewritten for the benefit of the living sacred animal of Horus (Edfou VI, 271, 5f.; 272, 11f.). One of them is especially remarkable as it combines the favor and the overthrowing of the enemies with the fact that the beneficiary will gain renown with men and love with women (Edfou VI, 272, 12).

The combination of the roots *ḥsi* "to praise" and *mri* "to love" can be traced back to the liturgy of the daily ritual from the New Kingdom onward. There it is found in many cases, especially in connection with incense and libations (Egberts 1995: 119).

A formula of protection has also crept into one spell of the daily temple ritual, as demonstrated in a manuscript from the Roman Period (PSI Inv. I 70, A 1, 11) (Osing & Rosati 1998: 107, pl. 14), where the deity is implored at the end of a spell *ḥsi=k s(i)* "may you favor it (the eye of Horus)." The spell itself, a recitation accompanying the lighting of a candle, is well attested in many versions (see e.g. Franke 1994: 224–236), but the formula of interest here seems to be an individual addition.

Equally, several attestations among the offering scenes of the Graeco-Roman temples are relevant. In them, the basic situation is always that of the king sacrificing to the gods and receiving gifts from them. Consequently, the wishes for favor are always formulated in his interest.

Especially frequent are relevant formulae within the scenes for offering the *mnw*-jar, a vessel containing an intoxicating beverage (Sternberg-el Hotabi 1992; Quack 2001b). There, Pharaoh is promised by the goddess that she will place his favor in the heart of the gods, and love for him in the heart of men. One scene combining the menu-vase and incense has the promise of the goddess: "I will place your favor in the hearts of the gods, and I will make the hearts of men inclined toward you" (Dendera VI, 26, 14–27, 1).

Finding Favor in Demotic Magical Texts

All these earlier examples from a variety of sources provide the necessary background for understanding the Late-Antique texts generally understood as "magical," in which highly elaborate procedures for ensuring favor and love for an individual are sometimes transmitted.

First, I will discuss the demotic attestations (mainly from the 3rd century CE) which strongly resemble the Greek charitesia. The demotic linguistic equivalent of the charitesion can be determined fairly easily because this genre of spells occurs in the great magical papyrus of London and Leiden (Griffith & Thompson 1904–1909), and is obviously related to the similar Greek-language spells. The keywords are indeed *ḥsi̯.t* "favor" and *mri̯.t* "love".

Highly important is a spell for bestowing favor, entitled as such in the manuscript (pMag. LL. 11, 1–26). Perhaps the most remarkable part of the spell is its postscript, which I shall discuss first. This states that the spell is the scribe's feat of a king whose name is unfortunately largely lost due to a lacuna in the manuscript. The remaining traces only show that the last phonetic sign was an *š*. This is sufficient to narrow the perspective considerably. Of all the Egyptian kings, only the names of some foreign rulers end with this sound: the Persians Dareios, Xerxes and Artaxerxes as well as an obscure king Khababash who seems to have ruled Egypt for a short time in the fourth century BCE. Also, there is the option that the name could be restored as Necho with the epithet *pꜣ šš*, an epithet which has recently been identified as being specific for Necho II (the Nekhepso(s) of astrological traditions). This note would thus give the spell a pre-Ptolemaic origin. Obviously, we cannot simply take this at face value, but linguistic arguments are of importance here. In general, the manuscript in question shows a developed form of Late Demotic already quite

close to Coptic; the passage in question, however, mostly eschews the linguistic innovations of the contemporary speech and rather shows a sort of standard Middle Demotic (Quack 2006c). All told, I would be inclined to suppose a fairly early origin for the spell in question, especially since none of the possible kings (except perhaps Necho II) would be an obvious choice for pseudepigraphic attribution.

The principal deity invoked in the spell is Thot, and the speaker first presents himself as a baboon, the sacred animal of that very god. Furthermore, he claims identification with a rather large number of other Egyptian gods. All of them fall squarely within the traditional Egyptian religion, with no obvious foreign elements present—which is actually quite rare in this manuscript and would serve as a further indicator of the relatively old age of the composition.

The link with Thot is further strengthened by the fact that in the manual rite, an actual figurine of a baboon is to be produced in red wax. This is anointed with lotus oil or alternatively other sorts of ointment; styrax, myrrh and the seed of a plant called "great of love" are added and the whole is placed into a faience vessel. In addition, a wreath is brought and anointed before pronouncing the spells. The face of the petitioner is to be anointed with this specific ointment, and he takes the wreath in his hand. He can then walk wherever he wishes among the multitude, and is given very great favor among them. Obviously, the manual rite chooses appropriate symbolism; for the wreath can easily be understood as the Egyptian crown of justification (Derchain 1955), and thus prefigures the successful outcome of any critical encounter at court or in the royal audience-chamber. This text is of completely Egyptian composition, with no Greek or Mesopotamian elements present.

A sample passage from the actual wishes is, "Grant me favor (*ḥsi̯(.t)*), love (*mri̯.t*) [and reverence before NN whom] NN [has born] today, and he may give me every good thing, and he may give me nourishment and food, and he may do for me everything which I [want, and he should not] injure me so as to harm me, and he may not say anything which I hate today, tonight, this month, this year, in [every] hour [of my life (?). But as for the enemies], the sun-god shall impede their hearts, blind their eyes, and cause the darkness to be in their faces" (11, 9–12).

The final prayer is: "Oh all you gods [whose names I have spoken] here today, come to me in order that you might hear what I have

said today and in order that you might rescue me from all weakness, every defect, everything, every evil today! Grant me favor (*ḥsi̯(.t)*), love (*mri̯(.t)*) and reve[rence (*šfe.t*) before] the woman NN, the king and his people, the mountain and its animals (?), so that he does everything which I shall say to him [together with every man who will se]e me (or) to whom I shall speak (or) who will speak to me from among all men, all women, all youths, all old people, all people [or animals or things in the] whole land, [who] shall see me in these hours today so that they create my praise (*ḥsi̯(.t)*) in their hearts in everything which I will [do] daily, together with those who will come to me in order to overthrow every enemy!" (11, 16–20).

This composition obviously continues the tradition of rituals for gaining favor and overcoming rivals, with the antagonistic stance clearly present. The first prayer is even quite specific insofar as it seems to intend the position of a favored client to a great patron for the beneficiary of the ritual.

Much shorter is another recipe in the same text. In the main part, this is a straightforward love-charm making use of body-parts of a shrew-mouse. But the same text also contains a short note that the heart of the animal, set into a ring, would bring great praise (*ḥsi̯.t cꜣ.t*), love (*mri̯.t*) and respect (*šfe.t*) to the bearer (pMag LL 13, 21; better preserved vs. 32, 12–13). Such a muddling of the border between spells for favor before the king and officials, and private love charms, is consistent with what we know from the Greek papyri. Due to the purely technical description which is devoid of any mythological allusions or actual incantations, I would be reluctant to state an opinion regarding the ultimate cultural affiliations of this recipe. I can, however, note that the shrew-mouse is an animal of real religious significance in Egypt. It can be linked with a specific form of Horus, namely the one from Letopolis (Brunner-Traut 1965).

A relatively short recipe for gaining favor (*ḥsi̯.t*) and love (*mri̯.t*) is preserved in pBM 10588 rt. 7, 1–5 (Bell, Nock and Thompson 1933: 9 and 12; Ritner 1986: 98f.). It is indicated as being in the Nubian language, although no linguistic analysis of such terms has yet been published, and some words give the impression of being based on a Greek model—for example, having Abrasax as magical name (Quack 2004b: 447). The instructions for the actual performance are in clear Demotic: You should put gum into your hand and kiss (or spit?) on your shoulders before confronting whomever you wish. The fact that the target person is a man (*rmč*), not specifically a woman, should be

regarded as a strong indication that this spell concerns social success, not love magic.

Since in the Greek tradition, spells for currying favor frequently go hand-in-hand with those for gaining the love of a woman, it seems appropriate to discuss here two fairly important love spells with complicated manual rites, both transmitted in the demotic magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. They are of special interest since they both make use of a magically enhanced oil with which the face and phallus of the practitioner are to be anointed, and thus belong to a field for which Faraone has indicated only Greek and Mesopotamian cases. Actually, they are two divergent versions of a single ritual, with differences mainly in the exact wording of the invocations. The oil is prepared over a period of time lasting from the end of one lunar month to the next full moon, by being dripped off a fish, being collected in a vessel, and formulae being recited over it. The practitioner identifies himself mainly with Shu and a female entity (perhaps the fish) with the uraeus-goddess, also called Nubian cat, the daughter of Re. Thus the magical precedent used is the love of Shu and Tefnut, a traditional Egyptian mythological theme which, to give an additional dimension to the composition, is normally connected to the theme of those two coming to help their father and overthrowing his enemies (Sternberg 1985: 224–227). In one of the two variants, the invocation actually alludes to this by saying: "You are Sakhmet, the great, lady of Ast who has overcome every rebel" (pMag. LL 12, 22–23).

The first one has a fragmentary title probably to be restored as "[a spell to make a woman] love a man." Even though this makes it sound like a simple love-spell, the actual invocation-prayer says: "Give me favor (*ḥs.t*), love (*mrỉ.t*) and respect (*šfe.t*) before every womb and every woman" (12, 17–18). The second is entitled: "Another way to give a man favor (*ḥsỉ.t*) before a woman." (12, 21), which makes it even more into a charitesion. In any case, they show that already within the Egyptian tradition, there were cases where this type of spell was used for love magic, and not only for career-related questions; but the choice of mythological analogy still links it subtly with the spells where social success is connected with the victory over enemies.

For a complete understanding, it should be pointed out that magical prayers for favor are not confined to spells which identify themselves as charitesia in the title; they also occur within the body of quite different genres. One remarkable case is the "vessel inquiry of Chons" (pMag. LL 9, 1–10, 22). While the later parts of the text are quite

normal for such a genre, the beginning is different. It sets out by presenting the esoteric knowledge of the practitioner who is well versed with the sacred minutiae of the deity he invokes: he gives a lot of specific names, as well as the natural phenomena—animal, celestial orbit, snake, tree, bird, stone—connected with it. Then he says: "I have done it [because of (?) hung]er for bread, thirst for water, and you will protect me, and you will keep me safe, and you will give me favor (*ḥsi̯(.t)*), love (*mri̯(.t)*) and renown (*šfꜣ.t*) before all men" (9, 11f.)—followed by a long list of self-identifications serving to justify the claim for divine help. Afterward, another request follows: "Save me before every [...], every place of turmoil, Lasmatnout, Lasmatot, protect me, keep me safe, give me favor (*ḥsi̯(.t)*), love (*mri̯(.t)*) and renown (*šfeꜣ.t*) in my vessel [and in] my wick here today"—and that leads to a normal request for telling the truth without falsehood concerning the actual affair. The second request is thus the hinge allowing one type of magical practice to be adapted to the aims of another, quite different one. It should be stressed that this particular magical practice is not homogeneous, since one section giving mainly Jewish or "international" magic names (10, 3–6) is stuck on to an otherwise traditional Egyptian part. The legitimization by display of knowledge is structurally very similar to some Greek charitesia I will discuss later.

The Greek Charitesia

After discussing the Egyptian tradition, it is time to address the Greek spells and the question of their cultural affiliation (if anything certain can be said about this). Obviously, ethnicity in Graeco-Roman Egypt is a highly complicated question that can be understood on many different levels (Bilde et al. 1992; La'da 1994; La'da 2003). It is well known that many people had double names, one Egyptian and one Greek, and used them according to the needs of the situation (Clarysse 1985; Depauw 1997: 43).

Juridical ethnicity is basically a question of which tax rate had to be paid for the poll tax; people considered as Egyptians were more harshly treated than Greeks. The point here is one of having acquired Greek or even Roman citizenship at some point in the family, less about pure bloodlines.

Cultural affinity is an altogether different affair, and can also be divided in divergent areas. The Greek models in literature and phi-

losophy had high prestige, and they would naturally have been taught to those Egyptians who wished to retain some status, since they had to learn the Greek language (and school was based on the Greek classical authors, see Cribiore 2001). Religious affiliation was quite a different matter. There, we can actually see an enormous influx of Egyptian cults into the whole Roman world. Greeks in Egypt were greatly attracted to Egyptian funerary beliefs; even among the cults for the living, the Egyptian religion normally had the upper hand. Temples for purely Greek gods were fairly rare in the Egyptian chora, even in regions where a relatively high number of Greek colonists resided.

Furthermore, if we look for cultural or religious affiliation in any specific ritual—for example, as preserved in the PGM, we should be careful about understanding the drift of our own question. As modern scholars, we might say that some specific spell contains Jewish elements (or are they Gnostic?), or that it is based on traditional Egyptian concepts, since we are trained to conduct research into the origins of a practice or belief system (Ritner 1998; Faraone 2005). Such questions did not concern the ancient magician. He was interested in the pragmatic aim: that those rituals should work, that they should produce the desired effect. He certainly did not pledge his allegiance to any single deity or pantheon by collecting only rituals based on the traditions of one specific ethnic or religious group. Typically, the large manuals (most famously, PGM IV with more than 3000 lines of text) contain many different spells which not only vary in the preference given to any specific religious tradition, but can be seen to include Egyptian deities, Jewish or "Gnostic" figures and even Greek gods (or such whose name is linguistically Greek, even if, like Hermes or Helios, in this text group they are likely to mean an Egyptian deity like Thot or Re) existing side by side in a combination which might seem incongruous to us but caused no problem at all for the actual users of these handbooks. In such a situation, inquiring about the ethnic or cultural origins of a spell might have diachronic relevance, but for the synchronic use it is utterly irrelevant. We should bear this in mind when coming to the actual examples.

Instructive here is a lengthy practice in the Mimaut papyrus which is stylized as a prayer to the sun-god (PGM III 495–611). It is a fairly complex ritual which can be used for different aims. But the prayer contains elements clearly at home in the charitesion tradition. We have, for example: "Come to me with a happy face to a bed of your

choice, giving me, NN, sustenance, health, safety, wealth, the blessing of children, knowledge, a ready hearing, goodwill, sound judgment, honor, memory, grace, shapeliness, beauty to all who see me" (PGM III 575–580).

The cult of the sun-god Helios as an important deity is not widespread in Greece but is obviously very much so in the Egyptian tradition. The primary magical means of rendering the deity propitious is by demonstrating knowledge of its different forms and symbols, as we have seen in the Demotic vessel inquiry of Chons. This is done specifically by enumerating the different forms of the sun-god in the different hours, as well as its specific favorite trees, stones, birds, animals and sacred names. This resembles the Egyptian tradition of having different forms of the sun-god in the different hours of the day. We can even go one step further. The specific forms of the sun-god evoked in this papyrus are familiar from other traditions. They correspond to a set known as dodekaoros (von Lieven, in press), even though the sequence seems confused in comparison with other attestations (Gundel 1968: 6). The dodekaoros can be recognized as a late-Egyptian conception. It is known from magical manuscripts of Roman-period Egypt, from actual depictions of the animals on a zodiac found in Egypt, and from astrological treatises giving its constituents as parts of the non-Greek constellations.

The Egyptian background is strengthened by the fact that this prayer ends with a famous text, the hymnic conclusion of the hermetic "Perfect Discourse" (*teleios logos*) which is mainly known from the Latin translation in the treatise *Asclepius*, as well as a Coptic version preserved among the Nag-Hammadi-codices (Nock & Festugière 1946: 353–355; Mahé 1978: 160–167).

Quite similar in some basic structures is the consecration of a stone in PGM IV 1596–1715. We have a prayer to the sun-god: "Give glory and honor and favor and fortune and power to this NN stone which I consecrate today." Here also, the different shapes of the sun-god according to the dodekaoros are fundamental. Again, we are very much in an Egyptian setting, and the concluding sentence "When you complete the consecration, say 'One is Zeus and Sarapis'," again illustrates the Graeco-Egyptian cultural horizon of the practitioner.

Equally, a binding love spell of Astrapsoukhos (PGM VIII 1–63) has some structural similarities to the two compositions I have just discussed. The crucial prayer is: "Give me favor, sustenance, victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty of face, strength of all men and women."

Again, knowledge of the names and shapes of the god is the essential justification of the practitioner. Here, the spectrum is reduced to four different animals in the cardinal regions of the sky: in the east an ibis, in the west a dog-faced baboon, in the north a serpent, and in the south a wolf. All of those animals are familiar in the Egyptian religious bestiary—the wolf is of course a sort of jackal in the same way as the cult-place of Upuaut is called Lykopolis by the Greeks. The deity invoked is itself identified as Hermes, which fits very well with animals such as the ibis and the baboon which are sacred to Thot. In addition, the analogy of Isis is presented, who invoked the god at a time of crisis. Of some interest is a specific section in the spell: "May you save me in eternity from poison and malice and all calumniation and evil tongues, from every hatred of gods and men. They shall give me favor and victory and success and prosperity. For you are me and I am you, your name is mine and mine yours, for I am your image. If anything happens to me in this year or this month or this day or this hour, then it will happen to the great god Akhkhemen Estroph whose name is carved on the prow of the sacred ship" (PGM VIII 32–41). This incantation shows close similarities to Egyptian spells, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Quack 2006a: 61f.). Affirming the fundamental identity of the speaker (or recipient) with the god is quite typical. Again, this is one of the PGM spells with a particularly strong and undiluted Egyptian character. Note that possible actions of antagonists are treated in detail, like in several of the earlier Egyptian cases I have cited.

Quite remarkable also are two spells for the consecration of a ring (PGM XII 201–69 and 270–350). This begins with the fact that although the language of the spells itself is Greek, the actual title, "A ring," is written in Demotic. One of the consecrations is given the name of Ouphor, and this is likely to be a phonetic rendering of the Egyptian word *wpi̯.t-rˀ* "opening of the mouth," a ritual actually used for consecrating objects produced by handcraft, and even attested for a ring-stone with a scarab within the Egyptian documentation (Moyer & Dieleman 2003; Quack 2006b: 144f.). The Egyptian elements in the spells are quite clear, even though some elements of obvious Jewish or Greek derivation are present—it is after all a good example of the intermingling of magical traditions so typical of Roman-period Egypt. Some segments, like an invocation beginning with the phrases "the gates of heaven were opened, the gates of earth were opened" (PGM XII, 323) sound exactly like Egyptian cultic language (Moyer

and Dieleman 2003: 63–66; Dieleman 2005: 175–182) and might even derive from the canonical Egyptian Ritual of Opening the Mouth (Quack 2006b:145). The text certainly cannot simply be cited as an example of a Greek practice similar to an Assyrian one, as claimed by Faraone (1999: 103).

There is one spell for favor (PGM XXXV) that seems to have a mainly Jewish background. None of the mythology is Egyptian, whereas invocations of the god of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are prominent. The charitesion indicated in PGM VII 186–190 is too short and too exclusively focused on the technical side to provide much of interest for my enquiry. For lack of space, I will also refrain from discussing the passages PGM IV 2373–2440; 3125–71 and XII 99–106 which deal mainly with success in business,[16] as well as the truncated and untitled section PGM XII 182–189 which is recognisably a charitesion according to its first sentence.

Faraone had noted that the practice of anointing the face with oil can be paralleled in neo-Assyrian texts, and he produced several texts showing that anointment for similar purposes was known in Greece (Faraone 1999: 105–106). This line of argumentation seems insufficient to me. Obviously, anointing yourself as part of a process aiming at making you attractive—especially if the oil is scented with some plants—is almost a universal practice; at least it is so frequent that no conclusions on ethnic affiliations of magical practices can be drawn from it. Instead, we have to look much more closely at the details of the individual rites, and these are quite telling.

The first spell Faraone cites is a prayer to the sun-god as a charm to restrain anger and for securing favor (PGM XXXVI, 211–230). It contains a phrase, "I ask to obtain and receive from you life, health, reputation, wealth, influence, strength, success, charm, favor with all men and all women, victory over all men and all women."

In my opinion, the text is difficult to attribute to any specific culture in itself, because it is relatively short and does not contain many elements of clear-cut affiliation, although among the magical names, forms such as Harponkhnouphi and Niptoumi point to Egypt. In any case, it is a shorter example of what is shown in much more detail in

[16] For this, the section about the dendrachate in the orphic kerygmata with an engraving of clear Egyptian origin (Hermes with a book accompanied by a dog-headed ape) should be compared (Halleux and Schamp 1985: 148f.).

the Mimaut papyrus, and thus is unlikely to come from a totally different background. The long sequence of blessings which the practitioner requests sounds quite a bit like a typical Egyptian enumeration beginning with the basic elements *ꜣnḫ* "life" and *snb* "health."

Even more telling is Faraone's second example. There, ointment of myrrh is used, and the charm is, "You are the myrrh with which Isis has anointed herself when she went to the bosom of Osiris, her own husband and brother, and on that day you gave her charm" (SM 72, 2, 4–8). Faraone admits "the influence of a popular Isis and Osiris legend" but supposes nevertheless simply that this was a Greek technique (Faraone 1999: 105). The papyrus manual from which this text is taken proclaims itself to be a translation of a book found in Heliopolis, written in Egyptian letters and then translated into Greek. With the possible exception of one charm in it concerning the use of apples in love magic,[17] there is nothing in the actual wording of the papyrus which would run counter to a real Egyptian origin.

Regarding the passage about the consecration of magical rings (PGM XII, 270–350), I have already commented on it above. Furthermore, it is problematic to cite the Cyranides concerning magical rings in order to establish an unbroken chain of Greek traditions, as does Faraone. The Cyranides are regarded as a 4th-century Alexandrian composition (Alpers 1984), and they are so much in the tradition of the international Graeco-Roman magic and amulets (Waegeman 1987) that they can hardly be claimed as evidence of undoubtedly Greek traditions.

Rings for gaining friendship, favor and affection are attested in several other treatises on stones and their use in rings. The orphic poem on stones and the kerygmata indicate that the Galaktites should be worn when approaching rulers in order to render them propitious and inclined to forget your faults (Halleux and Schamp 1985: 92 and 147), and Damigeron and Evax also stress their use for making the porter agreeable (ibid. 274). Agate is supposed to be effective for procuring love and rendering people well-inclined in social contacts (ibid. 115 and 163f.). In the book on stones by Socrates and Dionysus, the emerald is said to possess great virtues for currying favor and procuring success. The engraving should be a figure of Isis, which stresses the Egyptian background (ibid. 166). Similar powers are also attributed to the chalcedon (ibid. 167), Babylonian stone (ibid. 168), some sort of

[17] Even for this, pMag. LL. 15, 21–23 provides a parallel in the Egyptian language.

onyx (ibid. 170), opal (ibid. 171), agate (ibid. 172 and 255), sard-agate (ibid. 173), swallow-stones (ibid. 174f.), cock-stone (ibid. 257), stone of the Syrte (ibid. 262), topaz (ibid. 268), chrysolite (ibid. 282). Many more descriptions of the magical properties of stones go at least some way in this direction, multi-purpose use being a characteristic of many of the supposedly more powerful stones. The manuals in question seem to be mainly a product of an international culture of the Roman Imperial period, with at least some admixture of Egyptian elements. One such example occurs in the so-called "Graeco-Judaic decan book" concerning the second decan of Leo, again using agate (Gundel 1936: 388). This text has some Egyptian background in using the astrological concept of the decans, but otherwise is rather international, with the exact origins difficult to pinpoint.

I do not claim any Egyptian influence on the Homeric scene (although I feel equally skeptical about the supposed Mesopotamian influence). Equally, the idea of using spells for currying favor and gaining love and affection is, in itself, certainly too basic and too easily conditioned by the social constraints of many ancient (and modern) cultures to be attributable to any specific culture from which it developed exclusively and was taken over by others. However, the PGM instances can certainly not be read as part of one long and only partially visible Greek tradition; the technique of the charitesion in them clearly follows models present in Egypt, and most of the specific invocations are based more on Egyptian religious concepts than on any others.

In conclusion, Faraone's principal methodological weakness is that he based his conclusions on very broad similarities, often no more than a technique as such, without paying attention to the question whether such a technique was in any way likely to be specific enough for attribution to any single culture. We should recognize that many of the aims in magical spells have their roots in the general cultural structures of traditional societies; for example, wishes for healing are ubiquitous, and charms for favor come up naturally in every society where different rivaling members vie for the attention of the leader. I have tried to indicate how deeply rooted such concerns were within the Egyptian culture, without wishing in any way to imply that it would be the only one to develop such usages, or be predominant in it.

Equally, some of the techniques employed are not very useful as an indicator of the ethnic or cultural origin of a practice. In particular, procedures such as putting on ornaments and embellishments, such as

textile straps, are quite natural ways of promoting attention and desire; and nobody would claim that today's sexy women's underwear derives from Assyrian practices.

Only a really close analysis of each individual text can produce reliable results. For the charitesion, we can at least say that there are good precedents for it in Egyptian texts, and that most of the longer examples from the Roman-period manuals in the Greek language show quite strong signs of Egyptian background.

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SCRIBAL PRACTICES IN THE PRODUCTION OF MAGIC HANDBOOKS IN EGYPT

Jacco Dieleman

*Introduction**

This article is a diachronic examination of the means by which information is organized in recipes contained in the hieratic and Demotic magic formularies from Egypt. These scribal conventions concern visual reading aids, controlled vocabulary and fixed text formats. I argue first that these genre rules were clear-cut and remained unchanged for the entire period that hieratic formularies were produced, and second, that some recipes in the Demotic magic handbooks continue these rules, whereas others deviate from them. This second observation has a bearing on the ongoing debate about the cultural, intellectual and institutional roots of Greco-Egyptian magic in general and the Demotic magical papyri in particular. Given the overall application of the traditional scribal conventions in the Demotic recipes, it seems warranted to conclude that the Demotic formularies were written, edited and copied by scribes who had been trained and worked in an Egyptian temple scriptorium, the institution where hieratic formularies had been produced since at least as early as the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1975–1640 BCE). However, given the longevity and stability of these scribal conventions, the deviations in the Demotic recipes, no matter how small or irrelevant at first sight, are significant and beg to be addressed. Did they result from internal changes in the curriculum and practices in the temple schools and scriptoria? Or are they a reflection of new procedures and protocols developed outside the temple

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compound proper and adopted only secondarily into the Demotic formularies?

Before analyzing the Demotic recipes in detail, I first survey the formal features of hieratic formularies and discuss in detail the relation between a recipe's function and its text format. This allows me to explicate the scribal conventions and genre rules of the formularies that were produced in Egyptian temple scriptoria between the Middle Kingdom and the early Roman period. The second half of the article offers a similar analysis of the Demotic recipes. In the concluding section, the results of the two analyses are compared.

The Demotic Magical Papyri

The Demotic Magical Papyri represent a fascinating collection of spells well suited to the study of aspects of continuity and change in ritual and scribal practices in Roman-period Egypt.[1] The corpus forms a small, yet coherent group of texts comprising two manuscripts from Thebes in southern Egypt, one manuscript from Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt, and two of unknown provenance (one very likely also from Thebes).[2] They are dated by paleography to the third, possibly even

[1] A good overview is presented in Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context," *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995) 3333–79. English translations by Janet H. Johnson are available in Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago, 1986), abbreviated as GMPT in this article. German translations of a representative selection of spells by Joachim Quack can be found in Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm (eds.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge Band 4: Omina, Orakel, Rituale und Beschwörungen* (Gütersloh, 2008) 331–59.

[2] The two Theban manuscripts are pLeiden I 384 verso and pLondon-Leiden [publications: Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384," *OMRO* 56 (1975) 29–64; and F. L. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1904–09); see also Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites. The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153. Leiden: Brill, 2005)]. The manuscript from Oxyrhynchus is pBM 10808 [most recent publication: V. H. Sederholm, *Papyrus British Museum 10808 and Its Cultural and Religious Setting* (PdÄ 24; Leiden, 2006); but see still J. Osing, *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* (ÄA 33; Wiesbaden, 1976), and also Jacco Dieleman, "Ein spätägyptisches magisches Handbuch: eine neue PDM oder PGM?," in F. Hoffmann and H. J. Thissen (eds.), *Res Severa Verum Gaudium. Festschrift Zauzich* (Studia Demotica 6; Peeters Publishers; Leuven, 2004) 121–28. The manuscripts with unknown provenance are pLouvre E3229 and pBM 10588 [publications: Janet H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical Text," *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55–102; W. M. Brashear and A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Brussels, 1991) 71–73; and H. J. Bell

pLeiden I 384 verso[3]	PDM xii & PGM XII
pLeiden I 383 & pBM 100070 = pLondon-Leiden	PDM xiv & PGM XIV
pBM 10588	PDM lxi & PGM LXI
pLouvre E3229	PDM Suppl.
pBM 10808	*without number*

Corpus of the so-called Demotic Magical Papyri

second, century CE. All five are magic handbooks with a varied assortment of recipes and incantations for divination rites, binding spells, dream sending, aphrodisiacs and curative applications.

The corpus is conveniently called the *Demotic* Magical Papyri to distinguish it from, and at the same time associate it with, the contemporary and substantially larger corpus of *Greek* Magical Papyri, which contains spells for similar magical ends.[4] However, putting too much stress on the word Demotic obscures the fact that the majority of spells are written in a combination of scripts—such as hieratic, Old-Coptic, Greek, and cipher next to Demotic—and that four of the manuscripts in question contain sections in *Greek*, some of them substantial in

et al., *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*, in: Proceedings of the British Academy 17 (London, 1932)]. The Louvre manuscript was purchased from the Anastasi collection in 1857 and may thus very well come from Thebes, possibly even from the same hoard as the other two Theban handbooks; its hieratic hand definitely has a Theban flavor. To this list one may add oStrassburg D 1338, which preserves a copy of a recipe to alleviate menstruation pains taken from a similar manual; see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Aus der Strassburger Sammlung demotischer Ostraka," ZÄS 49 (1911) 34–41, ostracon 1, plate 6; improved translation: Ritner, "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire," 3343f.

[3] It is perhaps useful here to remind scholars of the system of inventory numbers used in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden. Too often scholars refer to the Leiden manuscripts with the capital letter J, e.g. P. Leiden J 384, in spite of the fact that this letter designation does not exist. It is merely a persistent typographical error. The proper letter designation is I—i.e., the capital i. For an explanation of the system of inventory numbers, see Maarten J. Raven, "Numbering Systems in the Egyptian Department of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden," *OMRO* 72 (1992) 7–14.

[4] For an overview of the Greek Magical Papyri, see William M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)," *ANRW* II 18. 5 (1995) 3380–684. The spells were published, together with a few spells in Old-Coptic, as the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM) in Karl Preisendanz (ed.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–31) [2nd ed., ed. by Albert Henrichs; Stuttgart 1973–74)] and R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (eds.), *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols. (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1–2; Opladen, 1990–92). English translations are available in GMPT.

length and nowadays—inconveniently—counted as separate spells in the modern edition of the Greek Magical Papyri. The evident association with the Greek Magical Papyri is further borne out by the fact that two of the Theban Demotic magical manuscripts, and possibly four of them, were discovered as part of a larger collection of magical and alchemical handbooks in Greek, commonly called the Theban Magical Library, in the hills of Luxor (ancient Thebes) in or somewhat earlier than 1828. The Greek magical manuals of this ancient cache are nowadays counted as the most important and extensive manuals among the Greek Magical Papyri.

The Demotic manuals are thus not only chronologically and thematically, but also archaeologically, related to the Greek Magical Papyri. It would, however, be wrong to equate the two corpora, as if the one were nothing but the other in a different language. As I have tried to show in a previous investigation, the use of language and script in the Demotic manuals is quite different from that which we find in the Greek handbooks, which suggests that the Demotic manuals were produced for a different group of consumers—that is to say, for users who had undergone a rigorous Egyptian scribal training in addition to having mastered Greek. The Greek and Demotic manuals are thus different, yet very similar: they are both testimonies, each in its own way, to one and the same flourishing culture of Greco-Egyptian magic in the Roman period.

Egyptian formularies for healing and protection

In ancient Egypt, healers and ritual specialists made use of handbooks with practical instructions for treating ailments and injuries and for preparing amulets. Several dozen of such manuals have been preserved, attesting to a long-standing, indigenous tradition of collecting, archiving and applying specialized skills and knowledge in an attempt to overcome and anticipate impotence in situations of life crises.[5] The earliest of the extant documents date to the middle of the Middle

[5] Egyptologists traditionally distinguish between medical and magical handbooks, although there are no formal, ancient Egyptian criteria to support this distinction; see further below in this article. For useful surveys of the medical sources, see Wolfhart Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin* (HdO 1.36; Leiden, 1999), 4–79 and John F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London, 1996), 24–41. A similar list of sources does not exist for the magical papyri, but see J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian*

Kingdom (ca. 1850 BCE), but the fragmentary biographical inscriptions of the courtier Washptah from Saqqara reveal that such manuscripts were already in circulation around 2400 BCE.[6] The passage in question relates how the king was present when Washptah suffered a seizure in the company of lector priests and physicians. The king then orders the bringing of a chest with scrolls, by which undoubtedly handbooks for healing are meant. The tradition continued well into the Roman period, as the second century CE formularies from the temple libraries of Tebtunis, Soknopaiou Nesos and Crocodilopolis in the Fayum demonstrate.[7] As will be shown in the remainder of this article, the Demotic magical papyri are perhaps best regarded as the latest representatives of this pharaonic tradition.

The handbooks are compendiums of recipes that instruct a practitioner in how to prepare and administer a medicament, how to perform a healing rite and how to produce an amulet. A few specialized manuals for healing, such as the Lahun Veterinary and Gynecological Papyri and the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, are organized as collections of case studies (*šsꜣw*) of ailments and injuries. In these manuscripts, each individual text carefully describes the symptoms and the procedures of examination, explicates the diagnosis and prognosis, and gives the appropriate treatment.[8] In such cases, the recipe proper is contained in the section on the treatment. However, the majority of manuals are collections of recipes only, taking the stages of examination, diagnosis and prognosis for granted. The recipe's title is assumed

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Magical Texts (NISABA 9; Leiden, 1978) and Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Altägyptische Zaubersprüche* (Stuttgart, 2005).

[6] For a translation of the biography of Washptah, see Nigel C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Writings from the Ancient World 16; Atlanta, 2005), 318–20 and Alessandro Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'ancien empire égyptien* (Paris, 1982), 108–11. The language of the surgical treatise contained in pSmith suggests an Old Kingdom date of composition; James Henry Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (OIP 3–4; Chicago, 1930), 73–75.

[7] Tebtunis: The Manual of the priesthood of Sakhmet (in hieratic), numerous fragments; pCarlsberg 463 + PSI inv. I 73 published in Jürgen Osing and Gloria Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis* (Florence, 1998), 189–215; one or two further manuscripts remain unpublished: Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library," 150, fn. 37. Soknopaiou Nesos: pAshmolean 1984.55 (in hieratic); mentioned in Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 78. Crocodilopolis: the Demotic Vienna Medical Book; E. A. E. Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis. P. Vindob. D. 6257* (MPER 10; Vienna, 1976).

[8] Westendorf translates *šssꜣw* as "Lehrtexte", i.e. texts that transmit knowledge gained from practical experience to an apprentice. For more details on this text type, see Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 82–87.

to provide sufficient information about when and for which occasion it is to be used. A typical recipe informs the reader about the required materials, their quantities and measures, the ritual implements, the wording of the incantation, and explains, in brief, which actions are to be performed at which moment. Recipes are often listed thematically according to symptom, ailment and body part, although certain manuals, or sections thereof, seem to be without order.

The manuals are the product of a scribal tradition that was institutionalized in the temple scriptorium and maintained for more than two millennia through formal training in an apprenticeship setting. This institution knew a limited set of rules and practices as regards the production of manuscripts. These conventions concern the use of jargon and fixed phrases, ways of glossing and commenting, the use of black and red ink, and the relative sequencing of text units. They assisted the scribes in formulating an intricate set of actions in an easy to follow, step-by-step procedure. Accordingly, they also helped the reader retrieving the information quickly and without mistakes. It is important to stress that these principles were not affected by the choice of language and script. The great majority of manuals are written in Middle or Late Middle Egyptian. However, those of the New Kingdom display a fair amount of Late Egyptianisms and, in the Greco-Roman Period, formularies were also produced in Demotic. As regards the script, two of the earliest manuals, the Lahun Veterinary Papyrus and pRamesseum V (inscribed ca. 1850 BCE), are written in cursive hieroglyphs arranged in narrow, vertical lines separated by margin lines that are to be read in retrograde, with the title for each recipe written on a horizontal line above the entire body of the text. This layout is in line with that of liturgical handbooks of similar date, such as the Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus, the Ramesseum Funerary Liturgy and the Hymns to Sobek, all of which were found as part of the so-called Ramesseum library.[9] However, this early layout disappeared in the course of the Middle Kingdom and was replaced by handbooks in the less formal hieratic with the text written first in vertical lines, but soon

[9] The official excavation report of this "library" is J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (ERA 2; London, 1898), 1–21, plates 1–30A. The tomb's contents are most conveniently listed and discussed in Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus," *ZÄS* 133 (2006): 72–89, 72–77. See also R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, 1991), xi–xiii; Ritner, *Mechanics*, 223–32; Ludwig D. Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit* (ÄAT 29; Wiesbaden, 1996), 144–47.

in horizontal lines, and without margin or guide lines. This layout was retained until the end of the Roman period, even in manuscripts written in Demotic, although double ruled lines were introduced in the Roman period to separate the columns.[10]

The formal features listed above enabled scribes to organize the information in a methodical and consistent way.[11] A recipe's structure was visually defined through the use of red ink to highlight or set apart certain key words, opening phrases or self-contained sections from the main body of text, which was written in black ink. For example, the title, the numbers and measures, separation marks, and corrections or additions could be written in red ink; occasionally, the entire text of the directions for use or the incantation was rubricized.[12] In addition to this visual device, controlled vocabulary and relative sequencing of text units were further means to structure and control the information flow. These discursive reading aids deserve our closest attention, because a recipe's text format—i.e. the key words used and the sequence of its text units—was relative to its purpose.

Text formats in Egyptian formularies

The recipes in the formularies for healing and protection of the Middle and New Kingdoms can be divided into those that take as their focal point the preparation of a substance, which is always to be applied to a patient's body, either externally or internally, and those that take an incantation as their point of departure. The scribes thus defined each recipe as one or the other by the appropriate keyword in its title. This keyword is always found at the head of the recipe and is usually written in red ink to set it apart from the main body of text, which was

[10] W. J. Tait, "Guidelines and Borders in Demotic Papyri," in M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *Papyrus, Structure and Usage* (British Museum Occasional Paper 60; London, 1986), 63–89. Double ruled lines are now attested as early as the Augustan period; Friedhelm Hoffmann, "Die Hymnensammlung des P. Wien D6951," in Kim Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies* (CNI Publications 27; Copenhagen, 2002), 219–28, 219.

[11] A very useful survey of structuring devices in Egyptian manuscripts is Richard Parkinson and Stephen Quirke, *Papyrus* (London, 1995), 38–48.

[12] This practical usage is to be distinguished from the custom of writing certain ominous words and names in red ink. The latter is to be understood in the light of the symbolic properties of the color red; most recently, Geraldine Pinch, "Red Things: the Symbolism of Colour in Magic," in: W. V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 182–85, esp. 84.

written in black ink. Recipes of the first type have the generic term for substance *pḫrt* (prescription, medicament), or occasionally *zpw* (remedy; plural of *zp* "deed"), as their key word.[13] These recipes give directions for preparing and applying drugs, potions, ointments, bandages, etc. At times a more specific heading such as *gsw* (ointment) or *kꜣpt* (fumigation) is used, but the general heading was definitely preferred. Recipes of the second type are entitled *rꜣ* (utterance, incantation) or *šnt* (conjuration), rarely *mḏꜣt* (book, written charm).[14]

In modern scholarship, the former group has been viewed as representing a tradition of ancient Egyptian curative therapy that takes recourse to more or less rational methods to diagnose and treat diseases and injuries, and has been distinguished from, and valued over, the latter, which relies on the spoken word and persuasive analogy as a means to heal or protect a patient.[15] The former was therefore designated as representative of Egyptian medicine, whereas the other was relegated to the margin of scholarly interest as belonging to the domain of magical practices and superstition. However, as a result of closer inspection of ancient Egyptian vocabulary and practices of healing, this view has now been abandoned and most scholars agree that the ancient practitioners themselves made no such distinction. Rather, they considered incantations addressed to demons that bring disease into the body and substances applied to a wound or ailing body part to be complementary methods toward the same goal.[16]

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[13] For a useful discussion and list of occurrences, see *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, 284–91 (*pḫrt*) and 736f (*zpw*). For *pḫrt*, see also Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 54–67. The other keywords mentioned in this paragraph can also be found in the *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*.

[14] For more details, see Ritner, *Mechanics*, 41–44; *mḏꜣt* is not discussed in his book. The common translation "chapter" for *rꜣ* (e.g in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead) is unnecessarily misleading and is not retained in this article.

[15] See footnote 5 of the present article.

[16] The debate over whether or not to recognize medicine and magic as two separate branches of thought and action in ancient Egypt has produced a large body of secondary literature. I refer the reader to Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (2nd edition; London, 2006), 133–46 for a useful summary with relevant references. For scholars who convincingly argue against recognizing this distinction, see J. Walker, "The Place of Magic in the Practice of Medicine in Ancient Egypt," *BACE* 1 (1990): 85–95; Joachim Friedrich Quack, "Review of Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*," *OLZ* 94 (1999): 455–62; Christian Leitz, "Die Rolle von Religion und Naturbeobachtung bei der Auswahl der Drogen im Papyrus Ebers," in Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert (ed.), *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde* (Philippika Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 7; Wiesbaden, 2005), 41–62.

It must therefore be stressed that the first type of recipe does not exclude the inclusion of a magical incantation, and that the second is often accompanied by directions to prepare a substance or implement of some sort.[17] The distinction between the two is a matter of emphasis, either on the substance or on the incantation, and not an essential difference in thought and action. It is at times difficult, if not impossible, to discern what made the scribe decide to choose the substance over the incantation and vice versa when he set out to compose a new recipe. From a scribal point of view this decision was not without consequence, as it strictly determined the recipe's text format, and thus had to be consciously made beforehand.

Recipes of the "substance" type start with a title, which contains the keyword and a succinct explanation of the recipe's purpose.[18] For example, recipes to relieve stomach aches can be entitled "prescription (*pḫrt*) for causing the belly to open (itself)" or "remedy (*zpw*) for opening the belly" (Ebers 34 and 7 [= H 58]). If the recipe is part of a sequence of recipes concerned with the same ailment, the title is usually abbreviated to the keyword "another" (*kt*), whose feminine grammatical gender indicates that it substitutes for "prescription" (*pḫrt*). In a few cases the keyword may even have been dropped altogether, thereby resulting in abbreviated headings such as "killing tapeworm" (Ebers 50). Immediately following the title, the ingredients are given, often presented in a list with their required numbers and measures. Finally, the directions for use are given. In cases when the preparation or administration of the medicament was to be accompanied by an incantation, the incantation's wording is given as the fourth section of the recipe, usually introduced by the clause "what is to be said as magic (*ḥkꜣw- hekau*) to it."

To illustrate the standard text format of the first type, two recipes are given below. They are part of a recipe cluster concerned with curing a patient from demonic *ꜥꜣꜥ* poison in the body, a subject treated at length in the medical papyri Ebers and Hearst.[19] In papyrus Ebers the

[17] See also Joris F. Borghouts, "Les textes magiques de l'Égypte ancienne. Théorie, mythes et thèmes," in Yvan Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition* (Paris, 2002), 17–39, 21f.

[18] For more details on the text format, see Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 87–91.

[19] For the demonic *ꜥꜣꜥ* poison, see Westendorf, "Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten. [III. Incubus-Vorstellungen. IV. Feuer- und Wasserprobe]," *ZÄS* 96 (1970): 145–51; and idem, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 361–66.

main cluster is called "The beginning of the prescriptions (*pḫrwt*) of driving out ꜣꜥ poison from the belly and from the heart" (pEbers 221; 44/13). Note that in the second example the incantation, though coming only at the end, is actually the longest text unit of the recipe. This demonstrates that the text format's sequence is not established by the number of words of the individual text units, but by the keyword.

[title]	To drive out the ꜣꜥ poison of a god or a dead person from the belly of a man or a woman.
[ingredients]	Acacia leaf, 1/32 dja; *arw* tree leaf, 1/32 dja; *qaa* fruits of the *arw* tree, 1/32 dja; pulp of the carob fruit[20] 1/8 dja; grapes, 1/8 dja; Lower Egyptian salt, 1/32 dja; the kernel of a mussel, 1/32 dja; *tehua*, 1/8 dja; galena, 1/64 dja; *shasha* fruit, 1 dja; hair-of-the-earth fruit, 1/8 dja; honey, 1/32 dja; plant slime, 5 dja.
[directions for use]	To be cooked and sieved. To be drunk over a period of 4 days.[21]
[title]	Another (prescription).
[ingredients]	An *abdju* fish whose mouth is filled with incense.
[directions for use]	To be cooked. To be eaten before going to bed.
[incantation]	What is to be said over it as magic (*heka*): O dead man, dead woman, covered one, hidden one, who is in this my body, in these my limbs; remove yourself from this my body, from these my limbs! Look, I brought excrement to eat for you. Hidden one, creep away. Covered one, retreat.[22]

In the second type of recipe, the title consists of the keyword "incantation" (*rꜣ*) or "conjuration" (*šnt*) and a short phrase to succinctly indicate its purpose, as for example "another incantation (*rꜣ*) for a conjuration (*šnt*) of a head that hurts" and "another conjuration (*šnt*) of the head" (pLeiden I 348 2/9 and 3/5). When the recipe is part of a thematic cluster, "another" (*ky* or *kt*) can precede the keyword or replace it altogether. The wording of the incantation follows immedi-

[20] For *ḏꜣrt* as "pulp of the carob fruit," I follow Sydney Aufrère, "Études de lexicologie et d'histoire naturelle, I–III," *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 1–31, 28–31.

[21] H 83 = pHearst 6/16–7/2; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE. For a very close parallel, see Eb 225 = pEbers 44/22–45/4; the manuscript is dated to 1550 BCE. For the dja measures I follow Tanja Pommerening, "Neues zu den Hohlmassen und zum Medizinalmassystem," in Susanna Bickel and Antonio Loprieno (eds.), *Basel Egyptology Prize 1* (Aegyptia Helvetica 17; Basel, 2003), 201–219.

[22] H 85 = pHearst 7/4–6; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE.

ately after the title. If the rite entails preparing a concoction, manipulating an implement or drawing apotropaic imagery, the directions for use are given *after* the incantation. To set them visibly apart from the incantation, the directions for use are often written in red ink. Unlike the former type, the ingredients are not listed as a separate text unit, but rather are most often integrated with the text of the directions for use. The following two examples illustrate the basic text format. The first is taken from a group of headache spells; the second forms part of a group of spells to prevent bleeding in a pregnant woman. Note how the sequence [title], [incantation], [directions for use] is fixed.

[title]	Another conjuration (*šnt*) of the head.
[incantation]	Horus is fighting with Seth about the Unique Bush, the *hemem* plant that Geb (i.e. the god of the earth) had begotten. Re, listen to Horus. He has only kept silent because of Geb, even though Horus is suffering from his head. Give him a driving out of his harms. Isis, make up your mind, mother of Horus! I have indeed put <an amulet> upon every (spot of) suffering.
[directions for use]	Words to be spoken over buds of a single bush. To be twisted to the left. To be moistened with plant slime. A fiber of the *seneb* plant to be laced to it. To be made into 7 knots. To be given to a man at his throat.[23]

[title]	Incantation (*rꜣ*) for repelling blood.
[incantation]	Go back, you who are in the hand of Horus. Go back, you who are in the hand of Seth. The blood that came forth in Hermopolis has been repelled. The red blood that came forth at the hour has been repelled. Are you not aware of the dam? Go back, you, at the hand of Thoth.
[directions for use]	This incantation is to be spoken over a bead of carnelian. It must be applied to the woman's rear. It is a repelling of blood.[24]

[23] pLeiden I 348 no. 10 (= 4/5–9); the manuscript is dated to the 13th century BCE. For important philological notes, see J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (OMRO 51; Leiden, 1970), 19 and 77–82; cf. Borghouts, "Les textes magiques de l'Égypte ancienne," 20f.

[24] London Medical Papyrus 25 (Wreszinski 37) = pBM 10059 9/1–3; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE. For commentary, see Wolfhart Westendorf, "Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten," *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 128–54; and Christian Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 7; London, 1999), 67.

My proposition that the key word determines a recipe's text format is cogently confirmed by the following two recipes. They are both concerned with curing a patient from the *tmjt* disease. The first recipe is a *pḫrt* text detailing how to prepare a poultice to be put on the spot where the patient suffers from the disease, whereas the second is a *šnt* recipe whose incantation directly addresses the demons causing the disease and is meant to be spoken over an ointment or poultice of an entirely different composition. The recipes do not only demonstrate that the same disease allowed for alternative approaches of healing. More relevant to the present argument is the fact that the relative sequencing of text units changes with the key word—irrespective of the ailment at hand or any other criteria.

[title]	Prescription (*pḫrt*) for driving out the *tmjt* disease.
[ingredients]	soot, *šnft* fruit, dregs of the *ʿꜣt* liquid, flour of the threshing floor, hematite, emmer, soil that comes from under a woman's excretion, Lower Egyptian salt.
[directions for use]	To be cooked. To be bandaged with it.[25]
[title]	Another conjuration (*šnt*) of the *tmjt* disease.
[incantation]	These wrappings and coverings (?) [are doing something]. They are the hair of .?. Your body is of iron, your hair is that of the goddess Sekhat[-Hor].[26] She has guarded these. Hail to you, gods of the darkness,[27] gods of my city. What was said is what is hidden (though) spoken. What came forth from my mouth are [utterances] that came forth from my mouth, because I enchant this *tmjt* disease, so that I remove the influence of a god, male dead, female dead (etc.) onto the earth and that the commoners, the elite, and the Hnmmt folk of Re may see it.
[directions for use]	This incantation is to be spoken over natron of the mason, *ḥmw* of the *kꜣkꜣ* plant, gum, pulp of the carob fruit, dates. The (spot which shows the) *tmjt* disease is to bandaged with it.[28]

[25] H 168 = pHearst 11/10–11; the manuscript is dated to around 1550 BCE. For translating *ḫry n pddw* as "soil that comes from under a woman's excretion," I follow Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 504.

[26] For this goddess, see LGG VI, 500a–501b.

[27] Following LGG VII, 290a.

[28] L 10 = pBM 10059 4/1–5; the manuscript is dated to around 1350 BCE. For important philological notes, see Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 57 and consult also Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, 384.

A further important observation concerns the style of the language of the recipes. Compared to the language used in the incantations, which can be convoluted at times and displays a wide range of variation in syntactical patterns, the language of the directions for use is very straightforward and uniform. The practitioner is informed about the required procedures with a sequence of laconic sentences that often consist of nothing more than a verb and an adverbial phrase to indicate what to do in which way. The verb form used most often is the so-called passive *sḏm=f* with optative mood; also very common is the stative verb form with optative mood.[29]

The genre conventions I have described above apply to recipes written in Middle and Late Middle Egyptian. They remained in force for the entire period that the scribes in the temple scriptoria copied, edited and composed formularies in hieratic. They can, for example, be observed in the Brooklyn Snake Book (pBrooklyn 47.218.48 and 85), which dates to ca. 600 BCE, and on Papyrus Rubensohn, a fragment of a medical handbook dating to the 4th century BCE. Unfortunately, for the Greco-Roman Period, formularies in hieratic are not available for study, because they have not been preserved or not yet been identified in the papyrological collections. Circumstantial evidence is provided by Papyrus BM 10808 of the 2nd century CE, which is a collection of three fever spells written in a form of Late Middle Egyptian and transcribed into a Greco-Egyptian alphabetic script. Although this is not a hieratic formulary in the technical sense, it is clear that the extant version was transcribed or reworked from a hieratic original. As was the custom since at least the second millennium BCE, the complex wording of the three incantations is followed by the succinct directions for use at the end of the text.

[29] For a detailed discussion of the use of these two verb forms in the prescriptions of the medical papyri, see Wolfhart Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte* (Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter VIII; Berlin, 1962), 127ff. and 180ff. According to Westendorf, the stative is used for verbs that concern the preparation of the medicament, whereas the passive *sḏm=f* is used for those that concern the application. A grammatical study of this kind remains to be done for the corpus of magical papyri, but its outcome is unlikely to be very different.

Continuity and innovation in the Demotic formularies

A study of the scribal practices in the Demotic magic manuals reveals both similarities with and differences from those described above for the hieratic formularies. The Demotic scribes continued working with the basic principles of the scribal conventions of old, but were not reluctant to experiment with the patterns and to introduce new methods. These similarities and differences can be observed in the use of black and red ink, the selection of title words, the occurrence of paragraph markers and the structure of a recipe's text format. The first three of these structuring devices are addressed one by one in this section; the next section is devoted to a close analysis of the text format of Demotic recipes.

To an untrained eye, the use of black and red ink may appear to be very similar in the hieratic and Demotic manuals. As is the case with the hieratic manuscripts, black ink is used in the Demotic manuals for the main body of text, whereas red ink is reserved for highlighting titles, paragraph markers, and numbers and measures. A closer look, however, reveals that red ink was used more sparingly in the Demotic manuals: only single words and phrases are written in red ink, never an entire text unit such as the incantation or directions for use.

As regards the technical jargon and title words, a distinction must be made on the one hand between title words of a general nature and those that are more specific and, on the other, between those known from the hieratic formularies and those that are unattested in those earlier manuals. Bearing these two distinctions in mind, the following observations can be made: First, the title words of a general nature are *pḫrt*, *rꜣ* and *gy*, the first two of which continue the jargon of the hieratic formularies. Apparently, whereas *pḫrt* and *rꜣ* had been retained, *zpw* and *šnt* had fallen into disuse as headings in the Demotic formularies. This fact is quite remarkable, because the roots of these words were still in use in Demotic.[30] Their absence may therefore be an *argumentum e silentio* that they were deliberately discarded as jargon for Demotic formularies. The heading *gy* occurs as a generic term with

[30] For *šnt* in the meaning "curse," see pPetese Tebt. A '6'/30 (written *šnyt*). *Sp* occurs in the compound nouns *sp n sḫ* (lit. "feat of a scribe") and *sp n ḥykꜣ* (lit. "feat of magic"), which can both be translated as "magical rite or formula"; DG 425, pPetese Tebt. A 3/30, and Ritner, *Mechanics*, 68, fn. 311.

the meaning "method of doing something."[31] It defines the recipe as a series of actions or steps to be undertaken irrespective of the type or significance of the prescribed substance or incantation. As such, this heading is even less restrictive in meaning than *pḫrt* and *rꜣ*. As is the case in the hieratic formularies, these title words may be preceded, or replaced altogether, by *ky* or *kt* (another) to indicate that the recipe is of a similar type as the one preceding.

More precise in meaning and content are the title words for divination rites. Whereas the hieratic formularies are primarily concerned with healing and protection, the Demotic manuals also include recipes with detailed instructions on how to perform bowl or lamp divination rituals, either with the help of a boy medium or by the practitioner alone, as a means to make a god appear and to consult with him in a face-to-face encounter about any matter at hand.[32] The title words of such recipes are very specific, such as *šn hn* (vessel inquiry), *šn n pꜣ ḫbs* (inquiry of the lamp), *šn n pꜣ Rˁ* (inquiry of the sun), *šn wbe ỉˁḥ* (inquiry opposite the moon), *sš-mšt* (casting for inspection?),[33] and *pḥ-nṯr* (god's arrival). These terms are as yet unattested in hieratic formularies. Another specialized term is *kswr*, the word for "ring"

[31] The same term occurs as *gꜣy* in the Demotic Vienna Medical Book and as *gˁy* in the Isis Divination Manual; for the latter, see Martin A. Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung* (MPER NS 28; Vienna, 2004). The term actually has a range of meanings such as "character, shape, manner, method"; see WB 5.15, DG 571. The restricted meaning proposed here is supported by a phrase used in the Isis Divination Manual: *pꜣ gˁy šn pꜣ ˁl nty ỉw=w r-ỉr=f*, "the method of consulting the dice/child which is to be done" (1/1 and 8). This usage is already attested in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, a 17th-dynasty copy of a 12th-dynasty original.

[32] It is important to note here that although the art of divination is attested for as early as the Middle Kingdom, the Demotic spells differ from the earlier types of divination in the sense that they claim to produce a face-to-face encounter with the deity, whereas the earlier types of divination are about interpreting signs, either occurring spontaneously, such as dreams and moon and sun eclipses, or produced artificially. For the latter type of divination, see the preliminary discussion of a fragmentary New Kingdom manuscript with directions for interpreting the shapes of oil slick in a bowl filled with water in Sara Demichelis, "La divination par l'huile à l'époque ramesside," in: Yvan Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition* (Paris, 2002), 149–65. For a convenient overview of divinatory practices in ancient Egypt, see Alexandra von Lieven, "Divination in Ägypten," *AoF* 26 (1999): 77–126; for practices in Greco-Roman Egypt, see also David Frankfurter, "Voices, Books and Dreams: The Diversification of Divination Media in Late Antique Egypt," in Sarah Iles Johnston and Peter T. Struck (eds.), *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient Divination* (RGRW 155; Leiden, 2005), 233–54.

[33] For this term and its tentative translation, see *GMPT*, 200, fn. 59 [R. K. Ritner]. Joachim Quack suggests reading *sšm-št*, "Frageanleitung"; *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 339, fn. 47.

and accordingly the title word for spells to consecrate a ring and to imbue it with magical powers. The phrase *tỉ-swr* (potion) occurs once as a heading to a love spell involving the preparation of magically charged wine.

In comparison with hieratic formularies, Demotic recipes make far more use of paragraph markers as an additional structuring device. Paragraph markers, usually written in red ink, indicate transitions from one text unit to another—for example, from the wording of the incantation to the directions for use and vice versa. Their frequent usage was probably born of necessity, as recipes grew in length and complexity. Whereas the hieratic recipes are in general short and concise, the Demotic recipes tend to be longer and to describe in more detail the proceedings and their sequence. This lengthening requires more reading aids to produce a clear-cut and easy-to-use recipe. To introduce the wording of the incantation the standard *ḏd mdwt* (words to be said) is used, often written as a composite hieratic sign, or a phrase such as *nꜣ sẖw nty ỉ.ỉr=k ꜥš=w* (the writings which you should recite) or *pꜣ ꜥš nty ỉ.ỉr=k ꜥš=f* (the invocation that you are supposed to recite). If the invocation consists of a string of names and epithets, for example the ubiquitous *voces magicae*, the phrase *twys nꜣ rnw* (here are the names) occurs frequently. The directions for use are often introduced by the idiom *pꜣy=f swḥ ỉyẖ*, which means "its gathering things, i.e. preparation" and remains unattested outside the Demotic magical manuals to date.[34] In *ky/gy* recipes the directions for use are most frequently introduced by *pꜣy=f ky* (its method).

Text formats in the Demotic formularies

When discussing the text format or relative sequencing of text units in the recipes of the Demotic formularies, it is useful to make a distinction between recipes that exhibit a compartmentalized structure and those that have an integrated format. I use 'compartmentalization'

[34] Griffith and Thompson translate the idiom as "spirit-gathering" (#730 in their glossary), taking the *ỉyẖ* as a writing of the word "spirit" (#30 in their glossary). However, the determinatives do not match, so that, given the context, it makes more sense to take *ỉyẖ* as a variant writing of *ỉẖy* "thing, object" (#125 in their glossary). The directions for use are not about collecting spirits, but about assembling the required ingredients and implements. See also *GMPT*, 199, fn. 50 [RKR].

as a heuristic term in reference to the text formats discussed above. Compartmentalized recipes uphold a strict division in their layout between the text units of [incantation] and [directions for use]. The term 'integration' I reserve for recipes in which these text units are to a large extent intertwined and loosely sequenced. Integrated recipes tend to be longer and to prescribe rites that require more preparations and actions than is the case for the compartmentalized recipe. In our current, small sample of Demotic formularies, the integrated type is restricted to recipes for separation and binding spells, divine consultation rites and ring spells—spells that have no equivalents in the hieratic formularies.

Compartmentalized recipes

In the Demotic formularies, the principle of compartmentalization is retained in *pẖrt* and *rꜣ* recipes as well as in *pḥ-nṯr* recipes and some *gy* recipes. Demotic *pẖrt* recipes follow the standard sequence of [title], [ingredients], [directions for use] and, if included at all, [incantation]. The majority of Demotic *rꜣ* recipes retain the conventions of the hieratic *rꜣ* recipe with a sequence of [title], [incantation] and [directions for use, including ingredients]. However, a number of Demotic *rꜣ* recipes violate the conventions by reversing the sequence of text units to [title], [directions for use] and [incantation]. As for compartmentalized *pḥ-nṯr* and *gy* recipes, they do not arrange the units [directions for use] and [incantation] in a fixed order. In the following paragraphs, these observations are addressed in more detail.

Demotic phrt *recipes*

Demotic *pẖrt* recipes agree with the *pẖrt* recipes in hieratic formularies in the sense that the central and defining element of the recipe is a substance or implement of some sort, whose constitutive ingredients are given immediately following the recipe's title. In the majority of cases the recipes are very straightforward and concerned with instructions for preparing and administering potions, ointments, pills and bandages, as in the following recipe for preparing a potion to stimulate a woman sexually.

[title]	*Prescription (phrt)* for causing that a woman *loves* a man
[ingredients]	fruit of acacia
[directions for use]	*Grind* with honey; anoint his phallus with it; you are to sleep with the woman.[35]

As is the rule for *phrt* recipes in the hieratic manuals, the target of this recipe's procedure is the client's body. However, in the Demotic magical papyri, the link between *phrt* and its area of application has been loosened to the effect that certain Demotic *phrt* recipes prescribe applying a substance or implement to an area other than the body. Instead, as for example in the next passage, the substance is to be applied to the flame of an oil lamp or, as in the second passage, the implement is to be deposited under the threshold of the desired woman's house.

[title]	*Prescription (phrt)* for *enchanting* (*phr*) the vessel swiftly to the effect that the gods enter and tell you a truthful answer
[directions for use]	you should \put/ the shell of an *egg* of a *CROCODILE*, or what is inside it, on the *flame*. It *enchants* (*phr*) immediately.[36]

[title]	*Prescription (phrt)* for causing that [a woman] loves you
[ingredients]	a *statuette of Osiris* (made) of wax
[directions for use]	You should […] and you should bring hair and [wool] of a donkey together with a bone of a lizard. You should [bury them under the] threshold of *her*[37] house. If stubbornness occurs, you should bring it to […] the *statuette of Osiris* with *ram's* wool. You should put the lizard's bone […] and you should bury it anew under the threshold of *her*[37] house. You should recite […] *before Isis* in the early evening when the *moon* rises. Listen before you bury [it?].
[incantation]	O secret image of *Osiris* (made) of wax, O powerful one, O protection of […] O lord of praise, love and respect, may you go to any house where NN [is and

[35] PDM xiv.930–32 = pLondon-Leiden vo 3/14–16. In my translation of the Demotic recipes I indicate which script occurs in the original text in the following way: Demotic = standard font; hieratic = italicised, standard font; alphabetic Demotic = small capitals; cipher script = small capitals, written between two *; Coptic = standard font, underlined with dots; caption in red ink = underlined.

[36] PDM xiv.77–78 = pLondon-Leiden ro 3/20–21. The word for crocodile is written in a cipher aphabet; see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 87–96.

[37] Note here the use of the archaic construction *pr=s* instead of *pɜy=s ʿwy*.

> send her] to any house where NN is, the tip of her feet following his heels […] with her eyes full of tears, her heart full of longing;[38] her […] which she will do. O *statuette of Osiris* (made) of wax, if you will be stubborn [and will not send NN] after NN, I will go to the chest in which […is], I will <take out?> Isis who is in it […] *black*, I will wrap her in a hide of a *black* […], I will make receive […] after *Osiris* her husband and her [brother……] May you .?., O lord of .?., O lord of [……] who is in the *House of the Obelisk*, come [to me…][39]

These two recipes allow for a number of important observations. First, the second recipe shows that Demotic *pḫrt* recipes can contain an incantation, which follows, as is the case in hieratic *pḫrt* recipes, at the end. Furthermore, the first recipe's structure violates the *pḫrt* genre rules by incorporating the ingredient in the running text of the directions for use instead of listing it separately following the title, as would be required. The most likely reason for this breach in the genre conventions is a need for brevity and efficiency, because the recipe is part of a series of concise *pḫrt* recipes prescribing the use of alternative ingredients for producing different effects in one and the same divination ritual (PDM xiv.1–92 = pLondon-Leiden 1/1—3/35). It is thus not a self-contained recipe. Third, the verb *pḫr* (to enchant) in the first recipe contains the key to understanding why the *pḫrt* recipe's range of use could have been extended in the Demotic manuals. In Demotic the root *pḫr* had acquired the explicit meaning "to enchant," whereas in earlier days it meant "to contain and protect through encirclement."[40] Accordingly, a *pḫrt* could now also be understood as a prescription that allows for transferring desired properties between objects *at a distance*, in both place and time, on the basis of the laws of similarity and contiguity.

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[38] In translating *ḥme* as "longing", I follow Robert K. Ritner, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," *Enchoria* 14 (1986): 95–106, 100.

[39] PDM xli.112–27 = pBM 10588 ro 8/1–16. For philological notes, see Bell, Nock, Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus," 249–50.

[40] For an etymology of the term and its nuances of meaning, see Ritner, *Mechanics*, 57–67, esp. fn. 266 and p. 61.

Demotic r3 *recipes*

The *r3* recipe type continued to be used in Demotic formularies. The term itself, however, had fallen into disuse and been replaced by *ꜥš* (recitation, invocation) in common speech.[41] Its continued use as title word in the Demotic formularies is therefore an indication that the Demotic scribes deliberately chose to adopt the age-old conventions of the Egyptian scriptorium. A close reading of these *r3* recipes reveals occasional variation in the relative sequence of text units.

In the majority of cases, Demotic *r3* recipes retain the classic text format, as is exemplified by the following two spells.

[title]	*Incantation (r3) for causing* praise and love in Nubian[42]
[incantation]	SUMUTH[43] KESUTH HRBABA BRASAKHS LOT[44] ANAPH ABAKHA.[45]
[directions for use]	Say this; you must put gum on your *hand*, kiss your shoulder twice, and go before the man of your choice.[46]
[title]	Another incantation (*r3*) for sending a dream
[incantation]	Words to be said (*ḏd mdwt*): Listen to my voice, O akh-spirit of a noble mummy of a man of the necropolis who assumes [all his] forms, come to me and perform for me such-and-such a task today, because I am invoking you in your[47] *name* of […] in Abydos, *who rests in*

[41] It is for this reason that the paragraph markers refer to incantations with the terms *ꜥš* and *sḫw* instead of *r3*.

[42] Johnson (*GMPT*, 289) translates the title as "spell of giving praise and love in Nubian," which is misleading because the spell is actually about receiving praise and love from the man addressed; compare with PDM xiv.309–34 = pLondon-Leiden ro 11/1–26.

[43] Note that this *vox magica* is provided with the seated man determinative in addition to the divine determinative.

[44] Thompson (Bell, Nock, Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus," 241 and 244) and Johnson (*GMPT*, 289) transcribe this name as LAT, but the scribe clearly wrote the composite sign group for the Greek short vowel /o/; compare with the table in Quack, "Griechische und andere Dämonen," 433.

[45] The *voces magicae* ANAPH and ABAKHA start with an oblique stroke. Thompson (Bell, Nock, Thompson, "Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus," 241 and 244) and Johnson (*GMPT*, 289) read it as *s3*, the sign to indicate filiation, and translate "son of(?)." Following Quack (*TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 358), I read it as a sign for the opening vowel /a/; see F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. Vol. III. Indices* (Oxford 1921) 113, no. 1.

[46] PDM lxi.95–99 = pBM 10588 ro 7/1–5; for important philological notes, see Ritner, "Gleanings from Magical Texts," 98.

[47] The Demotic text has here the possessive pronoun for the third personal plural, *p3y=w*; which must be an error.

the Mansion of the Official,[48] whose[47] name is 'This one who rests \in *maʿat*/' (another manuscript says: 'Who […] in maʿat), *Nun* […] who completes the ritual,[49] 'Great One of Nun' is your true *name*. 'SHLBI NUH[RO]' is your true name, truly. 'Nun NEO soul of HAB, [Nun NE]O, Great one of Nun' is your true name. 'Soul of souls (another manuscript says: 'soul of a bull') […] of Nun' is your true name. 'Soul of souls, SHLBI NUHRO' is your true name.[50] May you listen to [my] voice, […] in all his forms, akh-spirit of a noble mummy of a man of the necropolis, because I am [calling you] in your name of 'SI[…]ISIRA SIRATHMA,' because I am [NEBU]TO, *O* SUAL[TH NEBU]TOSUALTH[51] SIRATHMA, because I am […]S, *O* SU[ALTH NEBUTOS]UALTH,[52] let the soul of the noble akh-spirit waken up for me; let him go [to the place] where So-and-so is; let him approach(?) [him; let him] cause that he does for me the such-and-such [matter] which I am requesting today(?).

[directions for use] Its preparation (*pꜣy=f swḥ iyḥ*): [write] these names with blood of a *hoopoe(?)*[53] [on a] reed leaf; you put it […] of a dead man; you leave [a…] of clay under his head(?); you recite them again to him. You do [it on…of the] lunar month; it is left in a place [that is…]. If stubbornness occurs, you must [put? the] hoof of a male donkey and myrrh […] before him; beat the ground until it stops… When you [act against a man, you should take] male […]. When you act against a woman, you should [take] female […].[54]

The second recipe is part of a sequence of eight dream-sending spells in the Louvre manual (PDM *Suppl.*). They all have the same title and follow the standard text format except for spell PDM *Suppl.*28–40,

[48] The Mansion of the Official is either the name for a sanctuary in Heliopolis or a room in a temple; for a list of relevant epithets, see LGG V, 87c.

[49] For this translation (*ʿrḳ ỉrw*), see Quack, *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 351.

[50] At this point, the scribe mistakenly repeated the line "NEO soul of HAB Nun NEO, the great one of Nun is your true name." He corrected himself by encircling the redundant phrase with a black line. It is left out of the translation.

[51] This *vox magica* is provided with a supralineal gloss in Greek letters, written from left to right: νεβουτοσουα[…].

[52] The *vox magica* is provided with the same supralineal gloss in Greek letters as in the previous line: νεβοντυσο[υ]αλ[…].

[53] Of the name of the animal, written in cipher letters, only the final three letters are preserved: ου-π-τ. Possibly, one could read [κουκ]ουπ(ε)τ for "hoopoe" as in Quack, *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 351.

[54] PDM *Suppl.*40–60 = pLouvre E 3229 ro 2/10–3/1.

which gives the directions for use *before* the incantation. Why, in this particular case, did the scribe violate the genre conventions within this otherwise coherent cluster? A study of the other Demotic formularies reveals that there is a pattern and that this instance was most likely neither a mistake nor an idiosyncrasy.

The London-Leiden manuscript shows a similar combination of classical and innovative text formats in its *rꜣ* recipes. Six healing spells, preserved as a cluster on columns 19 and 20 of the recto, display the standard *rꜣ* recipe text format and, were it not for the embedded *voces magicae*, one would be tempted to view them as "old-fashioned" hieratic healing recipes transcribed and translated into Demotic.[55] The standard text format has also been retained in a lengthy spell to secure love and respect and a spell against the evil eye.[56] However, in three unrelated *rꜣ* recipes, the normal sequence has been subverted to [title], [directions for use, including ingredients] and [incantation]. In the first recipe the incantation is in Greek and therefore seems appended to, rather than integrated with, the recipe, even though the rite's cohesion on the level of acts and words is otherwise without question.[57] The second spell works on the power of writing enigmatic symbols and manipulating the written object; the incantation is given at the end and amounts to nothing more than a straightforward "Bring So-and-so, the daughter of So-and-so, to the bedroom[58] in which So-and-so, the son of So-and-so is."[59] The recipe can therefore hardly be termed an

[55] As for the *voces magicae*, note that their number is very low, that all but one are without glosses, and that except for IAHO SABAHO ABIAHO (PDM xiv.592 = pLondon-Leiden ro 19/39) they have a ring to them quite different from those in the Greek manuals. I therefore do not rule out the possibility that this cluster of healing spells is indeed a reworking of older hieratic versions with some ad-hoc *voces magicae* thrown into the mix to make the spells "up to date."

[56] PDM xiv.309–34 = pLondon-Leiden ro 11/1–26 and PDM xiv.1097–1103 = pLondon-Leiden vo 20/1–7 (the *rꜣ* heading was never filled in with red ink). For the latter spell, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 138–43.

[57] PDM xiv.675–94 [PGM XIVc 15–27] = pLondon-Leiden ro 23/1–20. For this spell, see Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 130–38.

[58] The Demotic phrase for this word is awkward. It literally says "the house/spot of the place of lying down." Johnson's translation "to the house, to the sleeping-place" is incorrect, because the scribe clearly wrote the genitival *n*, not the preposition *r* before *pꜣ mꜣʿ*. I therefore take it to be a compound expression for "bedroom," despite the fact that the common expression in Demotic is *st mn* or *ʿwy mn* (DG, 159). This may have resulted from translating from Greek; Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 99f.

[59] PDM xiv.1070–77 = pLondon-Leiden vo 17/1–8.

incantation in the proper sense of that word.[60] The third spell is actually a recipe for consecrating a magical ring (*kswr* in Demotic) that has the ability to fetch a woman when placed on top of a lamp and enchanted with the words, which are only given at the end, "Bring So-and-so, the daughter of So-and-so, to this place in which I am, quickly, within these hours of today."[61] Given its content and text format one would expect the heading of this recipe to have been *kswr* (ring spell) or *pḫrt* (prescription).[62]

To return to the cluster of dream-sending recipes in the Louvre manual, all eight *rꜣ* spells are provided with paragraph markers in red ink to introduce the wording of the incantation and the directions for use. In the first four recipes the directions for use are introduced by *ḏd mdwt* (words to be said) and not, as would be expected, by *pꜣy=f swḥ iyḫ* (its preparation). In the following three recipes of this same sequence the directions for use are fittingly introduced by *pꜣy=f swḥ ỉyḫ* (its preparation), but in the cluster's final recipe *ḏd mdwt* (words to be said) is used again, as is the case in the remaining six unrelated recipes in the manuscript, except for PDM *Suppl.*149–62. The occurrence of *ḏd mdwt* as a tag to introduce the directions for use, if taken literally, does not make any sense at all and begs to be explained.[63] There seems to be no apparent reason to account for the deviation other than a recurring scribal mistake, a lapse of reason or general

[60] This also holds true for the cluster of fetching and curse charms PDM xii.50–164, which are all *rꜣ* recipes by title, but factually writing spells that prescribe uttering the straightforward commands and strategically depositing the written and charged object.

[61] PDM xiv.1090–96 = pLondon-Leiden vo 19/1–7.

[62] For a Demotic ring spell with the heading *kswr*, see PDM xii.6–20 = pLeiden I 384 vo II*/6–20; note that this recipe gives the directions for use *before* the incantation as in the present *rꜣ* recipe.

[63] Cf. Ritner, *Mechanics*, 41 where he writes that "conjoined as *ḏd mdw*, 'words to be said,' the terms conclude most magical recitations, serving to introduce the directions for the accompanying rite." I have been unable to find any corroborative evidence for this statement and suspect that Ritner refers here to the idiomatic expression "words to be said over/to [an object or body part]," which phrase serves indeed as a common transition from the wording of the incantation to the directions for use in hieratic manuals; in fact, the phrase is part of the directions for use. A demotic example can be found in PDM xiv.1102 (= pLondon-Leiden vo 20/6), where the scribe forgot to fill in the *ḏd mdwt* with red ink. The present case is different, though, because the *ḏd mdwt* is truly a meta-textual paragraph marker and not embedded in the text of the directions for use. In her *GMPT* translations Johnson evades the problem by translating "formula," which is a paraphrase rather than a translation.

incomprehension on the part of the scribe. However, this may very well amount to jumping to inappropriate conclusions, for the recipes are otherwise well written and structured—as is the whole manuscript, for that matter. Moreover, the same phenomenon can be observed on pLondon-Leiden, which was clearly written by another scribe.[64] An alternative explanation may be that the archaic *ḏd mdwt* (words to be said) had become a paragraph marker *par excellence*, irrespective of its literal meaning.

Demotic pḥ-nṯr *recipes*

The term *pḥ-nṯr* (literally "god's arrival") refers to a type of oracular consultation.[65] Recipes that carry this term as their title word exhibit a compartmentalized structure without following any fixed order in the relative sequence of [incantation] and [directions for use]. This observation is important, because other oracular consultation recipes, such as *šn hn* ("vessel inquiry") and *šn n pꜣ ḫbs* ("inquiry of the lamp"), have an integrated text format (for which, see further below). A further difference between *pḥ-nṯr* recipes and *šn hn* and *šn n pꜣ ḫbs* recipes is that the former are relatively plain and simple in their directions, prescribe relatively short incantations and have few if any *voces magicae*. In other words, in structure and content, *pḥ-nṯr* recipes correspond better with the classical schema than with the innovative *šn hn* and *šn*

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[64] PDM xiv.304 = pLondon-Leiden ro 10/31 and PDM xiv.411 = pLondon-Leiden ro 14/17. Brashear is mistaken when he states that the Demotic manuals were all written by the same scribe; "The Greek Magical Papyri," 3404.

[65] Due to a paucity of instructive sources, *pḥ-nṯr* remains an elusive category. It is clear that it refers to a set of rituals to provoke contact with a deity with the aim of interrogating him; "to reach the god"—i.e., to consult him. The rite can be a public or private affair, be concerned with issues that are relevant to the community at large or those that only pertain to a sole individual and, depending on its purpose, can be considered an acceptable and lawful form of enquiry or acquire an illicit character; Jean Marie Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (Monographies Reine Élisabeth 5; Brussels, 1986), 328–31 and Ritner, *Mechanics*, 214–20. Though attested as a technical term since the late New Kingdom, instructions to perform a *pḥ-nṯr* (or in its Greek translation σύστασις and αὐτοπτικός/αὔτοπτος) are only preserved in the Demotic and Greek magic manuals. Since these are instructions for small-scale consultation sessions of a private and secretive nature that always involve incubation with the aim of seeing the deity in a dream, which is fundamentally different from the proceedings in the Theban oracular tribunal of the Third Intermediate Period, it remains unclear to what extent the prescribed methods and underlying rationale are comparable to those of the New Kingdom. References to a *pḥ-nṯr* rite in the Petese Stories are in too fragmentary contexts to be of help in elucidating this problem; pPetese Tebt. C21 2/x+6 and pPetese Tebt. D2 2/2.

n pꜣ ḫbs recipes, even if all three types are conceptually related. This discrepancy can perhaps be explained by assuming that the *pḥ-nṯr* is an older technique and recipe type than the *šn hn* and *šn n pꜣ ḫbs*. The extant *pḥ-nṯr* recipes may then very well be reworked versions of older materials, whereas the *šn hn* and *šn n pꜣ ḫbs* recipes are more recent compositions. The following *pḥ-nṯr* recipe serves as a general illustration of the text format.[66]

[title]	A *god's arrival (pḥ-nṯr)* of Osiris
[incantation]	*O Isis, O Nephthys, O noble spirit* of Osiris Wennefer, come to me, because I am your *beloved son* Horus. O gods *who are in the sky*, O gods *who are on the earth*, O gods *who are in* the Nun, O gods *who are in the south*, O gods *who are in the north*, O gods *who are in the west*, O gods *who are in the east*, *come to me in this night*, instruct me about such-and-such a matter, about which I am enquiring, quickly, quickly, hurry, hurry.
[directions for use]	Words to be said (*ḏd mdt*) over a benu-bird (i.e., a phoenix) drawn with myrrh water, juice of *ꜣny* wood,[67] .?. and black ink[68] on your right hand and recite these writings to it in the evening, while your *hand* is outstretched opposite the *moon*. When you go to sleep, you put your hand under your head. Good, *good*. *Four times*.[69]

gy *recipes*

A number of recipes in the Demotic formularies are entitled *gy*. This term translates into "method (of doing something)" and, accordingly, a *gy* recipe can loosely be described as a script for a set of actions, including reciting incantations and preparing ritual implements and medicaments. Instead of prioritizing the words (*rꜣ* recipe) or the objects (*pḫrt* recipe), the *gy* recipe is defined by the procedure itself, irrespective of the rite's purpose or substance. About a dozen *gy* recipes

[66] Other examples are PDM *Suppl.*130–38 and 149–62; PDM lxi.63–78; PDM xiv.232–38, 295–308, 627–35, 695–700, and 1078–89.

[67] Quack translates "Gistensaft," i.e. broom juice; *TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 354. The identification of *ꜣny* with 'juniper' (*wʿn*) is phonetically not possible; F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. Vol. I. Indices* (Oxford 1904) 80, note to line 33.

[68] I follow Quack (*TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 354 and fn. 143) in reading *myš rꜣw km*.

[69] PDM *Suppl.*130–38 = pLouvre 3229 ro 5/14–22.

occur in the extant corpus, half of which are not self-contained recipes, but rather alternative methods to a preceding recipe, such as a love spell or a lamp divination. In those cases, the recipe is entitled "Another method (*gy*) thereof also." *Gy* recipes exhibit no fixed text format: both compartmentalized and integrated formats occur. The following self-contained spell for finding a thief serves as an illustration of a compartmentalized *gy* recipe.

[title]	A method (*ky*) of finding a thief
[directions for use]	[…] You bring a *head* of a drowned man; take it to the *field*; bury it; sow flax seed over it until you reap the flax; reap it when it stands high and by itself; bring the flax to the village; wash the head alone with *milk*; wrap it in cloth; and take it to the place you want. If you want to find a thief, you should bring a small amount of flax; recite (*ꜥš*) the writing (*sḫ*) over it; say the name of each man one at a time; make a *knot* and draw it together. If he is the one who took it away, then he will speak when you draw the *knot* together.
[incantation]	The writings (*sḫw*) that you should recite (*ꜥš*); words to be said (*ḏd mdt*): Mine is the item[70] of Khau; mine is the item of *Geb*; *mine* is the item that *Neith* put aside; *mine* is the item of this *ibis*, son of *Thoth*. Behold, yeah, behold, yeah. I will draw together to me here today, O my sister SAMAL[A], so that I will give the items of *Geb*, which he gave to *Isis*, when *Seth* assailed them in the papyrus swamp of *Buto*, as she took in *her hand* the small amount of flax and made it into a *knot* contracting these entrails, until he was revealed to *Horus* in the papyrus swamp. I will take this small amount of flax with my own *hand*; I will make it into a *knot* until So-and-so reveals the stolen good that he took away.—*It is very good*.[71]

The variation in function and format among *gy* recipes can perhaps be explained as resulting from a shift in the usage of the term. The term also occurs in a fragmentary manuscript of the second century CE that gives directions for dyeing textiles (P. Vienna D 6321).[72] The

[70] Following Quack (*TUAT Neue Folge Band 4*, 358) I translate *mt* as "item" instead of "speech" as in other translations. The item in question is the piece of flax that the pratitioner holds in his hand.

[71] PDM xli.79–94 = pBM 10588 ro 6/1–16. For recent editions of this spell, see Alexandra von Lieven, "Osiris, der Dekan *Ḫꜣw* und der Tod. Zur Deutung des Spruches zum Finden eines Diebes in pPM 10588," *Enchoria* 27 (2001): 82–87 and T. S. Richter, "Der Dieb, der Koch, seine Frau und ihr Liebhaber. Collectanea magica für Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert," *Enchoria* 29 (2004/2005): 67–78, see 67–71. For similar thief-finding spells, see PDM xiv.1056–59 (= pLondon-Leiden vo 15/1–4); xiv.1061–62 (= pLondon-Leiden vo 15/6–7); PGM V.70–95; PGM V.172–212; SM 86.

[72] For the identification of the manuscript's content, see Quack, "Review of Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*," *OLZ* 94 (1999): 456. Several fragments

manual is structured into sections relative to the stages of the procedure itself by way of sub-headings in red ink. These headings are titled "method," such as in "the method (*gꜣy*) of cooling down." The term serves here as a paragraph marker for larger sub-sections which, when taken together, describe a complicated procedure in successive, easy steps. Seen in this light, it is quite possible that, in the Demotic magic formularies, the term *gy* is a paragraph marker become title word and the *gy* recipe is a sub-section become a recipe type. This would explain, first, why the term is not attested as a title word in the hieratic manuscripts and, second, why the *gy* recipe does not have a standard text format of its own. As said above, the use of paragraph markers only became relevant when the recipes began to grow in length and complexity. It was thus only at a late stage that scribes were in need of this term; accordingly, they never developed a fixed text format for this category.

Integrated recipes

The Demotic magic formularies contain a number of recipes whose text structure is not compartmentalized. Instead of retaining a strict dichotomy between the units of [incantation] and [directions for use], these recipes exhibit a partial blurring of these distinctions, resulting in a frequent alternation between directions for use and words to be said within one and the same recipe. I refer to recipes of this type as "integrated recipes." They deserve close scrutiny, because they are not attested in the extant hieratic formularies. In their structure, they represent a true innovation in scribal practices.

Recipes that exhibit integration are different from compartmentalized recipes in a number of important respects.[73] First, the principle of

are published as Text B in E. A. E. Reymond, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* (MPER 11; Vienna, 1977). Other fragments can be consulted in Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis*, where they are misidentifed as a manual on skin diseases (book A).

[73] In his study of the lamp divination recipes, John Gee fails to observe the peculiar nature of their text format. This may be due to the fact that he follows Th. G. Allen's superficial classification, applied by Allen to Book of the Dead spells, of preliminary comments (P), spoken invocation (S), and terminal comments (T) and thus comes to the wrong conclusion that the recipes follow a standard pattern; John Gee, "The Structure of Lamp Divination," in Kim Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies* (CNI Publications 27; Copenhagen, 2002), 207–18, 207f.

composition is not the integrity of the classical text units [incantation] and [directions for use], but rather the coherence of the successive stages in the procedure. The new text format was probably necessitated by the increased length and complexity of the prescribed procedures, entailing now several discrete steps of preparing the place of execution, gathering and setting up all required implements, executing the ritual, and bringing it to a close. Each individual step requires performing certain actions in combination with uttering certain phrases and incantations. With the development of such complex rites, scribes were faced with the challenge of how to describe the detailed, intricate and lengthy procedures as effectively as possible. They may have felt that maintaining a strict separation between the text units of [incantation] and [directions for use] would violate the coherence of the procedure and produce a cumbersome and impractical recipe.[74] Instead of following the traditional genre rules of compartmentalization, they opted for a text structure that synchronizes the words and actions. As a result, these recipes can no longer be broken down into discrete and juxtaposed sections of [incantation] and [directions for use], as I do for the recipes above. The essence of their structure can only be captured by subdividing them into successive sections of [preparation], [execution] and [closure].[75]

With the integrated text format, recipes tend to be more linear in structure, instructing the reader what to do, to say and to expect at each stage of the procedure. They do not require the reader to flip back and forth in the recipe, because they take the reader by the hand as it were through the procedures, explaining them step by step, from the beginning to the end. Accordingly, the recipes acquire a narrative quality at the expense of strict and regular formal divisions. The following recipe illustrates the linear structure very well; note how the directions for use and incantation are juxtaposed for the first half of the recipe, whereas they are intertwined in the second half.

[74] The classic text format was however retained in recipe PDM xiv.636–69 = pLondon-Leiden 21/10–43 despite the rite's complexity.

[75] The preparation section is concerned with preliminary actions such as cleansing the area of execution and praying to the sun god for a blessing. The execution section details all the actions and words prescribed for the actual performance of the rite. The closure section explains how to end the session without causing any harm. Not all recipes contain a preparation and closure section.

[title] Here is a *method* (*ky*) of inquiry of the sun (*šn n pꜣ Rʿ*) of which it is said that it is well tested.

[execution] Its preparation: you should bring a boy who is pure, recite the written spirit *formula* to him, bring him before the sun, and make him stand up on a new brick at the moment that the sun is about to rise, so that he comes up entirely in the *disk*.[76] You should wrap him in a new linen cloak,[77] make him close his eyes, and stand upright behind him. You should recite down into his head and tap down onto his head with your sun-finger of your right *hand*, after having filled his eyes with the black eye paint that you prepared beforehand.[78]

[here follows an invocation of seven lines with two strings of *voces magicae* addressing the light and asking the chief deity for truthful answers to any questions being posed.]

After it you should recite his compulsion for another seven times, while his *eyes* are closed. Words to be said: "(a string of *voces magicae*) come to the child, cause that comes to him the god in whose hand the command is and that he tells me an answer to any matter concerning which I am inquiring here today." If the *light* hesitates to come inside, you should say: "(a string of *voces magicae*)" for seven times. You should place *FRANKINCENSE* on the brazier. You should say this great name after all this. You should recite it from beginning to end *and vice versa* for four times: "(a palindrome *vox magica*)." You should say: "Cause that the child sees the light; cause that comes the god in whose hand the command is and that he tells me an answer to any matter concerning which I am inquiring here today, in truth, without falsehood therein."[79]

It is quite remarkable that the consecutive steps are not always presented in a logical, linear order, but are at times rather disorderly. In such cases, the rite cannot be performed as one reads along, but only after the whole recipe has been read and the correct sequence of the consecutive steps has been reconstructed. In light of user-friendliness

[76] Following Johnson, *GMPT*, 239.

[77] The word *ḳbꜣt* refers to any large piece of fabric or mummy bandages, but considering the use of *šntot* in the parallel passage in line 23 of the same column, I surmise that the scribe was thinking specifically about a large garment.

[78] The same procedure is prescribed in PGM IV.88–93.

[79] PDM xiv.856–75 = pLondon-Leiden ro 29/1–20.

and efficiency such a text format seems counterproductive. One therefore wonders whether this was intentional or the unfortunate result of a complicated history of textual transmission, possibly involving at times casual and inattentive copyists who, at some stage, broke up the linear sequence, deliberately or inadvertently, and thus produced a loose arrangement or patchwork of sections. For example, the following recipe falls apart into a [preparation] section instructing the ritualist to ask the sun god for a blessing at dawn and an [execution] section detailing how to perform the ritual. The latter section gives the essential information of where to execute the ritual and of the relative position of the participants and the lamp only at the end, whereas in the relative sequence of the procedures it comes at the beginning.

[title]	Another method (*gy*) thereof also (i.e. an enquiry of the lamp).
[preparation]	You should rise at dawn from your bed at the beginning of the day on which you are to do it or any day, so that everything that you are to do will be correct through your agency. You should be pure from any evil. You should recite this incantation (ʿš) to Pre three or seven times: "(string of *voces magicae*) let every matter to which I apply my hand here today, let it happen."
[execution]	Its *method*: You should bring a new lamp to which no red lead has been applied, <put> a clean wick into it, fill it with uncontaminated genuine oil. You should put it in a hidden place cleansed with natron water, and place it on a new brick. You should bring a boy, make him sit on *another* new brick with his face turned to the lamp, close his *eyes*, and recite these (spells) which are above[80] down into the *boy's head* seven times. You should let him open his *eyes* and say to him: "Do you see the *light*?" If he says to you, "I am seeing the light in the *flame* of the lamp," you should cry out at that moment "HEUE" nine times. You should ask him about everything you wish after reciting the invocation you did previously before Pre at dawn.

[80] This refers to the incantation to the lamp given in the preceding spell PDM xiv.459–72 (=pLondon-Leiden ro 16/1–14) on the same column. Johnson (*GMPT*, 230, fn. 344) is mistaken in identifying lines 478–79 of the current spell as the referent. Those are in fact meant to empower the ritualist himself at dawn, not the boy, as is explicitly said about a similar spell: "so that everything that you are to do will happen," PDM xiv.473 (= pLondon-Leiden ro 17/15).

> You should do it in a place whose door opens to the east, position the face of the lamp turned <to the…>, and position the boy's face turned <to the…>[81] facing the lamp, while you are on his left. You should recite down into his *head*, touching his *head* with your second finger of […] of your right *hand*.[82]

In such cases, the abundant paragraph markers can be a helpful reading aid in reconfiguring the actual sequence of actions. They are, however, not always consistently applied. Moreover, the thus demarcated sections tend to incorporate more than one stage of the procedure and to integrate prescribed utterances and directions for use. As a result, the transitions from one step to another are fluid and ill-defined at times. It remains open to question whether this was a deliberate choice or is rather a reflection of carelessness on the part of the copyists.

It is beyond doubt that the integration type represents a departure from the classical compartmentalized text format. It would therefore be a worthwhile endeavor to trace its origins, both back in time and across genres. For example, several hieratic liturgical handbooks for temple rituals, dated to the Late Period (seventh–fourth century BCE), exhibit features that are reminiscent of, albeit far from identical with, the integrated type.[83] As regards other Demotic manuscripts, it is to be hoped that the unpublished formularies for healing will soon become available for study.[84] It should also be taken into account that the integrated

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[81] The scribe never filled in the cardinal directions.

[82] PDM xiv.475–88 (= pLondon-Leiden ro 16/18–30).

[83] Liturgies that deserve close attention are the "Ritual of the Confirmation of Royal Power at New Year" [pBrooklyn 47.218.50; Jean-Claude Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an* (BdE 52; Cairo, 1972)], the Ritual of the Preservation of Life [pSalt 825 = pBm 10090+10051; Philippe Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825, rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte* (Brussels, 1965), and François-René Herbin, "Les premières pages du Papyrus Salt 825," *BIFAO* 88 (1988): 95–112], and the Ceremonies performed for Osiris in the month of Khoiak in the Amun temple at Karnak [pLouvre N 3176; Paul Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre* (BdE 37; Cairo, 1962)]. The manuscripts are dated between the seventh and fourth century BCE; see publications and Ursula Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift* (OLA 99; Leuven, 2001), 287 and 318. The date of composition of the liturgies, however, may very well extend back to the New Kingdom.

[84] Two such manuscripts have already been published. For the Demotic Vienna Medical Book, see Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis* (this publication must be used with due caution). For pBerlin P 13602, see W. Erichsen, "Aus einem demotischen Papyrus über Frauenkrankheiten," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 2 (1954): 363–377; a second column of this manuscript remains

type is widespread, if not the default type, in the contemporary Greek magical papyri. There is abundant evidence in the Demotic formularies that the scribes and copyists made use of Greek formularies when producing the extant Demotic formularies—or their mother-copies.[85] Perhaps the integrated type entered into the Demotic formularies by way of translating and reworking spells from the Greek formularies. This might partly explain why the prescribed incantations in Demotic integrated recipes tend to feature multiple strings of *voces magicae* on average, usually written out in alphabetic Demotic and provided with glosses in Old-Coptic. These issues ought to be addressed in more detail in future research.

Conclusion

The foregoing study of scribal conventions in hieratic and Demotic formularies resulted in three important observations. One, the application of black and red ink and controlled vocabulary to structure and regulate the flow of information is similar in both corpora. Two, the Demotic formularies continue using the classical, compartmentalized *rꜣ* and *pḫrt* recipe types. Occasionally, the genre conventions are applied less strictly than in the hieratic formularies. Three, the Demotic formularies also make use of a wholly new recipe type that integrates the prescribed actions and words while describing the procedures of the rite in a linear sequence.

The first two observations lead to the conclusion that the compilers, editors and copyists of the Demotic magic manuals were intimately familiar with the age-old conventions of manuscript production of Egyptian temple scriptoria. They were professional scribes working in an Egyptian temple scriptorium, where they had access to the necessary training and mother-copies. It is more difficult to appreciate the full meaning and relevance of the third observation due to a lack of comparable, contemporary sources in Demotic and hieratic. The integrated recipe definitely represents an innovation in the production of

unpublished, see Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "Die Aufgaben der Demotistik—Freude und Last eines Faches," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 9–16. Friedhelm Hoffmann is currently working on the re-edition of the Demotic Vienna Medical Book. The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection holds at least three further manuscripts; Ryholt, "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library," 154.

[85] Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 285–94.

Egyptian formularies, but for the moment it remains impossible to determine when the innovation was introduced and unknown whether it was an invention of the scribes of the temple scriptorium or a format borrowed from somewhere else. I believe that the introduction of the integrated text format was first of all a very practical matter, as it was necessitated by the general increase in length and complexity of the rituals. In this light, it is important to realize that the shift to longer and more complex rituals was a deliberate choice. For example, recipes for oracular consultations are attested in both compartmentalized and integrated formats. The former type gives instructions for a short and straightforward procedure, whereas the latter are concerned with elaborate operations. In other words, if the editors had wanted, they could easily have adhered to the familiar type of simple rites described in compartmentalized recipes. As the editors did not do so, the inquiry should accordingly be reformulated in three distinct questions: Why did one feel the need for more complex rituals, when did these rituals become fashionable, and who invented them in the first place? To answer these questions properly, we have to cast the net of our inquiry wider than can be done in the present article.

MAGIC AND DIVINATION: TWO APOLLINE ORACLES ON MAGIC

Fritz Graf

Introduction

The relationship of magic and divination is a vast topic that has been visited by many scholars over the ages, as has the more specific development that made the two forms of ritual behavior more or less coincide in Christian Late Antiquity, after having been clearly distinct religious phenomena through most of Antiquity. In 1947, Samson Eitrem devoted a seminal book to this topic, identifying the convergence in a pagan desire for personal contact with the divine.[1] Forty-six years and a paradigm-shift later, Marie-Therese Fögen approached it in a very different way, put the blame squarely on the Christians and emphasized the struggle for access to the divine fought by emperors and bishops that led to the disqualification of divination as magic.[2] There is no need to take up this entire and vast topic again; instead, I will take a closer look at two oracles, one well-known, the other one less so, and try to use them as windows into the much wider general topic.[3] The first is an oracle from Clarus given to an unknown town in Western Anatolia and known to us through an inscription found

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[1] Samson Eitrem, *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike*, Albae Vigilae 5 (Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1947); he talks about "[das] wachsende Bedürfnis nach persönlichem Kontakt mit der Gottheit" (p. 17). In the meantime, personal religion has been driven out from most of the study of Greek and Roman religion, perhaps unjustly so, although the one monograph—André-Jean Festugière's *Personal Religion Among the Greeks*, Sather Classical Lectures 26 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944)—certainly shows a Christianocentric understanding of what religion is.

[2] Marie-Therese Fögen, *Die Enteignung der Wahrsager. Studien zum kaiserlichen Wissensmonopol in der Spätantike* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1993). See also Fritz Graf, "Magic and Divination," in David R. Jordan, Hugo Montgomery and Einar Thomassen (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic, Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4–8 May 1997*. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4 (Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), 283–298.

[3] See also my Eitrem Lecture of 1997 on "Magic and Divination," *The World of Ancient Magic*.

by the Austrian excavators in Ephesus.[4] The second text comes from Porphyry's *De Philosophia ex Oraculis Haurienda* and is preserved in Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica* (our main source for this treatise of Porphyry), and has been discussed most recently by Aude Busine in her book on Apolline divination in the Imperial Epoch.[5]

Oracle One: Plague and Sorcery in Lydia

The oracle from Ephesus belongs to a well-known series of Clarian oracles advising a specific city on measures against an epidemic that is threatening the city, after its inhabitants sent a delegation to the oracle asking for help. All texts are epigraphical, and they all belong to the second century CE; over the years, I have come to doubt my original assumption that they all dealt with the same event, the Great Plague triggered in 165 CE by the troops of Lucius Verus returning from Mesopotamia.[6] A few years ago, Zsuzsanna Varhélyi discussed them and underscored that the rituals prescribed by the oracle to heal the disease show an intimate knowledge of the local cults of the individual cities. This is an important insight. It helps us to understand how an oracular sanctuary functioned in regional context: we have to imagine mechanisms of communication and information between the Clarian priests and the city and its ambassadors.

The oracle to which I want to return in this paper was given to a town whose name is not preserved; unlike other Clarian texts, it was not inscribed (or not only—but we do not really know) in the town that sent the delegation, but in Ephesus. When I discussed this text after its first publication, I supposed Sardis as the most likely client and addressee, but proof is impossible to gain without new evidence;

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[4] First published by Dieter Knibbe, *Berichte und Materialien des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 1 (1991), 14f. (*SEG* 41 no. 481); republished by R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *EpAn* 27 (1996), no. 11 and in *SGOst* 1 (1998), no. 03/02/01; see my text and commentary in *ZPE* 92 (1992): 267–278 and Zsuzsana Varhélyi, "Magic, Religion and Syncretism in the Oracle of Claros," in S. R. Asirvatham et al. (eds.), *Between Magic and Religion* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 13–31.

[5] Porph. F 339 Smith = Eus. *PE* 6.3.5; Aude Busine, *Paroles d'Apollon. Pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive (IIe–VIe siècles)*. Religions in the Graeco Roman World 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[6] On this event, see Arnaldo Marcone, "La peste antonina. Testimonianze e interpretazioni," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 114 (2002), 803–19. My growing skepticism has been nurtured by J. F. Gilliam, "The Plague under Marcus Aurelius," *American Journal of Philology* 82 (1961): 225–51.

at any rate, the city had close ties to Ephesus and thus was presumably in its proximity. The oracle diagnoses a magical attack as the reason for the disease that plagues the city: an evil sorcerer, as Apollo put it, has hidden wax figurines as carriers of this attack. To counteract its effects, the god prescribes that the citizens should fetch a statue of Artemis from Ephesus, Artemis's main city (hence the Ephesian inscription, as a token of gratitude and religious propaganda). The statue should be golden and carry two burning torches; the city should institute a nocturnal festival in which again torches are vital. The sculpted torches of Artemis and the real ones that her worshippers carry in the ritual will dissolve the instruments of sorcery by melting down the waxen figurines that the evil *magos* has set up (lines 7–9):

> (Artemis) λοίμοιο βροτοφθόρα φάρμακα λύσει
> λαμπάσι πυρσοφόροις νυχίᾳ φλογὶ μάγματα κηροῦ
> τηΐξασα μάγου κακοτήϊα σύμβολα τέχνης.
>
> (Artemis) will dissolve the death-bringing sorcery of the disease, melting with fire-carrying torches in nocturnal flame the forms of wax, the terrible tokens of the sorcerer's craft.

The ritual recalls the many rites in the Babylonian *Maqlû* in which a fire ritual is said to destroy magical figurines. In *Maqlû*, we always deal with accusations of sorcery; the rituals are intended to undo the effects of such an assumed attack. As in many similar cases the world over, there is no need, in the Babylonian context, to reconstruct an actual attack by a sorcerer: the accusation and the ritual it triggers helps to find a way out of a major crisis.[7] I assume that the same is true for our text, and I also assume knowledge of the Mesopotamian technique as a background for the oracular answer. This latter assumption is not easy to prove. The main text of *Maqlû*, after all, comes from Assurbanipal's library and had been written almost a millennium before the Clarian oracle. But copies of the *Maqlû* are still attested in the fourth century BCE, and the tradition of Babylonian exorcists is well attested down into the Seleucid era.[8] It might well have survived considerably

[7] For a modern European example of this mechanism, see Jeanne Favret-Saada, *Les mots, la mort, les sorts. La sorcellerie dans le Bocage* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977) (= *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage*, (tr. by C. Cullen) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)).

[8] Arthur Ungnad, "Besprechungskunst und Astrologie in Babylon," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 14 (1941/44): 251–282.

later with the "underground" expertise of the itinerant "Chaldaeans," whatever their true nature.[9]

My first assumption—namely, that we deal with an accusation of witchcraft only—is based on the way our text differs from the parallel oracles. All the other oracles share a common structure: before they detail the countermeasures to be taken, they always give the etiology of the disease, either the anger of a divinity or the unmotivated attack of a Plague Demon. From this etiology, they then derive the specific ritual measures that cure the plague: either sacrifices to the angry divinity, or purificatory and apotropaic rituals to drive out the demon. The sorcery oracle, however, does not follow this pattern, but refers to the buried magical figurines in a rather cursory way, as if it were something that the addressees already know. In this case, then, it looks as if the city had not only asked for a cure of the disease, but had also provided a first etiology, attributing the disease to the attack of an unknown sorcerer and his uncanny rites. Again, this falls into a widely attested pattern. In the ancient world, it appears especially in cases of sudden death of infants or young adults; since ordinarily the evildoer remains unknown and unknowable, the texts add a curse to hand over to the gods the punishment of whoever was responsible for the crime.[10]

Given the character of the answer, I see two ways of reconstructing the question. One way is to assume that the client city asked whether the plague resulted from a magical attack (and, presumably, asked for a cure, or implied the cure). A comparable text comes from the Zeus oracle of Dodona, where someone asks:

> ἐπήνεικε φάρμακον | ἐπὶ τὰν γενεὰν τὰν ἐμὶὰν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰγ γυναῖκα [ἢ ἐ]|π' ἐμὲ παρὰ Λύσωνος·
>
> Did he/she apply a pharmakon against my offspring, my wife or against me, from Lyson?[11]

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[9] A parallel is the survival of Ereshkigal's name (and function) in Egyptian magic of the Imperial age; see *PGM* IV 337, 1417, 2484, 2749, 2913; VII 984; XIXa 7; LXX 5, 9. See Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 68.

[10] Material in Fritz Graf, "Fluch und Segen. Ein Grabepigramm und seine Welt," in *Zona Archeologica. Festschrift für Hans-Peter Isler zum 60. Geburtstag* (Bonn: Habelt, 2001), 183–191; id., "Untimely Death, Witchcraft and Divine Vengeance A Reasoned Epigraphical Catalogue," *ZPE* 162 (2008): 139–150.

[11] Anastasios-Ph. Christidis, Sotiris Dakaris, and Ioulia Vokotopoulou, "Magic in the Oracular Tablets from Dodona," in David Jordan, Hugo Montgomery, and Einar Thomassen (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the First International*

Lyson must be the sorcerer who made the *pharmakon*. The reason for the consultation must be childlessness of the couple: γενεά is both the actual and the potential off-spring, and the latter use has parallels in oracular texts.[12] The client does not ask for a cure, only for a diagnosis: were they the victims of sorcery or not? I assume that the client intended to use the services of a professional exorcist, if the god confirmed his suspicion.

The second way is to assume that the city not only asked for a cure but also for the name of the sorcerer. Revenge for such a deed, after all, is a natural reaction, and the curses against sorcerers and sorceresses in the grave-epigrams prove this: They are cursed because there is no other way to take revenge, since either the law would not help, or the culprit remained unknown. The city might even have offered a name, as someone did also in another lead tablet from Dodona:

> κατεφάρμαξε | Τιμὼι Ἀριστο|βόλαν;
>
> Did Timo bewitch Aristobola?[13]

In a way, asking for a name seems much more likely than just asking for a cure: Why come up with the suspicion of a magical attack and then not ask Apollo to reveal the identity of the sorcerer, or even propose a name for the god to confirm? In our case, however, Apollo remained aloof and did not enter this game: Instead of handing over the decisive information that could easily have led to a witch-trial, he prescribed a very elaborate festival that concerned the entire city. Maybe the god even reckoned that the client city would not be happy with his answer: again somewhat unusually, the last line of the oracle contains a threat (l. 18):

> εἰ δέ τε μὴ τελέοιτε, πυρὸς τότε τείσετε ποινάς.
>
> If you do not perform the rite, you will pay the punishment of the fever/fire.

Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4–8 May 1997. Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4 (Bergen: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), 67–72, esp. p. 68 no. 1. The use of γενεά in this text is reminiscent of the self-curse in oath texts such as is reminiscent of the self-curse in oaths. See *ThesCRA* 3 (2005) 237–246.

[12] E.g. in the Epidaurian miracle inscriptions, *SIG*³ 1168.11 (4th cent. BCE) or another Dodonaean question, *SIG*³ 1160 (4th cent. BCE).

[13] Ibid. (note 11), 70, no. 4.

In this reading, then, the oracle and its priests realized the problems to the community that a witchcraft accusation against a specific individual would bring, and they wisely refrained to follow the client's lead. Instead, they chose to unite the citizens not by a trial against an outsider—as happened at about the same time to Apuleius in African Oea—but by instituting a major city festival, performed in honor of Artemis, the Great Goddess of Ephesus as well as of neighboring Sardis. A communal festival, not a witch hunt, was the reaction, and it appears surprisingly wise. In its rejection of connecting a known individual with an accusation of witchcraft, this attitude reminds me of the course the Roman senate took in the case of Germanicus, who died under suspicious circumstances more than a century earlier. Tacitus preserves the grisly details of a binding spell found in Germanicus's living quarters ("human body parts, spells and consecrations with Germanicus's name inscribed in lead tablets"), details that might go back to the memoirs of his daughter Agrippina. The senatorial court, however, who tried Cn. Piso and his wife for this death, did not even consider an accusation of witchcraft, despite the fact that the family even produced the witch, but concentrated on Piso's political and military insubordination.[14] Some epochs and cultures appear to be more resistant to the temptation of a witch hunt than others.

Oracle Two: Good Ritual as Magic

All these oracles, the Clarian one as well as the much earlier texts from Dodona, construct sorcery as something negative, a ritual that was the cause of bad things such as pandemic disease or other afflictions. Magic is something that society rejected, and the craft of the sorcerer manifested itself in μάγου κακοτήΐα σύμβολα, "a sorcerer's terrible tokens."

My second oracle contradicts this. Eusebius cites it from Porphyry's *De Philosophia* in a context where the Christian bishop attacks the pagan philosopher on account of his ideas about fate. Eusebius begins

[14] Tacitus, *Annals* 2.53–61, 69–74; 3.12–19; see Anne-Marie Tupet, "Les pratiques magiques à la mort de Germanicus," *Mélanges Pierre Wuillemier* (Paris: Gallimard, 1980), 345–352. On the sorceress Martina who died on her arrival in Brindisi see *Annals* 3.7. The record of the senatorial trial is preserved in an inscription from Spain; see Werner Eck, Antonio Caballos and Fernando Fernández (eds.), *Das Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre*. Vestigia 48 (Munich: Beck, 1996).

his discussion with a polemical remark against Porphyry: "See by what means this author [...] says that the doctrines of fate are dissolved." Then, he directly cites him:[15]

> When a certain man prayed that he might be visited by a god, the god (ὁ θεός) said that he was unfit because he was bound down (καταδεδέσθαι) by nature, and on this account suggested certain expiatory sacrifices (ἀποτροπαισμούς), and added:
>
> > ῥιπῆι δαιμονίηι γὰρ ἅλις ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀλκης
> > σαῖσι γοναῖς ἃς χρὴ σε φυγεῖν τοίαισι μαγείαις.
> >
> > With a blast of daemon power, force has overrun
> > the fortunes of thy race,
> > which thou must escape by magical rites such as these.
>
> Hereby it is clearly shown that the use of magic in loosening the bonds of fate was a gift from the gods, in order to avert it by any means.

In his polemical search for internal contradictions in pagan divination, Eusebius adds the sarcastic remark that the god would have better used magic himself to prevent his own temple from burning down. This refers to a long oracle given to the Athenians on the final cataclysm of the world in fire that Eusebius had cited at length in the previous chapter.

I am not very interested in what Eusebius does with this text in his attack on pagan divination—except that his commentary guarantees that we deal with an oracle of Apollo; with Aude Busine, I would also think that we are dealing not with a free-floating text, but with an oracle issued from a major oracular shrine, although we cannot know whether it is Didyma, Clarus, or even Delphi. Eusebius got all his information from Porphyry: there is no reason, then, not to take literally Porphyry's attribution of the text to ὁ θεός, although not necessarily to the same oracular shrine as the preceding oracle (which I am tempted to attribute to Delphi, on the force of the address to Athens.)[16] Nor am I interested here in Porphyry's reasons for citing this text. It is obvious that these reasons are different from Eusebius's and concern Porphyry's struggle with the concept of μαγεία on the one hand, and

[15] Euseb. *PE* 6,3 (English after E. H. Gifford, 1903) = Porph. F 339 Smith (I follow Smith's version of the oracular text).

[16] The oracle is neither cited in H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1956) nor in Joseph Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978).

his intention in *De Philosophia* to claim divine origin and revelation for pagan religion and ritual on the other hand, as a reaction to Christian claims and attacks. He used this oracle to prove that magical rites are god-given and thus should not be rejected. Recently, Aude Busine said what needed to be said on this issue;[17] I am more interested in the original oracle of which Porphyry gives us a summary and, presumably, the final two hexameters.

The question addressed to Apollo concerned divination itself, specifically the experience of spirit-possession associated with Apolline and other divination, where the god was thought to descend to the person asking for him, such as the Pythia.[18] The god explained that a person asking for such an epiphany was too involved with the material world, so that he was unable to open up to the divine and receive the divinity in himself. The direct citation clarifies that this inability was presented as a basic human condition, not as the problem of one specific individual, polluted for whatever reason. But there were rites that were able to heal this condition and to remove humans from their closeness to matter. Porphyry called these rites "expiatory or apotropaeic sacrifices" (ἀποτροπαϊσμούς), Apollo μαγεῖαι, in a rare plural.

Hans Lewy understood the text as a Chaldaean oracle;[19] in their respective editions, neither des Places nor Majercik have followed him.[20] Lewy based his attribution on the parallels with clearly attributed Chaldaean texts; he found the command to free oneself from the bonds of nature in another oracle, the connection of the material world with demons in a third one. The positive connotation of μαγεία would, of course, fit a context in which magic is more nobly called theurgy.[21] The problem, however, is Porphyry's attribution of the text to Apollo: Lewy utterly disregards this. If we take Porphyry seriously, however, things get more exciting.

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[17] Busine 2005, 212f., 268f.

[18] See Lisa Maurizio, "Anthropology and Spirit Possession. A Reconsideration of the Pythia's Role at Delphi," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 115 (1995): 69–86.

[19] Hans Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy. Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., Michel Tardieu (ed.), (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1978) (orig. Cairo, 1956), 53–55.

[20] Édouard des Places, *Oracles chaldaïques* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1971); Ruth D. Majercik, *The Chaldaen Oracles. Text, Translation, Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1989).

[21] On the semantics of magia and theurgia see below, note 34ff.

The oracle attributes the fact that humans cling too closely to matter to a demoniac attack. Porphyry calls the rituals that should free humans from such an attack "apotropaeic"; if we can once again take this literally, we are not dealing with purification rites for the soul but with rites that are destined to fend off a superhuman agent, which agrees with the preserved text. This fits the cosmology of the Chaldaean Oracles, as Lewy has pointed out: it is the demons that pull the human soul towards nature (φύσις);[22] nature is identified with destiny;[23] ritual frees the soul from this bond.[24] "They (the theurgists) drive out and root out any evil spirit; they purify from every evil and passion; they achieve participation with the pure in pure places," says Jamblichus.[25] Proclus calls the telestic rites μαγεῖαι, with the same rare plural.[26]

Thus Lewy seems to be correct, compared with the more recent editors. There are, however, two things that make me pause. One is the clear origin of our text: it is an oracle of Apollo, not of Hecate, as at least the clearly attributed Chaldaean Oracles are; this is the reason Busine rejected Lewy's attribution. But this might be a too simplistic and uniform view of what the corpus of *Chaldaean Oracles* contained; it need not be only oracles of Hecate. The other, more important difference is that we are not dealing with the middle-Platonic ascent of the soul from its place in matter toward the divine realm from where it originated; instead, we are dealing with the descent of "the god" into a human being. The two differences are intertwined. The descent of a god is a clear model of Apolline inspiration, as for example described in a rather graphic passage in Virgil's *Aeneid* for the Cumaean Sibyl,[27] or as presupposed (although rarely stated) for the Pythia in Delphi.[28] More to the point, such a model is the only one possible for an institutional oracle where the inspired (or possessed) medium does not show any sign that her soul is traveling upward to meet her god "up there," as happens in theurgy or in divinatory rites in the Magical

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[22] See e.g. Majercik, *Or. Chald.* 89.

[23] Ibid., Majercik, 102 and 103.

[24] Ibid., Majercik, 110 (Proclus's commentary; he calls them τελεστικὰ ἔργα).

[25] Iamb. *Myst.* 3.31.

[26] Proclus talks of οἱ ἐπὶ μαγειῶν πατέρες, the divine overseers of the theurgic rites, in his introduction to *Or. Chald.* 78.

[27] Virg. *Aen.* 6.77–79.

[28] Theological reasoning, however, objected to such a crude view of Delphic prophecy. See Plut. *De def.* 9, 414 DE; its root is Platonic, *Symp.* 203A, see the commentary of Andrea Rescigno (ed.), *Plutarco. L'Eclissi degli Oracoli* (Naples: D'Aurio, 1995), 291, n. 80.

Papyri.[29] As in any other temple ritual in Greece and elsewhere, it is the god who arrives from "out (and up) there." Another oracle in Porphyry, once again coming from Apollo, describes this as "the flux of Phoebean radiance from above" that, "enchanted through song (Apolline μολπαί) and ineffable words, [...] falls down on the head of the faultless medium (literally 'receptacle', δοχεύς),"[30] enters her body and "brings forth from the mortal instrument a friendly voice." In other words: Apolline song, dance and prayer make the god arrive and speak through the body of the divinatory medium.

Rather than arguing, with Lewy, for the narrow Chaldaean origin of these texts, I would take them as an indication that in later Antiquity there was no clear demarcation line between what one could call general theurgy and institutional divination: they overlapped or even coincided regarding cosmology, anthropology and the resulting interpretation of their respective ritual actions. Thus it is possible that an individual who had not succeeded to connect with a divinatory deity asked Apollo for advice, and he received the advice couched in a terminology that was very close to that which we find in the Chaldaean Oracles.

The use of μαγεῖα in the sense of "apotropaeic rites" invites a final comment; in the end, this will clarify better how institutional oracles and theurgy could come together. Μάγος, as we all know, always had two connotations in its Greek usage, due to the very history of the term: the religious specialist of the Persians, the *maguš*; and by extension of the term the Greeks had learned from the Persian occupiers of Western Asia Minor, the despised and distrusted religious quack of the Greeks.[31] The two uses, the ethnographical and the polemical, always

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[29] I am referring especially to PGM IV475–819, the so-called Mithras Liturgy; see Hans Dieter Betz, *The "Mithras Liturgy". Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 18 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

[30] The term reappears in Majercik, *Or. Chald.*, 211 who places it, with Dodds and Des Places, among the doubtful texts.

[31] On the early history of the terminology, see my *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1997), 20-27 and especially Marcello Carastro, *La cité des mages. Penser la magie en Grèce ancienne* (Grenoble: Millon, 2006); Jan N. Bremmer, "The Birth of the Term Magic," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126 (1999): 1–12; and in Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002) 1–11 contradicts me, but our arguments are not mutually exclusive. It should also be noted that the term was used negatively already in ancient Iran, see my *Magic in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 21.

coexisted, but the polemical term expanded so quickly and became so ubiquitous that it became necessary to point out the positive Persian usage already in Hellenistic times.[32] Still, the Persian μάγοι remained guardians of alien wisdom throughout Antiquity; only the Philostratean Apollonius of Tyana is somewhat less impressed by them.[33]

At some point in later Antiquity, this led to a non-ethnographic usage that still remained positive; we see it in a list of definitions that distinguish, among other things, between γοητεία and μαγεία. This list is attested rather late, in a Byzantine commentary on the hymns of Gregory of Nyssa by the eighth-century bishop Cosmas of Jerusalem. Cosmas makes differentiations according to demonology and purpose:[34]

> διαφέρει δὲ ***μαγεία γοητείας***· ἡ μὲν ***μαγεία*** ἐπίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος σύστασιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως θεσπίσματα δι᾽ ἀγαθῶν γεγόνασι· ***γοητεία*** δὲ ἐστιν ἐπίκλησις δαιμόνων κακοποιῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους εἱλουμένων ἐπὶ κακοῦ τινος σύστασιν (γοητεία δὲ ἤκουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν γόων καὶ τῶν θρήνων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους γινομένων)· φαρμακεία δὲ ὅταν διά τινος σκευασίας θανατοφόρου πρὸς φίλτρον δοθῆι τινι διὰ στόματος.
>
> Magic is different from sorcery: magic is the invocation of beneficent demons to achieve some good thing (as the oracular sayings of Apollonius of Tyana served a good purpose); sorcery is the invocation of maleficent demons for some bad purpose. These demons dwell around graves, and the term γοητεία is derived from dirges and laments around the graves.

He then adds a definition of a third term, φαρμακεία, "poisoning," that does not refer to any supernatural action but to ingestion of a powerful and harmful substance.

The definition of μαγεία is rather unorthodox coming from a bishop, and his reference to Apollonius of Tyana might explain its main thrust: Byzantines, after all, used talismans made by Apollonius to keep away

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[32] Ps.-Aristotle, *Magika* frg. 36 Rose, sometimes ascribed to the Peripatetic Antisthenes of Rhodes.

[33] Philostrat. *VAp* 1.26; Philostratus takes a somewhat playful stance against what must have been the communis opinio among his cultured audience, see for example Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 36.40 on Zoroaster; Porphyry, *Abst.* 4.16 on magi and abstinence, or *VPyth* 6 on Pythagoras and the magi.

[34] Cosmas, *Ad carmina S. Gregorii* 64 (*Patrologia Graeca* 36, 1024A); the same definitions are varied in Georg. Monach. *Chron.* 1.74.10–20 de Boor = Suid. *s.v.* γοητεία (γ 365); the final definition of φαρμακεία is also in Georg. Monach. *Chron.* 1.74.18 de Boor = Suid. s.v. φαρμακεία (φ 100).

insects and other pests.[35] The reference to oracles, however, connects it closely with our context, the use of μαγεία in order to contact the divine, except that Cosmas subscribes to the much more widespread theory that divination is not the work of gods but of demons, an idea that in a Christian context is most prominently, but by no means for the first time, expressed in Augustine's *De divinatione daemonum*.

Cosmas's positive definition, in the long run, must come from pagan tradition; it is too idiosyncratic in a Byzantine context, although it was popular enough, at least among learned monks, to end up in the Lexicon Suda.[36] In polemical rejection, a similar list appears already in Augustine. He refers to people who make differences between *goetia*, *magia*, and *theurgia*, in order to ennoble theurgy. Augustine contrasts biblical miracles and magic:[37]

> Fiebant autem simplici fide atque fiducia pietatis, non incantationibus et carminibus nefariae curiositatis arte compositis, quam uel ***magian*** uel detestabiliore nomine ***goetian*** uel honorabiliore ***theurgian*** uocant, qui quasi conantur ista discernere et inlicitis artibus deditos alios damnabiles, quos et maleficos uulgus appellat (hos enim ad ***goetian*** pertinere dicunt), alios autem laudabiles uideri uolunt, quibus theurgian deputant; cum sint utrique ritibus fallacibus daemonum obstricti sub nominibus angelorum.
>
> These [miracles] happened through straightforward belief and trust in piety, not through spells and chants made up by science based on impious curiosity. The people who try to make distinctions call it magic or in the more contemptible name, sorcery, or in a more reputable name, theurgy. They intend to make more contemptible those persons who are dedicated to the forbidden arts, telling us that they are occupied with sorcery (ordinary folks call them wizards), whereas others seem more commendable to whom they attribute theurgy. But both groups are involved in fallacious rites of demons that hide under the name of angels.

Magia, for Augustine, is a generic term of which *goetia* and *theurgia* are speficic subcategories, one bad and one good. His overall target is not magic but theurgy and its proponent, Porphyry, "who promises a sort of purification of the soul through theurgy." Given the

[35] W. L. Dulière, "Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyana dans Byzance et Antioche. Evolution de son mythe," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 63 (1970): 247–277.

[36] It is not surprising that a later writer implicitly rejected this widespread definition; see Nikephoras Gregoras, *Schol. in Synesii De insomniis* (*Patrologia Graeca* 36, 1021B).

[37] Augustine, *CD* 10.9, compare 10.

importance of theurgy in this context and the fact that the definitions concern Greek and not Latin terms, and finally given the interest Porphyry has in theurgy, it seems likely that Augustine derived the entire system of differentiations from him, although he attributes it to an anonymous group ("people who try to make distinctions") that makes it clear that in Augustine's time the distinctions were rather common. Porphyry in turn might have used older definitions that made a distinction between bad γοητεία and good μαγεία, adding theurgy to it; Cosmas of Jerusalem then draws not on Porphyry, but on the same general background, as does the oracle used by Porphyry.

This background is much older, as the Derveni Papyrus has recently demonstrated. The overall argument of this text (that in all likelihood was composed before the end of the fifth century BCE) is still being debated; but it might be safe to say that it is a theological treatise of some sort.[38] At the beginning of the preserved text, its unknown author talks, among other things, about *daimones* and souls. The relationship between them is not well understood, due to the fragmentary nature of the papyrus roll: they are either the same, souls of the deceased, or play a comparable role. In the sixth preserved column, the author begins to discuss the function which the rites of the *magoi* play to keep away *daimones* that hinder the contact between humans and gods:[39]

> εὐ]χαὶ καὶ θυσίαι μ[ειλ]ίσσουσι τὰ[ς ψυχάς·] | ἐπ[ωιδὴ δ]ὲ μάγων δύναται δαίμονας ἐμ[ποδὼν] γι[νομένο]υς μεθιστάναι· δαίμονες ἐμπο [δὼν εἰσὶ] | ψ[υχαὶ τιμω]ροί. τὴν θυσίαν τούτου ἕνεκεμ π[οιοῦσ]ιν ||[5] οἱ μά[γο]ι, ὡσπερεὶ ποινὴν ἀποδιδόντες.
>
> Prayers and sacrifices appease the souls, and the incantation of the magi is able to remove the *daimones* when they impede. Impeding *daimones* are avenging souls. This is why the magi perform the sacrifice, as if paying a penalty.

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[38] See Gábor Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus. Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); see also Richard Janko, "The Derveni Papyrus. An Interim Text," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 141 (2002): 1–53; id., "The Derveni Papyrus (Diagoras of Melos, Apopyrgizontes Logoi?): A New Translation," *Classical Philology* 96 (2001): 1–32.

[39] *P. Derv.* col. VI 1–5. See now Th. Kouremenos et al. (eds.), *The Derveni Papyrus*, (Florence: Olscki, 2006). The key supplement, 3 δαίμονες ἐμπο[δὼν ὄντες εἰσὶ] | ψ[υχαὶ τιμω]ροι, is only one among several possibilities. See Walter Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis. Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 118–121; Sarah Iles Johnston, *Restless Dead. Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 273–279.

He then describes some of the rites (libations of milk and water, and cakes) and compares the rites of the magi with those of the initiates (μύσται, VI 8): initiates too desire direct contact with their divinity or divinities.

The situation is close to what the oracle describes. Humans want to enter into direct contact with a divinity, for divination in the oracle, initiation in Derveni, but they are hindered by *daimones*. Special rituals, performed by *magi* and therefore called μαγεῖαι, remove this hindrance and make the contact possible. One difference is that in the oracle the hindrance results from human attachment to matter, in good Platonic tradition, whereas the Derveni Papyrus shows no trace of Platonism or a comparable cosmology or anthropology. We do not know why the *daimones* in the Derveni text intervene as an obstacle, and the respective sentence is heavily restored. Betegh's restoration that I have printed above—the *daimones* are "avenging souls," ψ[υχαὶ τιμω]ροί—assumes that they bear a grudge against humans; this is more likely due to individual behavior than to a common human nature. Another restoration, however, makes them into ψ[υχῶν ἐχθρ]ροί, which sounds more general but even more enigmatic.[40] But in both cases the rituals can be described as apotropaeic, ἀποτροπαισμοί, placating and thus removing the *daimones*. Another difference is that the Derveni text leaves open the question (at least for us) who the μάγοι are: are we dealing with a Greek interpretation of a regular Persian sacrifice, or with a Greek rite? Given the semantics of μάγοι and the apparent seriousness of the text, some scholars have argued for the "ethnographic" meaning.[41] But if this should be the case, the author nevertheless explains a Persian rite—sacrifice with prayer, that is bloodless libations and an incantation—not in Persian terms, but in the Greek cosmological categories of *daimones* moving between humans and gods;[42] and although Herodotus describes what the magos does during a regular Persian sacrifice as "chanting" (ἐπαείδει), he also insists on the bloody character of these sacrifices; there is no place for water, milk and the "many-knobbed sacrificial cakes," πολυόμφαλα πόπανα of the Derveni text.[43] Thus it might be easier to follow Johnston's and Betegh's suggestion that μάγος is a

[40] The restoration is Tsantsanoglou's.

[41] See the discussion in Betegh, 78–80; to his short doxography, add Johnston 1999 who, unlike Burkert or Tsantsanoglou, like Betegh understood them as Greek religious specialists.

[42] The definition of certain demons as "helpers of the god" is found in col. III 7.

[43] Hdt. 1.132.

self-description of the author who in col. V had described himself as a religious specialist dealing with divination, against Tsantsanoglou and Burkert who follow the ethnographical reading. This then would move this text even closer to the much later oracle.

But it also can help to explain the persistence of similar ideas through more than half a millennium of Greek religion, from the late fifth century BCE to the second or third century CE, and give more contours to the general tradition behind this persistence. Religious specialists share traditions and knowledge in a transmission that can span centuries and surfaces only occasionally, when it makes a chance appearance in a preserved text. The Greek Magical Papyri preserve the name Ereshkigal more than a millennium after its last attestation in Mesopotamia; the corpus of Orphic gold tablets contains a text from second-century CE Rome that has its only parallels in three texts from a fourth-century BCE tumulus in Southern Italian Thurii, about half a millennium earlier. In both cases, we have to assume not only a tradition of ritual texts, but also a line of ritual specialists to preserve such lore.[44] As in the first oracle with its knowledge of the *Maqlû*, here too the oracular shrine tapped into an otherwise hidden source of esoteric religious knowledge.

Conclusion

The first of my two texts has used μάγος in a negative sense, in the second μαγεῖαι are positive ritual acts. Although the second text might be younger than my first, albeit by a century at most, we cannot understand this difference in terms of development: if anything, the Derveni text shows that the positive meaning is as old as the negative one. What counts is function—to use the demons against a city in the first text is evil, to keep away the demons from a human being in the second is beneficial; but both are μαγεῖα. Divination in turn is not μαγεῖα, but it can talk about it; already in the Derveni text, divination, sacrifices and prayers are different areas of expertise, even when handled by the same specialist. Only when divination is read in terms of demonology, as in mainstream Christian discourse, do divination and magic converge.

[44] On Ereshkigal above, note 9; the Orphic texts are Bernabé's frgs. 488–490 (Thurii, 4th cent. BCE) and 491 (Rome, 2nd cent. CE).

MAGIC AND MEDICINE IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD: TWO CASE STUDIES

Christopher A. Faraone

Introduction

Until fairly recently scholars were accustomed to think, from their post-Enlightenment perspective, that superstition and science, magic and medicine are historically transcendent and absolute categories. Although few would take such a stand nowadays, this assumption still, in my view, lurks behind some scholarly treatments of professional magicians, who are sometimes imagined as uneducated, lower-class foreigners, in stark contrast to the elite and educated doctors. There has been much discussion, for example, about how during the Roman Empire these groups competed in the marketplace of cures, but this competition is still sometimes seen as a clash of different worldviews and approaches; we often fail to see how the doctors and sorcerers were probably drawn from the same circles of literate elites and might borrow from one another or share new ideas in the conceptualization and treatment of human disease.

This study treats two case studies, drawing heavily on a series of recently published magical texts. The first involves the diagnosis and treatment of the wandering womb and the second a complicated Greek amulet from the northern coast of the Black Sea that aims at healing various diseases of the head. In both cases, although the magicians include in their texts outlandish symbols and magical names or invoke non-Greek gods, it is clear that they share a number of important ideas, images and formats with the medical writers of the same period.

CASE I: The Wandering Womb

The strange idea that a woman's womb could wander about her body causing grave illnesses first appears in the classical period. Plato, in a famous passage in the *Timaeus*, suggests that the womb, like a "living animal," is driven by "desires" to move about a woman's body,

interrupting her breathing and causing various kinds of illnesses.[1] The Hippocratic doctors writing in roughly the same period seem to know a similar pathological condition, which they call "uterine suffocation" and which they assimilate to epilepsy, because the victim loses consciousness, grinds her teeth and has difficulty breathing.[2] Their strange "odor-therapies," moreover, presuppose a sentient womb that could move freely about the female body in reaction to stimuli.[3] The advent of human dissection in Greek medicine about fifty years after Plato's death, however, challenged this theory of the mobile womb, for it proved what Aristotle had already surmised correctly on the analogy of the anatomy of other mammals that he had dissected, namely that the womb was firmly anchored in place by ligaments.[4] By the end of the imperial period, most doctors take up a modified medical view that although the womb was incapable of free movement, it could flex and push against parts of the abdomen and in this way still cause the disease known as "uterine suffocation."

A series of magical amulets addressed to the womb illustrates the popularity of the wandering womb among another group of healers in this same period. In the past, scholars have suggested that these amulets point to a tension or a struggle between popular superstition

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[1] Plato, *Timaeus* 91b–e: "Indeed, on account of this, the disobedience and self-rule characteristic of the genitals of men came into being—a sort of living animal (*hoion zôion*) that pays no heed to reason and tries to rule (i.e., the whole body) because of its stinging desires (*oistrôdeis epithumias*). So, too, in turn the wombs and the so-called uteruses in women—there being in them a living animal (*zôion*) desirous of childbearing (*epithumêtikon paidopoiias*), whenever it is fruitless for a long time beyond its due season, being distressed it carries on with difficulty and by wandering (*planômenon*) in every direction throughout the body, by fencing off the passages of breath, and by not allowing [the body] to catch its breath (*anapnein*), it throws it [the body] into the extremes of helplessness and provokes all other kinds of diseases."

[2] The Hippocratic *Diseases of Women* 2.201 (trans. Hanson [1975], ad loc.): "If the uterus seems to sit under the diaphragm, the woman suddenly becomes speechless…and she experiences suffocation; she grinds her teeth and, when called, does not respond.…When the womb strikes the liver or abdomen…the woman turns up the whites of her eyes and becomes chilled; some women are livid. She grinds her teeth and saliva flows out of her mouth. These women resemble those who suffer from Heracles' disease (i.e., epilepsy). If the womb lingers near the liver or abdomen, the woman dies of suffocation."

[3] The fumigation treatments that they recommend clearly imagine a sentient womb that can smell pleasant and foul odors and move itself accordingly; e.g. *ibid.*: "You should fumigate her under her nose, burning some wool and adding to the fire some asphalt, castoreum, sulfur and pitch. Rub her groin and the interior of her thighs with a very sweet-smelling unguent."

[4] Aristotle *GA* 720a12–14; see Dean-Jones (1996) 76 for discussion.

and scientific knowledge during the Roman Empire,[5] but the evidence does not, in fact, bear this out—at least not in the case of the wandering womb. Indeed, careful study of these magical texts reveals that in the imperial period, at least, the professional magicians who inscribed and sold amulets for the wandering womb apparently held the same modified diagnosis as their medical counterparts, imagined the shape and orientation of the womb in the same way, and used similar language to describe the motion of the womb and the symptoms it produces. These magicians, however, based their therapies on an entirely different theory, that the womb needed to be exorcized as a kind of indwelling demon.

Let's begin with the doctors of the imperial period. Our best information about medical attitudes toward the wandering womb comes from the two most famous medical writers of the period. Soranus of Ephesus studied medicine in Alexandria, Egypt, where the advent of Greek human dissection many centuries earlier had revolutionized medical understanding of female anatomy. Soranus rejected the idea of the wandering womb, but his view was a minority one in the second century CE:[6]

> But the majority of the ancients and nearly all of the followers of other sects (i.e., medical schools) employ ill-smelling odors (such as burnt hair, extinguished lamp wicks, charred deer's horn, burnt wool, burnt flock, skins and rags, castoreum—with which they anoint the nose and ears—pitch, cedar resin, bitumen, squashed bed bugs and all substances that are supposed to have an oppressive smell) as though the uterus flees from evil smells. As a result they have also fumigated with sweet-smelling substances from below and have approved of suppositories made with spikenard [and] storax, so that the uterus fleeing the former, but pursuing the latter, might transfer from the upper to the lower parts of the body.

Soranus goes on to criticize other kinds of contemporary treatments (e.g. massages, blowing air into the vagina, and subjecting the patients to loud sounds), but at the very end of his harangue he returns one more time to the fumigation therapies: "We, however, censure all of these men…for the uterus does not issue forth like a wild animal

[5] Aubert (1989) 421–22, for example, speaks generally about "uterine magic", which in his view "originated in Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures" and was "scarcely affected by developments in Greek science."

[6] *Gynecology* 3.29 as translated by Hanson (1998), 84, with my additions to the list of fumigated items that she elided.

(*thêrion*) from its lair, delighted by fragrant odors and fleeing bad odors; rather it is drawn together because of the stricture caused by inflammation."[7]

Despite his rejection of the idea of a fully mobile womb, Soranus never abandons the diagnosis of uterine suffocation. Indeed, elsewhere in his corpus he puts forth a modified theory that although the mouth of the uterus was held in place by ligaments, it could nevertheless still shift about in a limited manner and cause the seizures and suffocation noted by earlier writers. His understanding of the womb is nicely summarized by a 9th-century illustration of the uterus found in a Soranus manuscript (Figure 1), where it appears as an upside-down jug of sorts, an idea that appears already in Hippocratic texts at the level of metaphor.[8] With his modified view, then, Soranus was able to maintain that the uterus was held in place by the ligaments discovered by human autopsy, but that it could nevertheless still shift about in a limited manner and cause the seizures and suffocation noted by earlier writers. Galen, another important Greek doctor in this period, provides a long commentary on the passage from Plato's *Timaeus*,[9] and concludes (like Soranus) that: "The womb certainly does not move from one place to another like a wandering animal, but it is pulled back by the tension (i.e. of the ligaments)."[10] Thus during the Roman Empire it seems that most doctors continued using the Hippocratic fumigation techniques and other traditional regimes to control a mobile womb, and that even the best medical thinkers continued to diagnose a condition called "uterine suffocation," which had symptoms similar to those of epilepsy and was thought to be caused by the flexing or swelling of a womb that was firmly anchored in the abdomen by ligaments.

There is growing evidence that the idea of the wandering or dislodged womb was also popular among healers outside the medical schools—healers who believed that certain kinds of spasmodic

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[7] *Gynecology* 3.29, as translated by Temkin (1955) ad loc. Like Aretaeus, Soranus clearly connects Platonic theory and Hippocratic practice; see Hanson (1998) 83–84.

[8] Hanson (1995), 286.

[9] *On the Affected Parts* 6.5 (= Kühn 8.425–26): "These were Plato's words. But some (i.e., the Hippocratics and their followers) added that whenever the wombs, while wandering through the body, encounter the diaphragm, they interfere with [the patient's] breathing. Others deny that the uterus wanders like an animal, but [they say] that when it is dried up by the suppression of the menstrual flow, it moves up (*anatrechein*) toward the internal organs because it desires (*pothousan*) to be moistened." This translation is heavily dependent on the one by King (1998) 223.

[10] *On the Affected Parts* 6.5 (= Kühn 8.430).

illnesses such as epilepsy, strokes or violent fevers were caused by the attacks of gods, demons and other supernatural forces that could enter the human body.[11] This new diagnosis generates a new therapy: ritual healers now claim to be able to force demons out of the body by using a special rite called exorcism. Lucian, a Greek author of Syrian birth, speaks of this kind of practitioner as a well-known type in the second century CE (*The Lover of Lies* 16):

> Everyone knows about the Syrian from Palestine, the expert in this technique, how many he takes in hand, who fall down in the moonlight, rolling their eyes and foaming at the mouth. . . . He, nevertheless, stands them up and sends them away sound of mind, after having delivered them from their difficulties for a large fee. For whenever he stands near them as they lie on the ground and asks, "How came you into this body (*eis to sôma*)?," the sick man himself is silent, but the demon answers, either in Greek or in the barbarian tongue whence he came, saying how and whence he came into the person.

Many more anecdotes like these—most famously in the New Testament—confirm that during the Roman Empire peripatetic exorcists claimed to use the secret names of powerful gods to force evil demons out of sick people.

This idea of the indwelling demon has important ramifications for the history of the wandering womb, because these same exorcists also begin to treat the disease known to the doctors as "uterine suffocation." The apparent extension of exorcism into the realm of gynecology is not as odd as it seems, especially when we recall that a woman experiencing uterine suffocation was thought to exhibit symptoms very much like epilepsy and other spasmodic diseases—that is, the types of conditions usually treated by exorcists. Our earliest evidence is inscribed in Greek on a small gold sheet found near Beirut (*GMA* no. 51): "I adjure (*exhorkizo*) you, womb of Ipsa, whom Ipsa bore, in order that you never abandon your place, in the name of the lord god, the living, the unconquerable: remain in your spot." This sheet was found rolled up inside a cylindrical amulet case, and it was undoubtedly carried about by a woman to prevent her womb from moving. The text can be dated by the handwriting to the first century BCE or CE, and one oddity reveals that it was probably copied out of a handbook and thus preserves an even earlier tradition: the repetition of the word *Ipsa*

[11] Kotansky (1995), 243–46.

(Latin for "herself") suggests that the scribe neglected to insert the name of the female patient and her mother at the appropriate point in his model. Note, also, that the differences between this exorcist and the majority of medical schools (that is, those criticized by Soranus) is not so great: most of the doctors believed that they could force a displaced womb back into place, because the sentient womb could smell and thus be repelled by foul odors, while the sorcerers aimed at the same result by threatening a sentient womb, which could comprehend what the exorcist was saying.

A series of hematite gemstones are also concerned with the movement or swelling of the womb (see Figure 2).[12] On the reverse of all of them is the traditional image of a womb as an inverted jug that strongly resembles the medical drawing of the womb in Figure 1. It has even been suggested that the engraver depicts the Fallopian tubes or ligaments on the top.[13] The reverse side has a series of magical names followed by a brief Greek command: "Stop, womb!" (*BM* no. 351: στάθητι μήτρα). The second gemstone has a longer command: "Contract womb, lest Typhon grab hold of you!" (*SMA* no. 140: στάλητι μήτρα μή σε Τυφῶν καταλάβῃ). Here the command to stop swelling is backed up with a threat that recurs in different ways in all the wandering-womb spells of the Roman imperial period: if the womb does not stop moving or swelling, some powerful god (in the second example Seth-Typhon) will punish it.[14] Both types of incantations

[12] For discussion see Delatte (1914), 76 and 80, Bonner (1950), 83–84 and Barb (1959), 370–71. All of these incantations occur on hematite gemstones, except for the two gems from Athens published by Delatte (1914) and described as "black jasper," perhaps in error as hematite has many shades of color and densities; see Hanson (1995) 290–92. Hematite (literally: "bloodstone") was believed to have the power to stop the flow of blood, and it is understandable, therefore, that it was frequently used for amulets concerned with menorrhea; see Barb (1952), 279–80 and Hanson (1995), 290–91.

[13] Delatte (1914), 6 and Bonner (1950), 85: "The vessel shown on these amulets is a conventional representation of the uterus, and the lines proceeding from its top represent the Fallopian tubes, the others the ligaments that hold the organ in place."

[14] It is unclear who the divine ally is on the gemstones that do not mention Typhon. The magical names that accompany most of the commands show strong Jewish influence, but this is true for a large proportion of magic texts from the Roman period. The iconography, on the other hand, often depicts an Egyptian god sitting or standing on top of the inverted-jug womb, who seems to be holding the womb in place: Barry (1906), no. 3 (Seth on top; inscription: στάλητι μήτρα μή σε Τυφῶν καταλάβῃ); Delatte (1914), nos. 33 (Isis in center on top; inscription: στάλητι μήτρα) and 34 (Seth on top; inscription: στάλητι); *SMA* no. 140 (Chnoubis in center of triad on one side, scarab on other; inscription: στάλητι μήτρα μή σε Τυφῶν καταλάβῃ); Philipp (1986)

imply, moreover, that the womb is already on the move or swelling up and needs to be stopped, unlike the gold tablet from Beirut, for example, which orders the womb to never abandon its spot and to remain where it is. They would seem, in short, to be curative amulets, whereas the Beirut charm is a preventative one. The Beirut amulet, moreover, threatens the womb in a much more complicated way: it adjures the problematic womb "by the name of the living and unconquerable lord god," an unmistakable reference to the god of the Jews, who is, as we saw earlier, frequently invoked in Roman-period exorcisms.[15]

In 1997 another incantation against the womb came to light in Britain, this one inscribed in Latin on a lead sheet, which was then rolled up like an amulet (4th century CE):[16]

> Womb, I say to you, stay in your place, [which X] gave to you. I adjure you by Iaô and by Sabaô and by Adônai so that you do not hold onto the side, but stay in your place, and not hurt Cleuomedes, daughter of A[. . . .

The use of the Greek letter *omega* instead of the Latin "o" in the spelling of the three Jewish names Iaô, Sabaô and Adônai clearly suggests that this spell belongs to the same Greek tradition. We should also note that unlike the author of the gold tablet from Beirut, who can imagine the possibility that the womb might wander away from its normal place, this lead amulet seems to reflect the modified medical view of Soranus and others that the womb is anchored in the lower abdomen and can only move in a tightly restricted way: the command to stay in place and "not to hold onto the side" is quite similar to the modified medical explanation of uterine suffocation discussed earlier.

Our fullest view of the exorcism of the womb appears in a short recipe from a Greek magical handbook discovered in upper Egypt and

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no. 184 (Chnoubis in center of triad; inscription: στάλητι μήτρα); *BM* no. 351 (no god on top, but Jahweh's name (Iaô) is inscribed on the uterus itself; inscription: στάθητι μήτρα) and the fragmentary *BM* no. 379 (Seth on top on one side, Chnoubis on top on the other; inscription: σ]τάλη[τι μήτρα μή σε Τ]υφῶν καταλάβῃ). Seth thus appears on two of the three gemstones that address the command to Typhon, suggesting that there is an equation here: Seth = Typhon, a commonplace one in later antiquity.

[15] Jahweh's popularity on amulets for the wandering womb is clearly connected to his role as a creator god, who in the beginning placed the womb in its "proper place" in a woman's body and who is consequently invoked to make sure the womb returns to its appointed spot. See Betz (1997), 51 and 53, who gives a thorough and learned discussion of the "creation theology" that informs the *PGM* VII exorcism and the Aramaic one from the Cairo Genizah (both quoted and discussed below).

[16] Tomlin (1997) with the slight changes suggested by Faraone (2003).

dating to the third or fourth century of the common era (*PGM* VII 260–71):

> *For the ascent (anadromê) of the womb*:
> I adjure you, womb, [by the] one established over the abyss, before heaven, earth, sea, light or darkness came to be, who created the angels, foremost of whom is AMICHAMCHOU and CHOUCHAÔ CHERÔEI OUEIACHÔ ODOU PROSEIOGGÊES, and who sits over the Cherubim, who bears his own throne: return again to your seat and do not lean into the right part of the ribs nor the left part of the ribs, nor bite into the heart, like a dog, but stop and remain in your proper place without chewing as long as I adjure you by the one who in the beginning made heaven and earth and all that is therein. Hallelujah! Amen!

This version spells out clearly that which is implicit in the charms from Lebanon and England: Jahweh is the god invoked here in his role as the god who created the universe:[17] if the womb moves outside the space that Jahweh gave it at the time when he created the world, it needs to answer directly to him.

The editors of a recently published Aramaic recipe from the Cairo Genizah have shown that it is a loose translation or adaptation of a Greek recipe in the same tradition as the one just discussed,[18] but there are some significant differences in the commands given to the womb:[19]

> I adjure you,
> that you move to your place,
> you, womb of NN, daughter of NN,
> and that you do not deviate,
> not to the right and not to the left side,
> and that you do not swell like a dog(?)
> and strangle the heart of NN, daughter of NN.
> Stay in your place and
> remain calm at your location.
> I adjure you

[17] For the creation theology reflected in these womb amulets, see Veltri (1996) and Betz (1997).

[18] The Aramaic text borrows the Greek word μήτρα ("womb") at line 12; and, because it begins with a series of *voces magicae*, which are quite similar to the consonants (repeated two and half times) of the key word ἀναδρομὴ in the rubric of the Greek spell: Πρὸς μήτρας ἀναδρομὴν. Schäfer and Shaked (1994), ad loc. suggest that the Aramaic translator did not understand the rubric and mistook it for a divine or magical name. See Bohak (1999), 40–43 for full discussion.

[19] For text see Schäfer and Shaked (1994), 112–14; for this translation, Betz (1997).

by the one who created you:
Remain at your place,
at which you were created.

In a recent article I suggested that, despite its much later date, the Genizah text probably preserves a Greek version of the recipe that is earlier than the 4th-century Greek papyrus.[20] This is especially clear when we focus on one key difference between the commands to the womb in the Greek and Aramaic texts:

P: μηδὲ ἀποδήξῃς εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ὡς κύων,
("nor bite into the heart, like a dog")

G: "and that you do not swell(?) like a dog and strangle the heart"

Here the references to "biting" and "chewing" in the *PGM* recipe seem to be part of a later Byzantine development in which the womb is imagined as a demon that maliciously bites and stings the internal organs of a woman.[21] In the Genizah recipe, however, the two actions described—"swelling" and "strangulation"—both fit easily within the revised Greek medical understanding of the womb in the Imperial period, as does, of course, the command not to deviate to one side or the other.

A historian of medicine might dismiss all of these amulets and recipes as evidence of superstition that is antithetical to the traditions of Greek medicine, but in fact these amulets share a number of features with contemporary medical texts that discuss the causes of uterine suffocation. With the possible exception of the earliest text from Beirut, they do not employ the older model of the classical period, in which the womb travels freely throughout the body; here the movements of the womb seem limited to the abdomen or the lower chest and are thus in harmony with the revised theory of Soranus and Galen that the womb was firmly anchored at its mouth by ligaments, but could nevertheless cause medical problems by flexing to one side or the other or by swelling up. It is, moreover, instructive to note that the rubric to the *PGM* recipe, "For the Ascent of the Womb (πρὸς μήτρας ἀναδρομήν)," is similar to the one that we find at the end of the title of Soranus's chapter on treatments for the dislodged womb, "On the Flexion, Bending and Ascent of the Uterus (ἀναδρομῆς μήτρας)." Likewise, the image of the womb on the hematite gemstone that we saw in Figure 2 suggests a similar point

[20] Faraone (2003), ad loc.
[21] Spier (1993), 25–62 and Faraone (2007).

of contact: like the illustration in the Soranus manuscript (Figure 1), the womb appears as an inverted jug and on some of the gems the engraver may have even tried to show the ligaments that hold the womb in place. Contact between the two traditions is also suggested by the command on one of the gemstones telling the womb to contract itself, which likewise seems to share the revised medical view in the Imperial period that the womb could swell up and stifle a woman's breathing, without leaving its place in her lower abdomen. The exorcists who created these amulets, in short, seem to be literate persons, who share with their medical rivals a number of key ideas and strategies.

CASE II: Head Healing and the Agate Gemstone from Anapa

We see similar signs of medical influence in the text inscribed on the reverse side of an agate gemstone found in the environs of Anapa,[22] a Russian city on the north coast of the Black Sea, about fifty miles east of the entrance to the Sea of Azov. Despite the unusual spherical shape of the stone, Neverov saw that the inscriptions could be divided sensibly into two coherent groups each twelve lines long, that for convenience he labeled Obverse and Reverse.[23]

OBVERSE:

πρὸς φαρμάκων ἀποπομπάς
φραμφερεινλελαμε
δαμναμενεύς
αμναμενεύς
5 μναμενεύς
ναμενεύς
αμενεύς

[22] Inv. 835. The gem is 3.5 cm in diameter. See Neverov (1978), no. 50, plate clxxvi. He dates the text to 2nd–3rd century CE, the conventional date for all magical gemstones found without an archeological context. The gem was discovered in 1950 near Anapa, presumably in or close to the nearby ruins of ancient Gorgippia, a city founded in the 6th century BCE as a Greek emporium, which grew to a prosperous city by the 3rd century BCE, and was then destroyed by the Goths in the 3rd century CE.

[23] Since I have not been able to examine the stone itself, I give Neverov's text with a few modifications indicated in the *apparatus criticus*. One of these (πολύπου in line 22) can be verified by his photograph. The form πολύπου (and not πολύποδος) is listed in some lexica as a "poetic" form. For lines 16–24, I have inserted a vertical space to indicate the division between two columns of text. On the stone, however, these columns are differentiated only by a change in the direction of the writing. For a detailed discussion of the text see Faraone (2010).

μενεύς
ενεύς
10 νεύς
εύς
ύς

REVERSE:
κύριε δέομαί σου πο<ί>η{ι}σο[ν]
τὴμ μάθην ἀκὴν ὑγείηγ
15 περὶ τῆς κορυφῆς. ἐνκεφάλ[ου] [5 MAGICAL SYMBOLS]
ὤτων [6 MAGICAL SYMBOLS]
μήνινγος [4 MAGICAL SYMBOLS]
σταφύλη[ς] [3 MAGICAL SYMBOLS] πρμηρυμα
τραχήλου λαχμαληλ
20 μετώπου λαροιμαια
μυκτῆρος κηρεα
πολύπου σαη ηι
ὀδόντων [MAGICAL SYMBOL]
στόματος
3 τοῦ κορυφησεν κεφαλ[αίου] Neverov 22 πολύπον Neverov

OBVERSE:
For the escortings-away of *pharmaka*:
phramphereinlelame
Damnameneus
amnameneus
5 mnameneus
nameneus
ameneus
meneus
eneus
10 neus
eus
us

REVERSE:
Lord, I beg of you, grant
the knowledge, healing, health,
15 concerning the head. Of the brain [5 MAGICAL SYMBOLS]
of the ears [6 MAGICAL SYMBOLS]
of the eardrum [4 MAGICAL SYMBOLS]
of the uvula [3 MAGICAL SYMBOLS] for the thread(?)
of the throat Lachmalêl
20 of the forehead Laroimaia
of the nostril Kêrea
of the polyp Saê êi
of the teeth [1 MAGICAL SYMBOL]
of the mouth

The reverse of the stone is our main interest here, but we shall begin briefly with the obverse, because it supplies some important clues to the use and focus of the whole amulet.

The first line is a rubric, mistakenly copied from a magical handbook, a kind of scribal error that is common on gemstones, amulets and other kinds of applied magic.[24] It informs us that the gem is concerned with combating or curing *pharmaka*, a word that in this context can mean either "poisons" or "hostile incantations," and we do, in fact, have evidence that the Greeks used amulets to protect themselves against both.[25] The second line seems to preserve a single nonsensical magical name that begins with *Phra*, a word that is very close to *Phre*, the Greek way of rendering the name of the Egyptian sun god Re.[26] A "wing-formation" of the word Damnameneus takes up the rest of the obverse of the gem. In the archaic and classical periods Damnameneus seems to have been some kind of underworld demon or deity, who (as his name "Subduer" suggests) controlled or bound the dead in the underworld.[27] This triangular formation is a fairly common device on magical amulets, generated by spelling a name or word fully and then repeating the process continually, but each time leaving off the first letter, until the name disappears entirely.[28] When decipherable Greek words like Damnameneus appear in this disappearing format on amulets, they are almost always the names of hostile demons or diseases, who are forced to vanish as their name vanishes one letter at a time.[29]

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[24] Jordan (2002), 61–68 discusses another Russian gem (this one round and flat) which also begins with instructions copied mistakenly from a handbook ("This is the *logos*") and he cites another example in the Louvre: Bonner and Youtie (1953).

[25] See, e.g., *GMA* 36:15–16 and 52:12, with Kotansky's comments ad loc.

[26] See Faraone (2010) for a detailed discussion of this and other options.

[27] In the Roman period he continues in this role, but adds (by virtue of his assimilation with the eastern sun-gods Re and Shamash) a new identity as a cosmic solar deity who "subdues" the entire cosmos. See Faraone (2010) for a much more detailed discussion.

[28] Here the name seems to be shrinking from both sides at once, but this is an illusion created by the scribe, who removes only the first letter from each line, but at the same time shifts the right triangle (that would normally result) to the right, so that it looks like an isosceles triangle. If the text in Neverov (1978) is correct, the reduction does not proceed as far as possible, because the word could be reduced one more time to a single *sigma*.

[29] It is a long-standing hypothesis that disappearing names are a form of simile magic, a *deletio morbis* that aims at reducing the disease by reducing its name. See the comments on Heim no. 97, Dornseiff (1925), 63–67, and Michel (1997), 149–51. There have been some dissenting voices, see, for example, Gordon (2005), 87 n. 68, who summarizes and dismisses the traditional view without argument: "It is commonly, though

Damnameneus, in fact, appears on another recipe preserved in an Aramaic magical handbook from the Cairo Genizah. Like the wandering womb recipe, this one is also borrowed from the Greek magical tradition:[30]

	amanamenus
	manamenus
[3 MAGICAL SYMBOLS]	anamenus
	namenus
You holy symbols	amenus
and holy *charaktêres*	menus
by the mercy of the Father of Mercy	enus
heal the head of such-and-such	nus
	us
	s

It is unclear whether or why the scribe forgot to copy the first line of the disappearing name, but since this recipe is borrowed from the Greek tradition, I agree with the editors of the *editio princeps* that this must be the same Damnameneus who appears on the Anapa agate.

It is especially interesting that this Aramaic spell was used to heal the head of a sick person, because the reverse side of the Anapa gemstone begins with three lines of deferential prayer: "Lord I beg of you: grant knowledge, healing and health concerning the head." The second half of line 3 and then the remaining nine lines divide down the middle, with a different part of the head named in the genitive case on the left side and then magical symbols or magical names on the right (in the final line the word *stomatos* apparently lacks its corresponding symbols or word). This part of the inscription seems to be some sort of key or code, that tells us which magical name or symbol we must use to cure a pain or problem in the corresponding body part. Thus, for example, if we have a patient with a sore throat, we run our finger down the left side until we reach "throat" and then we discover that

mistakenly, thought that the "heart" [i.e. "heart-shaped name"] is intended to denote the disappearance of the fever, disease, etc. At best this is a secondary evolution. . . ."

[30] Naveh and Shaked (1993), 192 (text), 199 (English translation quoted here) with Plate 18 (= no. 18. 9. 6–13a). The layout and content of this brief Genizah spell clearly seem drawn from the same Greek tradition as a papyrus amulet from Egypt (*SM* 21, 4th–5th century CE): it illustrates three *charaktêres* (albeit different from the ones on *SM* 21) and the prayer, "You holy symbols and *charaktêres*. . . heal the head," employs the Greek word *charaktêres* and seems, in part, to translate the request for Tiron: "Holy *charaktêres* heal Tiron! (ἅγιοι χαρακτῆρες θεραπεύσατε Τείρονα)."

the appropriate magical word is "Lachmalêl".[31] The magical names that appear in the right column are, however, rare or unknown in other magical texts.[32]

The order in which these ten parts of the head are listed, however, is a bit odd, and therefore significant:

1: brain	
2: ears	(orifice)
3: eardrum	(smaller part within)
4: "grape-cluster"	(smaller [pathological] part within)
5: throat	(orifice)
6: forehead	
7: nostril	(orifice)
8: "octopus"	(smaller [pathological] part within)
9: teeth	(smaller parts within)
10: mouth	(orifice)

The list is apparently composed of two parallel sequences of five items, each beginning at a position on the upper part of the head (nos. 1 and 6) and then moving downward to include two pairs of body-parts. Note also that the author of this text repeatedly pairs an orifice (ear, throat, mouth and nose) with one of its internal parts (eardrum, "grape-cluster," "octopus" and teeth), and that two of these smaller internal parts have metaphorical names that refer solely to pathological conditions. The word "grape cluster" (*staphylê*) in no. 4 refers to the uvula, which when it is swollen from infection during a sore throat resembles a tiny purple grape-cluster at the back of the throat. Likewise, the word "octopus" (*polypos*) in no. 8 describes a malignant growth in the nostril.

We sometimes get similar lists of body parts on curse tablets, which specify—often in great detail—the extent of the binding or paralysis intended for the victim.[33] None of the extant examples, however, seem to follow the pattern found on this gemstone. Three come close, but their differences are as telling as the similarities. A first-century BCE Latin curse, for example, lists the "neck, mouth, cheek, teeth, lips, chin, eyes, forehead and eyebrows" (*DT* 135a) and another the "head,

[31] See Faraone (2010) for the argument that this gemstone was not used as an amulet at all, but rather it was a miniature handbook of some sort.

[32] See Faraone (2010).

[33] For a thorough survey, see Versnel (1998).

forehead, eyebrows, eyelids, pupils, nostrils, lips, ears, nose, tongue and teeth." An earlier, second-century BCE Greek curse likewise has an eclectic list: "hair, face, forehead, eyebrows, eyes, eyelids, nostrils, mouth, teeth, ears, throat and shoulders." None of these three examples, however, offer a good parallel for the Russian amulet, and the prominence of the eyes or parts of the eyes on all three highlights the fact that our gemstone neglects the eyes entirely.

There is, however, a list with fairly close parallels in the Hippocratic treatise *De affectionibus*, which offers an eclectic survey of the parts of the human body and suggestions about what to do if the patient feels pain in a particular part or if that part swells up.[34] It functions, in short, just like the Russian gemstone, except that it offers brief medical explanations (based on Hippocratic humoral theory) and advice for treatment, instead of magical symbols or names. The treatise begins with a chapter on the head (2–5), which is divided into seven sections, each devoted to a different part of the head or face. Each section begins with a somewhat formulaic conditional sentence, for example: "If pains fall upon part X, it is beneficial to do Y." The chapter is organized as follows (I give the protasis of the first sentence of each section in the chapter):[35]

ἢν ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ὀδύναι ἐμπέσωσι…

(If pains befall the head…)

ἢν ἐς τὰ ὦτα ὀδύνη ἐμπέσῃ…

(If pain befalls the ears…)

ἢν ἐς τὰ παρὰ τὴν φάρυγγα φλεγμαίνῃ…

(If the area along the throat swells up…)

ἢν δὲ τὰ οὖλα ἢ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν φλεγμαίνῃ…

(If the gums or any of the places beneath the tongue swell up…)

ἢν δὲ ἡ σταφυλὴ κατακρεμασθῇ καὶ πνίγῃ…

(If the inflamed uvula hangs down and chokes [i.e. the patient]…)

ὅσα δὲ περὶ ὀδόντας γίνεται ἀλήματα…

(However many pains there are around the teeth…)

ἢν δὲ ἐν τῇ ῥινὶ πώλυπος γένηται…

(If a polyp forms in the nose…)

[34] Potter (1988), 4–5.
[35] Many thanks to Lesley Dean-Jones for bringing this text to my attention.

> ταῦτα μὲν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φύεται νοσήματα, πλὴν ὀφθαλμῶν. ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς γεγράφεται.
>
> (These are the diseases that arise from the head, except those of the eyes, which will be described separately.)

The parallels between the Hippocratic list and the magical one are significant. Both, for example, generally focus on the parts of the head that may be subjected to a pathology, but both break this pattern by listing the same two terms for pathological growths in the throat and nose: the "grape-cluster" and the "octopus."

Both lists, moreover, seem interested in healing the same areas and start out, at least, in a similar order:

Gemstone:
1: brain
2: ears and eardrum
3: "grape-cluster" and throat
4: forehead
5: nostril and "octopus"
6: teeth and mouth

De affectionibus 2–5:
1: head
2: ears
3: throat
4: gums and tongue
5: "grape-cluster"
6: teeth
7: "octopus" in nose

The list on the gemstone, as we saw, makes one trip down the sides of the head, and then returns to the top again (forehead) for a second descent down the middle of the face ending with the mouth. The list in *De affectionibus* 2–5, on the other hand, makes an identical first trip down the sides of the head, but then reverses direction and goes up the middle of the face and stops at the nose. Both, moreover, ignore the eyes entirely, a lapse that makes sense once we read the final line of the chapter on the head in the *De affectionibus*, which explains that the diseases of the eyes will be described separately.[36]

[36] Galen, in his *De compositione medicamentorum*, sets aside all of chapter two for the eyes, because of the special care that must be taken in medicating the eyes, so that the treatment does not add pain through being too caustic. I am grateful to Ann Hanson for the reference to this text and to most of the material that follows in the next paragraph.

It is unlikely that the author of the text on the Anapa gem actually read a copy of the Hippocratic *De affectionibus*, because as far as we can tell hardly anyone in Antiquity refers or alludes to it, except Galen.[37] Other kinds of popular medical handbooks were, however, organized generally in a similar head-to-toe format and sometimes also dedicated separate chapters for the head and then the eyes. Galen's *De compositione medicamentorum*, a handbook on beneficial medicines for various parts of the body, begins at the top with a chapter on the diseases of the head, and then has individual chapters on headaches (Chapter 2), ears, tonsils and nose (3) and then eyes, eyebrows and eyelids (4). In each he briefly describes a series of pathologies, each followed by a recommended ointment or drug. Other medical writers use a similar format for the so-called "medical catechisms," like the pseudo-Soranian *Quaestiones medicinales*, which begin with a question ("What is disease X?") followed by a description of the symptoms and suggestions for treatments.[38] Even shorter forms, like the pseudo-Galenic *Definitiones medicae* (19.346–462 Kühn), dispense with the questions altogether, and the sands of Egypt have turned up sixteen fragments of both types (and some hybrids), suggesting that they were very popular in the Imperial Period.[39] All of these handbooks seem to have been organized in head-to-toe fashion and work, like the Anapa gemstone, as a kind of key, whereby the user looks up the affected body-part and then finds the necessary information, be it a definition of a pathology or the name of a useful drug or regime to combat it.

Conclusion

When scholars (myself included) discern such close parallels between magical texts and religious or medical ones, we sometimes assume that their relationship is a parasitic one, in which the culturally low magician borrows and inevitably degenerates knowledge from a morally or educationally higher cultural realm. This kind of approach, however, vastly oversimplifies the contexts in which these texts circulated and were used. The man who inscribed the agate gemstone and the one who composed the *Peri Pathôn* are both clearly educated and literate

[37] Potter (1988), 2.
[38] For text, see Rose (1870), 243–274.
[39] Hanson (2004).

individuals, who have produced complicated keys for treating diseases: for each part of the head and face they supply the appropriate treatment. Indeed, the *De affectionibus*, although originally written for doctors, seems to have been repackaged at some point as a self-help manual for a wider and more popular audience than was first intended.[40] The main difference between the medical and magical texts, moreover, is that the Hippocratic doctor recommends dietetic regimes based on the theory of the humors, and the sorcerer provides secret magical names and symbols based on ideas of sympathetic magic or powerful names. Neither approach, I should point out, would be acceptable medical practice in this day and age, as each embraces complicated systematic theories based more on fantasy than on any real empirical research.

There are also clear signs in both of the cases presented here that deeper folk beliefs may lie behind the shared magical and medical knowledge. We have seen, for example, that both traditions imagine the womb as an inverted jug that might "run up" from its normal position in the lower abdomen. Might it be the case that both ideas were borrowed from midwives or other traditional healers? Indeed, scholars generally believe that the Hippocratic fumigation techniques for manipulating the wandering womb were borrowed from such popular healers. And who is to say whether the use of evocative names like "grape-cluster" and "octopus" for diseased conditions does not begin with the same healers or—for that matter—the orderly cataloging of the parts of the head? We must remember that in pre-literate cultures catalogues are a crucial means of orally preserving and transmitting vital knowledge for the community.

Traditional scholarly prejudices have, in fact, infected the very manner in which I have in this essay presented two clearly distinct groups: the magicians and the doctors. Such a clear dichotomy is achieved only by setting (as I have) Soranus and Galen on the one side, and authors of the magical papyri on the other. But, as we have seen, the medical views of Soranus and Galen are not typical of the views held by most doctors in the Roman Empire. Soranus tells us clearly that "almost all" of the other medical schools in his day continued to believe in

[40] The book begins with the following exhortation: "It is necessary for any man, who is intelligent (συνετός)…, to know from personal knowledge how to help himself in sickness, to know and judge the things that are being said and administered to his own body by the doctors, and to know each of these things to a degree reasonable for a layman (ἐς ὅσον εἰκὸς ἰδιώτην)."

the wandering womb and continued to use Hippocratic fumigation-techniques to cure it. Moreover, the medical handbooks that map the human head in the same manner as the Russian gemstone seem to be part of a popular tradition of texts that simplify medical knowledge for personnel who do not have full medical training or for those who wish to treat themselves.

Finally there seems to be no obstacle to supposing that the same individual could have used both elite medical and magical handbooks in his practice, depending on the expectations of the patient. Galen, for example, criticizes a doctor named Xenocrates, because his medical treatises were filled with incantations and Egyptian mumbo-jumbo. And elsewhere we discover that Roman-period doctors were well acquainted with the use of amulets and even approved of them in some cases as a placebo—for instance, Soranus's famous tolerance toward the use of amulets by women experiencing uterine hemorrhages.[41] Soranus, of course, does not believe in their efficacy, but he was one of the most brilliant medical thinkers of his generation and we must try to imagine what other doctors might have been doing in various corners of the Roman empire—for example, in Beirut or in West Deeping, England, two far-flung places where wandering-womb amulets have been found. All this suggests that the scribe who created the Anapa gem and the exorcists who treated the wandering womb could very well have been educated and literate men, who were conversant with both medical treatises and magical handbooks, and who may have themselves received, at one point or another, formal instruction in both traditions.[42] Indeed, we have a good example of just such a person living in Egypt in the Imperial period, a certain Thessalus, who has left us a brief biographical account of how he attended medical school in Alexandria for a few years, before he became disenchanted with his education and traveled up the Nile to learn the arcane healing secrets of Egyptian magic.[43] Regardless of how we understand his encounter with the Egyptian priests at the end of his tale or the knowledge he obtained by it, he presents us with a credible example of an

[41] *Gynecology* 3.42.3. For discussion and other examples, see Hanson (1995), 289–90.

[42] Hanson (2004), 199, for instance, suggests that the "catechisms" were "able to introduce aspiring practitioners to a store of medical knowledge and professional terminology and [that] established doctors could also employ them as reference tools."

[43] For recent treatments of the various Thessali, that also review past scholarship, see Flemming (2000), 144–47 and Moyer (2003), 219–38.

educated man in the Roman Empire, who claims to have had formal training in academic medicine as well as in the equally elite magical spells of Roman Egypt.

From a larger cultural perspective, then, the sorcerers and the majority of doctors practicing in Soranus's day were literate elites armed with handbooks and curative regimes that share similar formats (for example: the map of the human head), similar diagnoses (for example: the *anadrome* of the womb) and similarly schematic visualizations of the internal organs (for example: the womb as an upside-down jug). The healing regimes for these two competing camps were indeed radically different, but in the end it is not clear to me that the Hippocratic fumigations of the womb and the dietary prescriptions based on the theory of the humors were any more effective than the exorcism of the womb or the use of magical names and symbols to cure the diseases of the head. My goal here is not, of course, to denigrate the doctors of the Roman imperial period, but rather it is to rehabilitate the sorcerers as fellow elites, who likewise depended on technical handbooks and theorized the human body and its diseases in similar ways.[44]

Abbreviations

GMA R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, Vol. 1, Papyrologica Coloniensia 22.1 (Opladen 1994).

Heim R. Heim, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca-Latina*, Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Suppl. 10 (Leipzig 1892).

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[44] I presented different versions of this paper at The Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University, University of Southern California, Columbia University, William and Clark University, Bryn Mawr College, Stanford University and University of California at San Diego and I am grateful to my various audiences for their comments and questions. All of the flaws that remain are, of course, my own.

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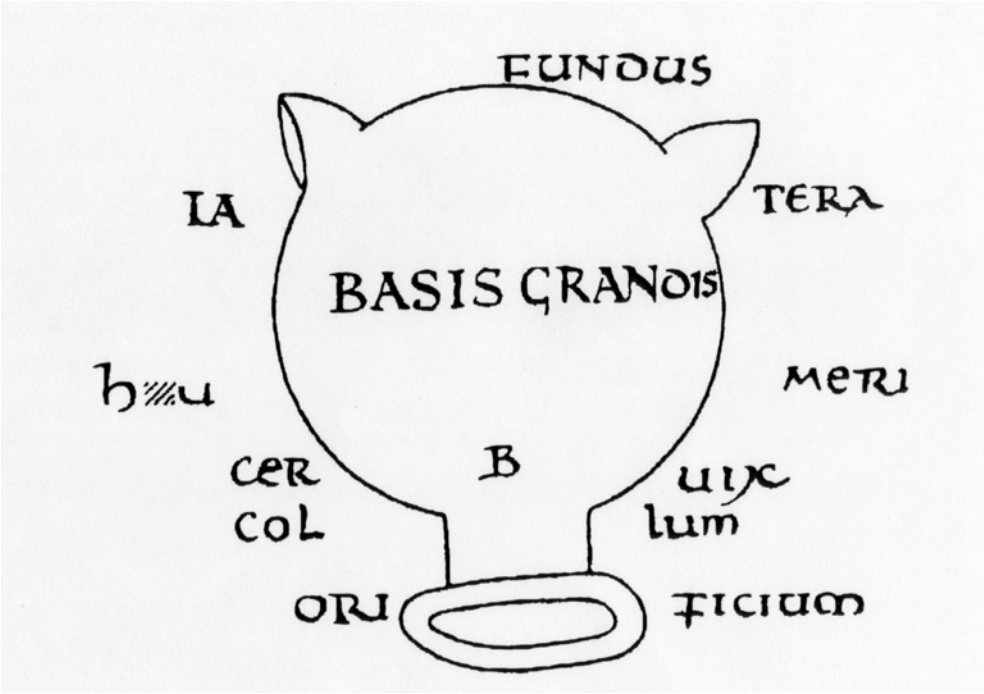

Figure 1. Ninth-Century Illustration from a Soranus Manuscript (Brussels MS 3714)

Figure 2. Inscribed Hematite Gem in the British Museum (Michel [2004] no. 351)

WHEN MAGICAL TECHNIQUES AND MYSTICAL PRACTICES BECOME NEIGHBORS: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS[1]

Ithamar Gruenwald

Magic has become a central area of study evoking research in religious studies, ritual studies, anthropology, psychology, ethnology, sociology, folklore, cultural studies, let alone history and epigraphy. Today, one can hardly write a comprehensive phenomenology of the subject, taking into consideration every comparative aspect of the subject and its assessment. In other words, the more diversified our knowledge of the subject becomes, the more demanding its study turns. One solution to this problem is limiting the discussion to one aspect of the subject, with a particular emphasis on a certain topic. In the present study, I shall try to give an example of what I have in mind, assuming that the example at hand and the manner in which it is presented here have paradigmatic significance for a wide range of phenomenological and methodological issues.

The vantage point that serves us here is that of ritual studies and ritual theory. My argument runs as follows: Every magical act is either preceded or followed (sometimes both are the case) by certain rituals. However, cursory readings of magical literature, a common habit among many scholars, do not make it evident that there might be a connection between the ritual preparations and the magical act itself. In my view, though, there is an interesting connection between the aims of the magical act, the core event, and the manner in which one prepares for doing it. This connection constitutes the ritual procedure and, hence, the theory of the ritual event. I have explored the subject in my book *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden and

[1] This paper constitutes the enlarged and revised version of a lecture I have given in the framework of the conference, "Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition," on July 17, 2006. Since it is written in the form of a methodological essay, I considered it essential not to distract the attention of the reader from the major line of argumentation with details that usually belong to the footnotes. Thus, the number of footnotes will be as restricted as possible, only to those giving the essentials of background information.

Boston, 2003), and I shall try to show that the conclusions reached there are valid, too, in the cases of magic in general, and of the theurgic rituals done to prepare and protect the mystic as described in the Hekhalot literature in particular.

For reasons dictated by the limited space at my disposal, I shall have to examine one example out of the many available. I assume that the example chosen is strong enough to convince the reader that, in general, magical acts are shaped in the course of uniquely configured procedures that structurally function as rituals. This assumption is the quintessence of my understanding of what constitutes the ritual theory in each case. I shall try to show that, since they are crafted to work once, *ad hoc* and/or *ad hominem*, the magical acts at hand should be studied in their individual context.

I

More specifically, this paper aims at bringing to the discussion table new agenda for the study of the relationship between essential aspects of magic and mysticism.[2] It proposes to create a new map for the territory, which points out ways leading to the two subjects at hand. I shall start, though, by reviewing a few scholarly approaches to the study of the relationship between Merkavah mysticism and magic. Then, I shall discuss the contribution that the discussion of ritual and ritual theory as presented in my book can offer to the discussion of the questions at hand. In modern scholarship, the relationship between Merkavah mysticism and magic touches on three methodological issues. The first one is represented by Gershom Scholem, in the chapter on "The Theurgic Elements of the Lesser Hekhalot and the Magical Papyri."[3]

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[2] In his recently published study James R. Davila, *Descenders to the Chariot: The People Behind the Hekhalot Literature* (Brill, 2001), the author tries to discuss this issue, citing many parallel sources. However, his major aim is to create a triangle in which magic, mysticism, and shamanism meet. Although he is aware of the essential differences between Merkavah mysticism and Shamanism (as I argued many years ago), he still forces his point, but in my view does not satisfactorily create a shift of scholarly orientation. See his discussion on pp. 49–51. Furthermore, the many sources Davila quotes from the area of magic and the magical aspects of Merkavah mysticism are left without a proper analysis from the point of view of their ritual function.

[3] Chapter X in Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, two editions (New York, 1960 and 1965), p. 75. All the references here are mainly to that page.

For Scholem, the magico-theurgic element in Merkavah mysticism is best explained in light of materials known from the Greek Magical Papyri. Scholem furthermore argues: "The theurgic element was not a later addition to the texts but a basic component, one which the editors of such books as the Greater Hekhalot, 3 Enoch, and the *Masekheth Hekhalot* attempted to minimize or discard entirely." Scholem makes this statement in reaction to a previous one made by Adolf Jellinek, to the effect that the mysticism of the Hekhalot was only combined with theurgic elements at a later stage of development.

Paradoxically, Scholem also subscribes to the view expressed by Karl Preisendanz, who argues that "As time progressed, the external paraphernalia of incantations, formulae, magic words, etc. in this literature [= The Greek Magical Papyri] gained continually in volume. What originally constituted a simple theurgic practice has finally grown into a highly pretentious and elaborate magical apparatus…" Scholem found it difficult to make up his mind and suggest a conclusive picture. On the one hand, he said that in their various phases of development major texts of the Merkavah literature lost or minimized their theurgic elements. On the other, he followed Jellinek and Preisendanz, arguing that the theurgic materials gradually gained in volume and importance.

I approach the subject from a different angle. In my discussion of the issue in *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden and Köln, 1980), I disconnect the Hekhalot writings from their ultimate provenance in the (rather late) Greek Magical Papyri. I offer a more detailed and nuanced analysis of the problems at hand. My principal argument, that entails an innovative side vis-à-vis Scholem, consists of the suggestion to view the magical and theurgic parts of the Hekhalot literature not in light of the Greek Magical Papyri but in light of the wide spectra of Judaic life and existential needs, in which magic used to play various roles.[4] My way leads from the Hebrew Scripture, through apocalypticism, to rabbinic literature. I must admit, though, that when I wrote the relevant chapter in my book (Chapter Four: "The Hekhalot Literature," pp. 98–123), the Geniza materials were largely unknown.

[4] See now, Jonathan Garb, *Manifestations of Power in Jewish Mysticism* [in Hebrew], (Jerusalem, 2005); Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008), Yuval Harari, *Early Jewish Magic: Research, Method, Sources* [in Hebrew], (Jerusalem, 2010). All these studies were published after the major line of argumentation in this paper had been conceived and written.

Being now aware of their existence,[5] I am convinced that they could have supported my view and given it a larger spectrum and more existential depth than was possible at the time.

In any event, I believe that knowledge of those materials in their astonishing variety would have strengthened my "Judaic" position. One must admit, though, that the magico-theurgic elements in the Hekhalot literature show a large variety of usages, depending on author, place and time of composition. One could add at this point that the factor of inner traditions in their various forms of development can be traced with difficulty. In other words, taken together, all these factors do not always amount to clearly identifiable positions. With all the historical differences, thematic stratification and structural diversification, they all point to one direction: their solid, and indelible, presence in the Judaic world in Talmudic times.

For reasons that I am at a loss to explain and account for, several of my readers preferred to ignore the complexities I tried to highlight in my study of the subject.[6] Roughly expressed, these readers argued that my discussion of the subject was nothing but a repetition of the schematic, one-page assessment as presented by Scholem. The lesson I had to learn was a simple but frustrating one: It showed the paucity of attention scholars often give to the writings of their colleagues.

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[5] In recent years Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked have published three volumes of *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* (Tübingen, 1994, 1997, and 1999). The enormous efforts of the editors in publishing these materials deserve our praise. Those familiar with the subject report that more material awaits publication, as well as the magical materials written on clay bowls. A word, though, is due on the tasks that still need to be accomplished. The general practice of publishing these materials is embedded in their identification, decipherment, translation and short editorial comments. Work is now underway in characterizing the Jewish provenance of these materials in the various studies of Gideon Bohak and Yuval Harari. The methodological context of their studies is mostly comparative, and they have already rendered interesting results. The number of studies of Mesopotamian, Greek, Coptic, Mandaic magic is growing on a daily basis. However, the kind of work that this paper wishes to present—namely the study of magical rituals in the context of their ritual theory and in comparison to the magical materials of Merkavah mysticism—is still *terra incognita* to many scholars in the field. In this respect, its paradigmatic significance extends the limits posed by its title.

[6] In order to reduce the polemical tones of my paper I shall avoid listing all the studies I have in mind. For reasons that will become clear, the only exception to that restriction to which I will adhere will be Peter Schäfer's paper reprinted in the reference given in the next footnote. I believe that Schäfer's paper cannot be bypassed in this connection.

The example to which I have already referred is Peter Schäfer's paper, "The Aim and Purpose of Early Jewish Mysticism."[7] Schäfer suggested seeing in the entire Hekhalot literature a compendium of magical adjurations, thus discarding the seminal value of that literature for gaining information about mystical experiences in late antiquity. Schäfer argued "…it is not the heavenly journey which is at the centre of this mysticism, with adjurations on the edge, but rather the reverse. Magical adjuration is a thread woven throughout the entire Hekhalot literature. This is true to such an extent that a heavenly journey may even culminate in an adjuration."[8] Similar utterances in Schäfer's paper give expression to the same assessment. I shall add another quote from his paper, in order to convince the reader that I do not intend to misrepresent Schäfer's view: "The world view which informs these texts is thus one which is deeply magical. The authors of the Hekhalot literature believed in the power of magic and attempted to integrate magic into Judaism. The central elements of Jewish life—worship and the study of the Torah—are determined, in the mystics' understanding of the world, by the power of magic."[9] Most striking is the statement, "The authors of the Hekhalot literature believed in the power of magic and *attempted to integrate magic into Judaism*" (italics added). In other words, Schäfer wants us to believe that the magical components of the Hekhalot writings stretch beyond their primarily instrumental context, facilitating mystical ascents and divine revelations, and "attempt to integrate magic into Judaism," no more no less.

Schäfer's dismissal of "Scholem and his successors," with the footnoted comment "This applies mainly to the book by I. Gruenwald,"[10] gives an idea of what I have in mind when referring in the manner I have done to the work of some of my unnamed colleagues. In fact, Schäfer's position looks to me as an arbitrary attempt to state the opposite of what commonsense and an objective reading of the texts in question show.

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[7] Peter Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien* (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 277–295.
[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 284–5.
[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.
[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

On the other side of the scholarly discussion, Jonathan Z. Smith marks a real shift in the study of magical practices.[11] Smith examined at some length the scholarly output of category formations in the study of ritual and magic. For him, an initial reaction to the scholarly effort to place magic on the scale linking "religion," on the one hand, and "science" on the other, was an adequate starting point. To me, however, this part of Smith's essay belongs to the past. It belongs to what to me now resembles the apologetic zone of the study of magic. For more than a century, the scholarly study of magic had to find itself a locale in the triangle marked by the notions of "science," "religion" and "rationality." We are now free to discuss magic as magic and not as a by-product of other domains of religious and mental activity.

Thus, I find greater interest in Smith's systematic study of the choice of locations for the successful performance of magical acts. His remarks entail significant insights relevant to the discussion of ritual practice in its historical development. Although Smith, in his analysis of ritual theory relevant to the understanding of what is done and where, uses different categories than the ones I use, I find in his comparatively brief comments much that is helpful in bringing about the needed change in the scholarly climate affecting the study of magic and related subjects.

In fact, it leads us to the very heart of the matter—namely, the essential connections that exist between the various stages of what is done, where, and for what kind of purpose. On a wider scale, it brings us close to the discussion of the symbiosis that exists between the magico-theurgic rituals of the Hekhalot writings and the parallel magical practices found in sorcery, healing, exorcism, adjurations, the writing of amulets and other kinds of magic. In contrast to many scholars whose interest in the theoretical side of magic is limited to its historical, philological and comparative aspects, I think that the rituals done to prepare the magical act cannot be explored and properly understood unless their *coherent connectedness* to the respective efficacious acts is foregrounded. The same holds true for the magico-theurgic aspects of mysticism. I think that I am not exaggerating when I say that many scholars trying to assess magic still view it as a principally

[11] See Jonathan Z. Smith, "Trading Places," in Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 13–27 (reprinted in Jonathan Z. Smith, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago and London, 2004), pp. 215–229).

theological problem. However, in the present context anthropological considerations will be given their interpretive chance. In short, we shall examine the extent to which the magico-theurgic practices, done in the mystical and magical domains, (a) are technically performed, and (b) show similar structural forms of integration with a variety of spell-materials.

II

Taking into consideration the two points mentioned above, highlights one major issue. It concerns the overall aims of the magico-theurgic rituals in both areas of activity—magic and mysticism. Most of the magical materials known to us consist of two parts. The first and major one constitutes the center of the magical act—the spell—and the new reality it wishes to create. The second consists of the ritual structure, including the utensils, objects and other means that are used in order to make the spells work and the desired reality accomplishable. From a literary point of view, adjurations are the noticeable form used in both of the cases mentioned here—magic and mysticism. However, one difference must be kept in mind. Anyone studying the magical materials from the Cairo Geniza, the magic bowls, and other materials of similar nature will notice that most of the texts concern earthly matters. They seek to intervene with social relations and have decisive influence on the operation of material—animate and inanimate—objects. However, the Hekhalot writings show other concerns and objectives. They deal with heavenly ascensions, the vision of the "beauty" of God, participation in the angelic liturgy, and the disclosure of special secrets. These secrets mostly relate to cosmological matters in the past and to historical events in the future. The revelation of these secrets requires the appearance of angelic beings on earth. The typical matters that constitute the magical acts are the enhancement of love or hate, helping people to overcome difficulties and all kinds of disorders, cursing others and causing them physical damage and even death. They are all located in realms that are not included in what Schäfer calls "the aims and purpose of early Jewish mysticism." In other words, Schäfer's paper misses a number of crucial points in nuancing the discussion of the materials he places in the limelight.

Indeed, "magic" and "theurgy" are rather flexible terms. They are "soft" and easy to move from one location to the other. However,

scholarly caution should guide us in what we can and should do. When the applications of categories are either mixed up or allowed to fall into the traps of arbitrary parallels, one may conclude that the warning signals have not been watched carefully. When one studies the Hekhalot writings, in order to compare the theurgic-magical materials contained in them with those found in magic proper, careful attention must be given to major points of difference. Otherwise, one is likely to reach the point at which no demonstration can show that the assigned homework has been carried out properly. There are no sacrificial rites in the Hekhalot writings, but there are such rites in the magical texts. Hence, no blood serves in the preparatory practices of the Hekhalot writings. Libations of either wine or water are also missing from the Hekhalot rituals. The names of angelic beings and the abundant use of *nomina barbara*, words the decipherment of which is quite enigmatic, create a noticeable similarity between the Hekhalot writings and the magical materials. However, the lyrical character of the Hekhalot hymns and the coercive adjurations in magic show that the two kinds of literature are worlds apart. The hymns of *Sefer Ha-Razim* create a singular phenomenon. They show a striking affinity to the hymns of the Merkavah literature. However, the magical parts of *Sefer Ha-Razim* are quite different from the theurgic materials in the Hekhalot writings.

Since I do not have all the space I need to give a complete scheme of all the tracks of the map that lead to every aspect of the topic at hand, I shall limit myself to essentials that are needed for an initial fact finding tour. As indicated above, the study I am offering in the following pages contains a discussion of a number of features that have not yet been given the kind of attention they deserve—in particular, the ritual technique that facilitates achieving specific magical or mystical ends. I shall direct the reader's attention to the need for finding a venue for the discussion of the links that exist between what is done, how and where, in order to make the magical act work. At the same time, we shall keep an open eye on the mystical techniques in their theurgic affiliations. This does not mean that I direct either ameliorative or pejorative criteria in assessing the techniques used in Merkavah mysticism vis-à-vis those applied in magic and sorcery. However, the theurgic practices of the Hekhalot writings have different aims from the ones which magic claims to achieve.

In short, my discussion focuses on the rituals that prepare the magician and the mystic for their respectively transformed habitus, in the framework of which the mind empowers the efficacy needed for what they, respectively, wish to accomplish. At this point, I would like to say that the vast literature currently published on magic and mysticism shows limited interest in these aspects of the subject. The scholarly work still focuses on parallel materials that can be assessed in comparative settings. Historical and philological considerations play a major role in this enterprise. The essence of the ritual core and its respective theory is a rather slowly growing area of scholarly interest. The pages that follow wish to infuse the subject with more energy and intellectual interest.

In other words, the venue I seek is the one that will be conducive to examining magical and mystical rituals and their respective relevant ritual theory. An in-depth exploration of the materials at hand is urgently needed. Thus, if anything *new* can be said on the cases studied, it will have to take into consideration entirely different factors from the ones which sustained previous studies of the subject matter.

The new vantage point, as explored here, aims at providing a new scanning range. It consists mainly of anthropological or behavioral aspects of rituals. These aspects are vital for establishing the hard core of the context in which ritual theory creates the links between the preparations and the act that follows. Viewed in its anthropological setting, the subject of rituals and ritual theory can function as the *tertium comparationis* in the study of Merkavah mysticism and magic. My study of rituals convinced me that in order to understand rituals *qua* rituals, every ritual act should be viewed as embodying its unique ritual stance.[12] In other words, every ritual is embedded in its own ritual theory. Ritual theory is closely related to the structural manner in which the ritual at hand creates the efficacy of its act.

In this sense, ritual theory is not a factor that rests on forensic presuppositions, most conspicuously symbolism and theology. Rather, theology, and even more emphatically symbolism, should be eliminated from the performative assessment of the study of rituals. Contrary to what used to be the common practice in the anthropological study of rituals, I consider it essential to minimize the role that symbolism used

[12] See Ithamar Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Leiden and Boston, 2003).

to play in their scholarly explanation. Mentioning symbolism, I refer specifically to the work of Victor Turner who, in my view, highlighted symbolism in order to minimize the role of theology. However, studies on ritual and theology still fill the shelves with their grandiose titles and sub-titles. In my view, modern anthropological studies have succeeded in radically changing this situation, and symbolism begins to lose its interpretive impetus.

I think that modern anthropology has also extracted magic and theurgy from the realms of fraud and deception. Twenty years ago, one could still find a statement like this one introducing a major compilation of magical texts:

> ...people are not interested in whether or not magicians' promises come true. People want to believe, so they simply ignore their suspicions that magic may well be deception and fraud. The enormous role deception plays in human life and society is well known to us. In many crucial areas and in many critical situations of life, deception is the only method that really works.... Of course, it is all deception.... Those whose lives depend on deception and delusion and those who provide them have formed a truly indissoluble symbiosis.[13]

Similar words can be found in what people write on myth and mysticism. I find it a futile position to take if one finds consolation in waging an intellectual war against such views. Let me say it as succinctly as possible: We have matured to live with the notion that one person's deception is the realistic position of the other. The history of almost every branch of scientific knowledge is full of such cases. In my view, approaching a phenomenological issue with a disputation over the validation of its truth is a waste of time. I would therefore prefer, with the delicate veil that overhangs them, the concluding words of Clifford Geertz about the sense of what a present fact is:

> ...the post-positivist critique of empirical realism, the move away from simple correspondence theories of truth and knowledge which makes of the very term "fact" a delicate matter. There is not much assurance or sense of closure, not even much of a sense of knowing what it is one precisely *is* after, in so indefinite a quest, amid such various people, over such a diversity of times.[14]

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[13] Hans Dieter Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago & London, 1986), p. xlviii. The citation comes from the Editor's "Introduction."

[14] Clifford Geertz, *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1995), pp. 167–168.

The magical and mystical texts we read are a thick slice of the past. What do we know of that past and of the people who lived it? Using a qualifier in Geertz's text, I would say that the question is a "delicate" one. Trying to reach a conclusive answer, one can say, once again with Geertz, that it is "so indefinite a quest." Since magic and mysticism are still practiced in modern life, the stigma of "past"-ness can be removed from them, with all that such a removal entails for their empirical assessment.

III

Paradoxically speaking, rituals relate in a behavioral manner to the dynamics of the constant, including its regular patterns of change, which characterize any kind of normal reality. The changes from day to night, the transition from one season to the other, the collapse of the holy into the profane, the deterioration of health to illness, waking up in the morning and going to bed in the evening—all play their respective role as endemic changes in the ongoing processes that mark the existential dynamic of constant reality. Every ritual relates to the aspects of the expected and the unexpected changes in either a normally stable or disturbed reality. In many respects, rituals contribute to the solidification of the expected and the prevention of the unexpected. However, if reality is exposed to unexpected and unpredictable changes, rituals are there, suggesting themselves as effective means of reversing the process and restoring the normal order. In other words, when abrupt changes have interfered or even taken over, rituals are there to help in their own special way, to restore the disturbed and damaged reality to its pristine conditions.

Furthermore, rituals have their inner logic—that is to say, rituals are structured in such a way that their efficacy comes into effect only in performatively following the strict order that purports to be functional in shaping them into a working Gestalt. Only the strict performance of the various segments of which every ritual is composed guarantees success. Order and correct timing are essential in this respect. In speaking of rituals, scholars often refer to the factor of transformation. In light of what is likely to happen to an existing order, even minor changes make a difference. Consequently, the element of transformation epitomizes the aims of the ritual process. This is true when the rituals are done in order to preserve an existing order or restore its orderly existence.

Magic entails highly-powered means of transformation. In the magical acts, unusual changes of processes connected with routine life occupy a special role. The same is true of rituals done in the framework of mysticism. In both cases, alternate states of consciousness occupy the center of the experiential scene. The human mind seeks modes of empowering its ability to control the physical, corporeal, and spiritual domains. These modes do not belong to the common forms of religious activity and experience. Their activation requires special rituals. Metaphorically expressed, magic and mysticism break the gravitational power that normally prevents matter from losing its bonds with the laws that govern the physical world. Conceptually speaking, the usual alliance, which religious forms of behavior try to maintain with the supernatural, remains on the level of belief. Religion aims to activate spiritual realms in which belief entails exercising special powers to achieve unique results. Miracles, and other components which need no specification, are part of this realm of belief. However, miracles are the domain of the charismatic performer. Unlike miracles, which pertain to be divine interventions showing the unique qualities of divinely inspired persons, magical acts belong in the sphere of the professional performers who maintain coercive contacts with angelic and demonic beings.

Briefly, then, magical and theurgic rituals create or aim at creating extraordinary transformative events. To be able to bring about these events the people engaging in the respective rituals strive to reach unique states of mind. Two spheres of transformation characterize the cases discussed here: one works on the doer and the other brings about the change intended by the magical or theurgic act. Both the magician and the mystic have to undergo changes that enable them to do things that other people cannot do. While mysticism works in one, positively constructive, direction, magic can also bring about fatal breaches in regular life events. Death, physical incapacitation, illness and infusion of hate are only a few examples of what magic can do, when it is geared to do its negative, "black" job.

In this connection, one may mention the various acts of breaking vessels in the course of magical practices. The breaking of vessels is not just a symbolic act. It is an act in its own right. It works on the pro-active, or pre-active, level. In fact, the magical procedure consists of two kinds of actions, linked together by what I would here refer to as their embedded "ritual theory." The connections between each pro-active act and the core of the magical act are not always visible.

We shall examine at least one case that shows how this connection makes sense. However, it is in the nature of the magical act, and for that matter of the mystical act, too, that two kinds of acts are carried out on parallel levels. One of them is the pro-active, or pre-active, practice and the other one is the magic, or the mystically oriented, act itself. In fact, the pro-active acts—that is, the rituals involved—are vital parts of the mechanism that make magic work. They set into motion the desired process. In a sense, they are the pre-programmed activity closely related to the magical and the mystical event. To repeat: the manner in which they do what they do in order to accomplish their designated ends is part of the professional knowledge of the magician and the mystic. Evidently, they both share the belief that it is part of the secret inventory of their art.

Thus, we find that many magical acts entail the slaughtering of animals. One may think that these are offerings given to the supernatural agents—angels and demons—who are called upon to assist the practitioner to do the magical act. However, I believe that from a more professional viewpoint the sacrificial act has a more profound aspect. As we shall see in the example cited below, the blood of the sacrifice is considered as a power-enhancing ingredient in the magical ritual, while the parts of the sacrificial animal (not necessarily one that is offered in the temple service) may serve other purposes, as the case may demand. Slaughtering an animal is certainly a pre-active act that initiates a dramatic event, which intends to have dramatic consequences, either positive or negative. The place and the time of these particular acts are deliberate choices, closely related to the desired effects.

Thus, when magic, and for that matter mystical theurgy, become objects of scholarly discussion, the specific terms of reference that should come into play are those of ritual and ritual theory. Although the words "ritual" and "rite" are frequently used in the study of magic and theurgy, they seldom refer to the manner in which any specific magical or theurgic ritual is constructed, and to the implications that this structure has upon the performed act. Hence, I believe that the subject of "ritual theory" and its implications have to be foregrounded in the study of magical ritual, and consequently allowed to have its bearing upon the study of mystical practices of the same nature.

IV

I shall now refer to one complex instance from *Sefer Ha-Razim*, the Hebrew Book of Mysteries. It is magic, *par excellence*. The choice falls on *Sefer Ha-Razim* because it constitutes an interesting amalgamation of Merkavah-like hymns with magical practices. We shall keep the Hekhalot literature and Kabbalah in mind, too. Paradigmatically speaking, the example at hand will give the reader a chance to realize for himself the similarities and the differences that are involved in comparing both kinds of literature. It should be noted, though, that there are good reasons to think that the charm that we shall discuss has two parts. The second one will be discussed in due course.

> **I**. If you wish to speak with the moon or with the stars about any matter, take a white cock and fine flour, then slaughter the cock (so that its blood is caught) in living water. Knead the flour with the water and blood and make three cakes and place them in the sun, and write on them with the blood the name(s) of (the angels of) the fifth encampment and the name of its overseer (in Hebrew, *shoter*) and put the three of them on a table of myrtle wood.
>
> Stand facing the moon or facing the stars, and say, 'I adjure you to bring the constellation of N and his star near to the star and constellation of N, so that his love will be tied with the heart of N son of N.'
>
> Say also this, 'Place fire from your fire in the heart of this N or that N so she will abandon the house of her father and mother, because of love for this N son of N.'
>
> Then take two of the cakes and place them with the cock in a new spindle-shaped flask; then seal its mouth with wax and hide the flask in a place not exposed to the sun.

Let us turn to a close analysis of the various components that constitute the essence of this charm.

It combines a number of extraordinary matters. The presupposition that guides my analysis is that they are all interconnected. That is to say, the preliminary rituals, and at times those that follow, are closely related to the spell itself. The technique and the essence of the act are two sides of the same coin. I would not have opened the discussion had I thought that the kind of interconnectedness that I have in mind belongs to a rare species of charms. I believe that if the right effort is invested in the study of the materials at hand, and more research imagination is applied, this kind of interconnectedness may be discovered in more charms than is usually the case. I must admit, though,

that many magical acts look like accidental piles of disconnected elements. Thus, I find myself joining the point made by the English poet, Samuel Butler Coleridge, who urges us to succumb to

> …the power of exciting the sympathy of the reader by a faithful adherence to the truth of nature, and the power of giving the interest of novelty by the modifying colors of imagination.

The reader is furthermore asked

> …to transfer from our inward nature a human interest and a semblance of truth sufficient to procure for these shadows of imagination *that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment*, which constitute poetic faith.[15]

Although the poetic discourse moves in different spheres from those of the scholarly one, I believe that Coleridge's words have an evocative power that transcends their immediate context. No fruitful scholarly discourse that moves towards novelty can survive the separation from the "colors of imagination" and consequently the treasured moments of "willing suspension of disbelief." In my view, the study of magic and mysticism moves in these alleys. The first impression one gets from reading the passage quoted above is that of a total collapse of empirical sanity. This impression increases, when reading the second part of the same charm (see below in section V; the passage is marked "II").

The first part of the charm contains a prescription specifying what one has to do if one wishes "to speak with the moon or with the stars about any matter." Such a conversation is rather unique, particularly in light of what is at stake, namely, the love between two people. To begin with, the charm aims at establishing a verbal exchange with non-animate objects. In other words, it moves in a fetishist setting. This is one of the unique features of magic, and is amply recorded in a variety of texts. However, the linguistic factor is only a formal part of the matter. It has endless parallels in the psycho-linguistic behavior of children and adults alike. In a sense, this is also the characteristic stance in prayers, particularly to idols. In the rational life experiences of adults, this is often viewed as an oddity, but as long as it happens in the privacy of the locutor it does not draw psychological attention. In our case, but not only here, it marks a major characteristic of the magical praxis.

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[15] *Biographia Literaria*, Chapter XIV (italics added).

The magical situation described above evolves in unique cognitive stances or mental dispositions. A cognitive stance is based on the assumption that it makes communication possible. In the terms used by Ludwig Wittgenstein, "Language is whatever one can use to communicate."[16] However, Wittgenstein significantly adds,

> What constitutes communication? To complete the explanation we should have to describe what happens when one communicates; and in the process, certain causal connections and empirical regularities would come out. But these are just the things that wouldn't interest me…

Neither do they interest me, unless, of course, they give way to the expansion of our understanding of the communicative features of magic. If we want to understand the various kinds of communication that magic, and for that matter also mysticism, facilitate and aim at establishing, empirical modes of communication give only a vague idea of the unique diversity of roads that may be taken in this respect. In other words, communication with the moon and the stars requires what Wittgenstein calls a unique "keyboard"—that is, a new and completely different mode of cognitive expression. The epistemological presuppositions that underlie magic and mysticism are not the same as those of the sciences and everyday religion. Among these presuppositions, I would point out the fact that both in magic and in mysticism one finds experiential stances in which the boundaries between the subject and the object, on the one hand, and the spiritual and the material, on the other, are eliminated. Saying this, we have to take into consideration the fact that in quantum theory, in psychology, and in religion, similar things are likely to happen. Thus, in magic and mysticism we not only move into utterly new modes of expression, but also into alternate states of elevated empiricism. We may allude to them as entailing extra-empirical modes of existence and, hence, of communication.

Next, we move to the magical recipe. Here, those familiar with magic reach familiar territory. One is told to take "a white cock and fine cereal flour; then slaughter the cock in living water." Living water is water drawn from a flowing source used, for instance, in the cleansing

[16] See Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Grammar* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), p. 191.

ritual of lepers (Lev 14: 5–6).[17] There the priest takes two birds and slaughters one of them, letting the blood flow into an urn filled with living water. This special mix is sprinkled on the leper and not used, as in the case of the magical practice, for the baking purposes to which we shall immediately turn. The instructions read as follows: "Knead the flour with the water and the blood, make three cakes, and then place them in the sun." On its face value, this looks like a sacrificial rite, familiar to those who have studied magical rites. However, the mixing of blood with water is not a familiar rite in Judaic religion, let alone magic. Hence its application here requires a few comments. On the one hand, the blood is diluted in water; on the other, the water is given a blood-like look. Scripture often mentions the fact that both blood and water are, separately though, instrumental in bringing about physical and moral purification. Reasonably, the mixing of blood and water wishes to accomplish, on the pre-active level, two complementary aims: enhancing the respective efficacy of these elements and assuring that the magical act will successfully create love between two people.

Although the person in question expresses his willingness to speak with the moon and the stars, the sun is the functional factor in the charm. The food ingredients, which he prepares, are exposed to "the sun" to dry and become cakes, that is, bonded wholes. As indicated, neither oven nor fire is mentioned. The heat of the sun does not equal a pot or any other cooking ware placed on a fire. However, its heat can be used to dry or harden food. Furthermore, the sun, which is "the big light," is here used as the channel through which the request to the "smaller lights," the moon and the stars, is transmitted. Finally, the cakes are stored away in a place hidden from the sun. This act, which marks the completion of this part of the ritual, involves the typical locale of darkness, so familiar to students of magic.

The whole ritual entails a kind of logic that requires explanation. To me, the shift from the moon and the stars to the sun introduces the factor of change, which in itself is an essential element in magic and in the rituals that accompany it. We have already referred to the factor of transformation. It consists of changes of various kinds. If one

[17] In this paper, I shall limit myself, as much as I can, to explicit examples from the Hebrew Scriptures. I do so in order to show the interesting points of contact that magical practices have with forms of institutionalized, normative, religion. I believe that this procedure has paradigmatic implications for this study.

accepts the characterization—namely, that magic is the art of efficaciously causing changes to happen in a manner in which they cannot happen in ordinary life—then the shift of role the luminaries are made to play, or signify, as mentioned above, is significant.

In this connection, it is worth reiterating that the word "sacrifice" is not mentioned in the material quoted above. Fire, which is essential to any sacrificial rite, is altogether missing from the ritual scene. This suggests to me that what we encounter here, as in many magical acts, is a *sui generis* mode of ritual(s) connected to a *sui generis* event. Magical acts activate modes of behavior and events that are configured in the spells that follow the pro-active rituals. In our case, fire does not belong in the preparatory parts. It forges the core of the emotional shift that is the purpose of the magical act. However, one should notice that the fire here is intended to work in two opposing directions. The person who wishes to bring into effect the desired change turns to the moon and the stars and asks them to "place fire from your fire in the heart of this N or that N so she will *abandon* the house of her father and mother, because of *love* for this N son of N." The added italics tell the whole story, moving from one pole to the other. On the one hand, there is fire that causes abandonment and, on the other, the love that creates unity.

One should note, though, that the emotional aspect of the charm is expressed in terms that describe the formation of astrophysical proximity:

> Bring the constellation of N and his star near to the star and constellation of N, so that his love will be tied with the heart of N son of N.

In other words, magic causes the physical to have an effect on the spiritual-emotional and, *vice versa*, the spiritual to effect the material.

Although the ritual begins with an act of slaughtering, much of it prescribes the mixing of various ingredients and of making them into a cake. In my view, these acts are no sacrificial gestures to please or win the attention of the angels and the other elements adjured in the magical act. Instead, I believe that the mixing indicates a pro-active stance—namely, of bringing together. The various ingredients are brought to a condition in which they make three separate wholes—that is, the cakes mentioned in the text. They are not consumed in any ritual way. On the contrary, at the very end of the first part of the spell, there is a prescription to store away two of the three cakes. This brings

us to a more crucial question: Does this mean that the cakes that are "baked" in the sun, and then stored away in a place that is not exposed to the sun, indicate a process leading from creation to annihilation? Or does the separation of two out of three cakes indicate that a choice or selection is involved? Annihilating gestures, either of two or one as the case might be, are a central component in many rituals and in those connected with magic, in particular.

In the case under discussion, the edibles are not consumed in the usual manner, to sustain the body and preserve it from deterioration. Instead, they are stored away in the shade—that is, they are destined to decay (?) in hiding. Whether this is the case here or not, the factor of annihilation may be viewed as entering through the back door. Is it done in order to avoid annihilation to happen in real life? In other words, does it have apotropaic functions? This is not an easy question to answer. This act may of course have an apotropaic or substitutional function, but it may equally have a pro-active, or pre-active, function. In pro-active cases, annihilation epitomizes what happens in the magical act: a temporary suspension, or cancellation, of the laws of nature. Such a suspension may indeed indicate some kind of disorder or disturbance that in the eyes of people may amount to annihilation.

As the charm we are studying shows, changing the location of the constellations in favor of a person who wishes to find love with another one clearly indicates such an *ad hoc* suspension of the laws of nature. It should be noted, though, that annihilating acts are performed in the course of many festivities. Notable examples are the breaking of plates at the doorsteps of the families that celebrate betrothals, and in Jewish weddings, the breaking of a glass underneath the wedding canopy. More will be said on this matter later on.

There is another enigmatic segment in this ritual. The names of the relevant angels should be written with the blood of the cock on the cakes that have been made with the same blood mixed with the living water. Writing the names of angels and other magical powers is a commonly known way of conjuring them. There are two principal ways of adjuring, or conjuring, angelic beings, either by naming them or by writing their names. At times, this may involve secretly held ways of pronouncing them either from texts or from written scripts. Writing, or even drawing their schematic figure, is probably the more potent way of the two, more than just pronouncing the names orally.

In some cases, the written names are put in water, making the waters magically potent.[18]

In my view, all these cases epitomize the factor of making the angelic or demonic beings present and, consequently, at hand to assist or protect the magician. While in biblical literature angelic beings appear spontaneously, in post-biblical literature—in apocalypticism, magic and Merkavah mysticism—their names are uttered, or written, in order to coerce them to make themselves present. Their very presence is vital to the success of the performance. Typically, magical artifacts like amulets, bowls and even parts of the human body are covered with such names. In a way, the artifacts carrying the names are like a stage on which these beings live their performative lives in a visibly potency-enhancing manner. The artifacts provide a working space without which the efficacy of the ritual is likely to dissipate. The material artifacts bind the names of the angelic beings to the material platform on which they cannot but act to the requests of the owner. These names do not always have a familiar ring, a fact that has given rise to various speculations about the nature of their names and the contextual and cultural forms of diversification which these names project.

In any event, these comments point to the existence of a cognitive cosmos that is utterly different from the one we are accustomed to experiencing in everyday life. This cosmos unfolds as a cognitive reality the parameters of which are definable by a variety of factors, most prominently in rituals and their respective ritual theory in their applicability to magic and Merkavah mysticism. An experiential bridge connects between this reality and ordinary life. The magical and mystical practices create this bridge in a manner that only the magician and the mystic seem to be able to handle and to sustain epistemologically. For the magicians and the mystics alike the existence of these kinds of cosmos creates no problem. On the contrary, they believe that they thrive in them and can bring into effect their respective initiatives to shape them as the center of the special experiences that they control. In them they can display their professional proficiency. Crossing the

[18] A notable example is Num 5: 21–24, where the Sotah (allegedly wayward) woman is told to drink the water which contains the diluted priestly curse. For a discussion of this ritual, and the assumption that it was never done, see, Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *The Rite that Was Not: Temple, Midrash, and Gender in Tractate Sotah* [in Hebrew], (Jerusalem, 2008).

borders between one mode of reality and the other is part of their respective art.

The factor of coercion, whether on the level of making the angelic beings present or of forcing them to do the will of the people addressing them, signifies a new stage in the development of the religion of Ancient Israel. In as much as Scripture induces the impression that divine intercession is the unique prerogative of the divine, in magic divine powers are no longer free to decide for themselves. They depend on what is done by the humans who are in need of getting their cooperation. What should draw our attention in the charm under discussion, though, is the fact that the cakes with the names of the conjured angels on them are doomed to disintegrate and decay. This is not the only case we know of in which such a procedure that leads to disintegration and annihilation takes place in magical rituals. However, what does all this mean? Does it mean that the presence of these angelic or demonic beings is doomed to dissolve into non-beings, or to return to their original place? Those who make them present are also the ones who cause their disappearance. I believe that the essence of the two parts of this particular ritual is the fact that the special names, conjured for any particular magical act, are usable for no other purpose than the one for which they are conjured. They cannot be used for any other purpose or on any other occasion, however similar they might be to the original one. They are exclusively used for one particular act and purpose.

If the last comments make sense, then we may reach the conclusion that magical rituals and acts are *ad hoc* events. They are potent only for the purpose for which they are prescribed and done. This may explain the fact that we possess so many magical texts and rituals. No amulet written for one person is useable for the needs of another person. Duplication and reproduction render the artifact produced powerless. This explains the fact that preferably one needs direct contact with the magical craftsman who writes the amulet, the inscription on the bowl, and the person performing the act of exorcism. It is a personal contact marking the *ad hoc* and *ad hominem* commission created in the special contact between the expert and the user.[19]

[19] The same holds true of miracles. At one time Moses is told to beat the stone (*tsur*) in order to extract water from it (Ex 17:6); at another time, he has to speak to the rock (*sel`a*), while beating it was a fatal sin (Num 20: 8–10).

Finally, before the adjuration is said, the magician is told to put the cakes on a table made of myrtle wood, and then—as is often the case—direct his face to the adjured objects. In religion, seeing the god/goddess means that one is also seen by him/her. This empathic encounter is the essence of pilgrimage and of visits paid to temples.[20] This fact may be explained on a number of levels, including psychoanalytic ones. Space constraints prevent me from doing so. However, I intend to publish my findings on this subject in the near future.

A word is also due about the "table made of myrtle wood." One can write detailed studies on the flora and fauna used in magic. The myrtle—in Hebrew, הדס—is a plant used in various rituals. The closest connection I can find here in terms of ritual theory is the statement made by Pliny to the effect that the myrtle tree and marriages are under the auspices of Venus, the Roman goddess of love.[21] In rabbinic literature, the branches of the הדס are used as the crowns tied to the heads of bridegrooms.[22] Myrtle branches have additional uses in betrothal and wedding festivities. Thus, if we keep in mind the fact that the main body of the adjuration is about the joining in love of two people, the myrtle emphatically shows the extent to which the rituals and their various segments are integrated into the essence of the magical act. They are not arbitrary superimpositions that create the formal frame.

V

The center of the adjuration consists of two parts. The first one expresses the wish "to bring the constellation of N and his star to the star and the constellation of N, so his love will be tied to the heart of

[20] Pilgrimage [to the Jerusalem Temple] is technically referred to as "seeing." The proof texts that the Talmudic rabbis use in this case is Ex 23: 17: "Three times in the year all your males should be seen in [lit. to] the face of the Lord God." The Talmud, Bav. *Sanhedrin* 4/b, quotes Rabbi Yohanan ben Dehavai in the name of Rabbi Yehuda ben Teima: "A person with a blind eye is exempt from 'seeing'; as it is said (Ex 23: 17) 'shall be seen'—in the manner that he comes to see he also comes to be seen. As the act of seeing means [using] both of one's eyes, so the act of being seen means with two eyes." Since God is physically perfect, those who come to see Him must be physically whole, too. No wonder, then, that the facial depiction of idols and effigies in many religions are marked by big and open eyes.

[21] Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 15.29, 2; 35–38.

[22] Tosefta Sotah 15: 8.

N son of N." Evidently, this part has a strong astrological component. The zodiac and its constellations play a major role in the religions of the ancient world. One does not have to look for the extravagance of magical performances to find a heavy astrological influence in ancient religion. There is also plenty of rabbinical and extra-rabbinical material on this issue. The floor mosaics in ancient synagogues just repeat the familiar story. What has magic to do with all this? It purports to be able to change the course of the stars and relocate the constellations, something that is not straightforwardly indicated in the mosaics and the relevant rabbinic texts. In other words, it causes spectacular transformations to happen on the cosmic level.[23] These transformations are conditional to what follows. "Place fire from your fire of this N or that so that she will abandon her father's and mother's home because of love for this N son of N." The two parts of the adjuration show some confusion in the use of gender. This gave rise to the speculation that homosexual love is included. In any event, what is described in the Book of Genesis 2: 24 as the natural procedure between lovers—"Therefore, a man leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his spouse, and they become one flesh"—is here viewed as requiring magical intervention, apparently because the person who is to leave the parents' home is a woman who has to disobey her parents' wish.

In its magical context, the notion of abandoning the parents' home, as referred to in this adjuration, looks to me to be more dramatic than the way-of-the-world kind of reference to leaving one's parental home, as mentioned in the Book of Genesis. The drama is created by an act of placing fire in the heart of the beloved person. Fire (in Hebrew: אש) may, in this case, be a metaphorical expression of lust and passion, but it may also be a play on the term איש (man) used in the Book of Genesis. In any event, the adjuration sounds to me as if it wishes to bring about, in the first place, a break between the loving person and her parents. As indicated above, the parents may have expressed their objection to the love and the resulting marriage. In other words, the act of slaughtering in the anticipatory ritual creates a perfect symbiosis with

[23] Relevant to this discussion is Meir Bar-Ilan, *Astrology and the Other Sciences Among the Jews of Israel in the Roman-Hellenistic and Byzantine Periods* [in Hebrew], (Jerusalem, 2010). Bar-Ilan deals mainly with *Sefer Yetzirah* ("The Book of Creation"), but the material he discusses may be used in the context of the present discussion. Less relevant, but still adding interesting aspects to the discussion, is Attilio Mastrocinque, *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism* (Tübingen, 2005).

the magically induced departure from the parents' home. Thus, cutting the cock's throat is a first act in the coherently developing drama. In that drama, separation—a drastically enacted transformation—is the key issue. Yet, it is physically anticipated in the realms of the heavenly stars and constellations.

The whole event ends when two of the cakes and the cock are put in a sealed flask, storing them away in a "place not exposed to the sun." The sunless environment fits well with the opening line: "If you wish to speak with the moon or the stars." The fact that the sun, too, is involved may be indicative of the fact that when magic is concerned, no logical rules necessarily prevail. Even when a specific time and place are indicated, the magical act is a map with no fixed boundaries.

A final issue, in this respect, is the one that relates to the third cake: What does the magician do with it? Two answers suggest themselves to the question. One is rather speculative, but gives a chance to raise a point, in principle. It may be argued that three parties were involved—the third one, apparently, either the parents or an unknown lover from whom the woman's mind or love must be distracted. That party must be extracted from the scene. Thus, putting the third cake aside signifies a pro-active act. On the speculative level, another explanation may suggest itself as a possible solution. We have already referred to the ritual of cleansing the leper in the Book of Leviticus 14. The priest has to take two birds, one of which he slaughters over "living water" and the other one he sends to seek its freedom. Sacrificial acts entail a choice between two elements, one of which is sometimes not used for any ritual purposes. In Lev 16 the priest takes two goats, one of which is slaughtered, the other sent into the desert.[24] A somewhat similar procedure is known from the Temple service in Jerusalem, where the unused blood of the sacrifices is allowed to drain into the earth. Furthermore, in the Book of Judges 6, Gideon brings a sacrificial offering to the angel, and the angel tells him to put it all on the rock, to be later on devoured by fire. However, the angel tells Gideon to spill away the soup that he has brought. In other words, one may argue that not everything that is a part of the intended sacrificial "meal" is used. The sacrificial prescriptions in the Book of Leviticus are full of

[24] The reader may find a detailed analysis of this procedure in my book, *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel*, Chapter Five.

such examples. There is always more than is needed for the sacrificial act to fulfill its tasks.

However, the text of *Sefer Ha-Razim* thinks of the matter in completely different terms. It adds another part to the previous magical act.

> **II**. If it concerns an act of loving kindness (*gemilut hasadim*), take the remaining cake, crumble it into aged wine in a glass cup, and say the names of the angels in face of the moon and the stars, using these words:
>
> I adjure you that you will give favor, graceful kindness, and affection that radiate from your face, I, N. son of N., so that I will find favor, kindness, affection and honor in the eyes of every man.
>
> Then blow into the wind and wash your face each dawn, for nine days, with the wine and the cake crumbled in it.

The logical connection of this part to the passage quoted above is far from clear. Were it not for the prescription regarding the third cake, it may have looked as an altogether artificial annex. Let us, for the sake of the argument, see this passage as an integral part of the whole, and discuss it accordingly.

The blood mentioned in the first part is no longer mentioned here. Instead, one finds old wine in a glass cup into which the third cake is crumbled. If Temple rituals are relevant to the understating of magical rituals, then one may infer from the *Minha* sacrifice (cereal offering) that the crucial stages in doing it properly are mixing it with oil, baking it, and then crumbling it and pouring oil on it:

> And if your offering is a cereal offering baked on a griddle, it shall be of fine flour, unleavened, mixed with oil; you shall break it in pieces, and pour oil on it; it is a cereal offering (Lev 2: 5–6).

No wine is mentioned in this connection. Generally speaking, though, various rabbinic sources indicate that aged wine is preferable to new wine. However, in line with the comments on ritual theory made above, the act of crumbling baked edibles marks disintegration, fragmentation and in a sense even destruction. If this is the case, what is the causal connection between those elements and the magical act in which a person adjures the angels to "find favor, kindness, affection and honor in the eyes of every man"? A reasonable answer, in this case, may be that a pre-active act has to eliminate the reverse of kindness and favor before the desired qualities can become effective.

Furthermore, smearing blood and red colors is known from the magical practices in various cultures. Wine, probably red wine is meant, is more rarely used. The cake that was prepared with the blood of the cock is now crumbled and mixed with aged wine. On top of all this unique procedure, the person involved is told to "blow into the wind and wash your face each dawn, for nine days, with the wine and the cake crumbled in it." It should be noted that neither the cake nor the wine are consumed as edibles. Furthermore, they are not offered to the angels. Their major use is for cosmetic decoration or to induce the element of disguising oneself.

What does all this signify? In my view, the key to understanding this ritual and its embedded theory is in the remarkable connection between the face of the moon and the stars, the affectionate qualities visible on the face of the angels, and the face of the person who wants to find various kinds of favorable attitudes in the eyes (= face) of others. Smearing the wine with the crumbled cake on the face of the person involved covers his own face and directs all the attention on the other faces mentioned here. Is this the only way of attracting the facial expression in the manner mentioned in the charm? I believe that the question is not relevant to our discussion, since we have to explain the ritual at hand and not the potential ones that we do not know. However, I do not believe that the mixing of a baked cake with wine has a "Eucharistic" effect or resemblance.

VI

I would like to add a few comments on the nature of the magical materials in the Hekhalot writings.[25] For reasons that have a history of their own, scholars often prefer to refer to these magical elements by a variety of terms, chief among them being the one that invokes the neoplatonic notion of theurgy. This term has received various interpretations, the chief one of which speaks of applying methods to induce the gods to do things that require magic-like means.

One should be reminded, at this point, that in Merkavah mysticism the magical or theurgic acts are not used to cause changes in other people or objects. In most cases, they prepare (transform?) the

[25] Most of the materials referred to in this part of the paper were discussed in *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*.

mystic for the kind of experiences he wishes to have. Basically, the preparations include avoidance of wine, certain vegetables and meat. This ascetic diet is carried out for a certain number of weeks, usually three weeks. Purifying ablutions are added and the mystics are told to pronounce the names of angels and their secret appellations. These procedures are also known from apocalyptic literature; some of them are mentioned already in the Hebrew parts of the Book of Daniel. In later Kabbalah writings other ritual procedures are mentioned.[26]

The point here is to enter a state of consciousness that facilitates the mystical experience. Several studies published in the last twenty-five or thirty years contain detailed discussions of magical and theurgic rituals, particularly in the context of empowering acts. Both the mystic and the magician have to empower themselves, but they also empower the acts they are doing and the practices they are told to undergo. In this context, the issue of incantations and adjurations, which belong within the sphere lately referred to by Fritz Graf as "Words and Acts,"[27] play a vital role. The acts connected with empowerment are believed to be potent in their own right. They belong to the very heart of the matter. However, the general approach applied in most of the studies with which I am familiar is mostly descriptive. In many cases, though not in all of them, the discussions unfold in the sphere of the comparative phenomenology of religion and ritual practice. Rarely is the subject of these practices taken up in the doing aspects, which are vital for any systematic attempt to develop the methodology of studying them in relation to the nature of magical efficacy.

As I have indicated above, my approach is informed by anthropology. Anthropology, in this respect, has opened up to me interesting channels of approaching and assessing rituals in their doing aspects. In that context, metaphors, symbolism and theology lose much of their practical and methodological relevance. However, I would like to stress that my approach is informed by a careful analysis of textual prescriptions rather than by fieldwork and actual practice. In this respect, it has a more philosophical nature than that gained in fieldwork.

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[26] Most of them were discussed by Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven and London, 1988).

[27] Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1994), pp. 205–233. See also Hans Dieter Betz, *The "Mithras Liturgy"* (Tübingen, 2003), p. 119, who, typically for such discussions, laconically remarks, "As far as speech is concerned, the *voces magicae* empower it to make sure the prayer is being heard."

In this sense, I can point to significant results with regard to the kind of methodological oeuvre offered in the present study. If one argues that mysticism evolves in alternate states of consciousness, and magic, too, unfolds in almost similar conditions though of a different nature and with different goals, then the foundations have been laid for functional comparisons between the two—whether in a divergent or a convergent context. At stake are the special rituals, which are not used in the common practice of religion. These rituals assume an efficacious thrust that surpasses the capacity of normal human beings, both to perform and to achieve. In the framework of this efficacious thrust, things that other humans are incapable of accomplishing look achievable. As has been indicated above, one has to accept as realizable matters that in the eyes of many people defy modes of rationality and empirical experience. The way to account for them derives from the understanding of rituals and ritual theory in normal modes of life, in religion, and in more technically oriented fields. When it comes to mysticism and magic, a heavier strain on our scholarly imagination is required than in matters that are familiar to us from their occurrence in daily life. However, if stretching our imagination beyond certain experiential limits is the only effort we are required to show, then the gains are surely worth the effort.

TRANSMISSION AND TRANSFORMATION OF SPELLS: THE CASE OF THE JEWISH BABYLONIAN ARAMAIC BOWLS[1]

Shaul Shaked

The Aramaic magic bowls from Mesopotamia do not contain names of authors, nor do they have references to sources from which the authors of these texts culled their materials. They contain, as a rule, the names of their owners, people for whom they were prepared; a few of them have dates, very few have names that can be assigned to historical figures, and very few indeed, if any, give us a hint as to their place of provenance. And yet, we may already be in a position at this stage to enquire what sources the authors of the texts used, how they learned their texts and how they transmitted them, and what is the structure of a text. The information is not explicit in the texts; it must be teased out of them, and the conclusions are at this stage merely tentative.

The authors of the Jewish bowl texts use among their sources the corpus of the Hebrew Bible, which they often quote, as a rule in the original Hebrew, rarely in an Aramaic version, including the Onkelos Targum; and in some cases Mishna passages, but so far we know only of such passages which were incorporated in the Jewish daily liturgy.[2] They also use non-canonical texts which form part of the Jewish liturgy, such as the formula known as *Qeriʾat šemaʿ ʿal hammiṭṭa*, the prayer before going to sleep, with an invocation of angels who stand on all sides of the person for protection; they sometimes quote passages of Hekhalot compositions and of poetic pieces which may have belonged to the same genre; and they give evidence of their acquaintance with the midrashic literature, sometimes alluding to otherwise unattested *midrashim*. The authors of the bowl texts were clearly familiar with a wide array of Jewish source material. This may give us an idea as to the range of literature that formed part of the Jewish religious discourse

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[1] The present contribution is part of a series started by Shaked 1999a. The first paper in this series was published under the title "Poetics of Spells" in Shaked (1999a). Other items in this series are listed in Shaked (2006). I wish to thank Yuval Harari for his careful reading of a draft of this paper and for helpful comments.

[2] For *Mishna* passages incorporated in the Jewish prayer book cf. Shaked 2005:4–5.

of the period. If we add to this the fact that the names of owners of some bowls are adorned with the title "rabbi", a form of address which in all likelihood was not employed lightly at that time,[3] one gets an impression of how much the literary and religious activity represented by the magic bowls was embedded in the Jewish tradition. At the same time it is evident that the people who composed the texts of the bowls were open to non-Jewish environment, including Mandaean,[4] Christian,[5] and to some degree also Iranian,[6] and often to vestiges of older Babylonian elements[7] which must have been still alive in late antique Babylonia.

We are here particularly interested in the ways in which the texts were composed and transmitted. One way of arriving at this information is to arrange the texts in thematic groups and identify bowl texts which have the same formula, even if what we call the "same" is never quite identical. Each bowl is written at the order of a specific client, and is in its way an independent composition. We can thus try to understand the degree of fidelity in the transmission of the text, on the one hand, and, on the other, the text variations in different bowls, thus perhaps discovering the limits implicitly imposed on the freedom to invent new expressions, new motifs and new combinations.

We shall have to introduce into our enquiry some new terms, which, in order to serve our purposes, should be given precise and unequivocal definitions. The text of a bowl will be called an ***incantation***. An incantation may consist of one or more segments (which we shall call "spells"), and these can turn up on occasion in other incantations as well.

A spell reflects, with greater or lesser fidelity, what I should like to call a ***formula***. This term denotes an *ideal structure of a text* which the practitioner aims at reproducing. A formula may be envisioned as the text that could have been placed in a carefully written model book of spells, even though no such composition is known to have existed

[3] Such texts will be published in a separate study.

[4] The influence of Mandaic elements on JBA magic texts has been pointed out chiefly by Ch. Müller-Kessler (1999a) and other publications.

[5] The Christian element is explicitly present in the few bowls where the trinity is invoked; cf. Levene 1999, and Shaked 1999b. Other unpublished bowls with similar formulae have been noticed.

[6] On the Iranian elements see Shaked 1985, 1997.

[7] Cf. Ch. Müller-Kessler 1999b.

in Sasanian Babylonia.[8] A formula is thus a construct, not a concrete text. Borrowing an idea from linguistics, a formula would represent the *langue*, while a spell, which constitutes the performance of a formula, corresponds to the *parole* of the text.

As indicated above, an incantation as written in a bowl is usually made up of one or several ***spells***, which serve as its building blocks. If there are several spells in an incantation, each one represents a different formula. Each spell (and its corresponding formula) will be given a name for the convenience of our discussion. In the example given below, three bowls share one spell: "I descended to the depths of the earth," a name derived from the opening words of the spell. Bowl I contains only this major spell (marked in our table by the letter **C**). Bowl II makes also use of the spell which we call "The great primordial father" (**G**). Bowl III introduces instead two other spells: "Shkobit Shkobita" (**H**), and "Your countenance is that of a vile creature" (**J**). A spell is, in principle, an adaptation or a quotation of a formula, but an incantation is as a rule a larger composition; it typically contains, in addition to the spell(s), introductory and concluding segments, and various other elements which will be mentioned below.

Segments are phrases or sections to which a spell can be subdivided. Segments can also fulfil structural functions in the incantation outside the spell texts. They can, for example, introduce a text of the incantation or of a spell (cf. **A** and **B** in the table below); form a textual bridge between spells (cf. **D** and **F** in the table below), conclude an incantation (**J5** in the table below), or present an independent invocation. In a given incantation, the order of the segments may undergo a transformation when compared to a parallel incantation on another bowl. Our ability to reconstruct a formula depends to a large extent on the stability and consistency of the segments in different parallel bowls.

The term ***invocation*** means a direct appeal to different powers or persons,[9] sometimes with a supplication that they should act in a manner sought by the practitioner or the client. In the Table below,

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[8] Such collections of spells are quite well attested from the Cairo Geniza, and several examples can be found in the two volumes by Naveh and Shaked (1985, 1993) and in the volumes of Schäfer and Shaked (1994, 1997, 1999). The various compositions going under such names as *Šimmuš Tehillim, Sefer ha-Razim*, or *Ḥarba de-Moše*, which no doubt belong to an age earlier than most Geniza documents, belong also to this genre, but they should be assigned to the Palestinian, rather than the Babylonian, tradition. On these books cf. Bohak 2008:169ff.; Harari 2010:200–225.

[9] For this term see further below.

B, **E**, **H4** and **J5** provide examples for invocations embedded in the incantation.

We shall reserve the use of the term ***theme*** to the main contents of an incantation or a spell. The theme of the divorce document served on the demons,[10] a widespread topic which appears in several bowl texts, might serve here as an example.

The term ***motif*** will designate the contents of a magical story (or *historiola*). Here we may quote as an example the story of Semamit (a female person designated as a lizard or a spider)[11] who gave birth to twelve children and lost them to the evil Sideros (a mythical person the meaning of whose name is "Iron"). With the motifs, as with the themes, a certain fluidity in the phrasing and in the order of the segments is often observed. There is however a difference in the mode of functioning of motifs as opposed to themes: the same theme can underlie different spells, but not all the divorce texts, for example, can be described as deriving from the same formula. All texts with the same motif, e.g. the story of Semamit or that of R. Ḥanina ben Dosa, may however be claimed to be variants of the same basic spell or formula.

The term ***person*** indicates the various entities which come up in the texts, whether they are human or animal figures, whether they are divine or demonic, whether they are historically attested, mythical or fantastic. Examples for persons are Semamit, King Solomon, Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa, or any of the large number of entities using divine names, or carrying angel or demonic names, that come up in the formulae.

A ***practitioner*** is someone who composes, transmits or copies an incantation, or one who engages in any other activity connected with the magic practice. A ***client*** is a person who orders the text to be written and his name to be inserted in it, and who owns the bowl. The client is the person for whom the incantation seeks health, well being, success in business, society, or love relationship, or who aims to achieve victory over enemies. The practitioner and the client can conceivably be in some cases a single person, but one gets the impression

[10] Cf. Shaked 1999a.

[11] Cf. Naveh and Shaked (1985) (= *AMB*, B12). Spells based on the same formula occur elsewhere as well; cf. Oelsner (1989); Müller-Kessler (1994); and Hunter (1995:69–65), for a brief discussion of the incantation in the bowl from Nippur, 18 N 98.

that as a rule the practitioner acts as a professional who offers services to clients.

The term ***formula*** denotes in our discussion, as has already been noted, the ideal form of a spell. We may aim at reconstructing a formula on the basis of text variants, but in many cases we shall have to admit our inability to reconstruct the ideal form which lies behind the spells. Two or more textual variants attested in parallel bowl texts are often equally valid, and the researcher has no way of forming a preference. This inability may point to a deeper structural feature of the genre of incantations, for the practitioners are conventionally allowed a certain freedom in moulding the text they are using according to their personal preference. In practice however the range of variation is rather limited, and it does not look as if the practitioner is free from restrictions.

It is to be hoped that a consistent use of this terminology will make our discourse somewhat clearer. In order to examine the usefulness of this terminology we shall analyze three sample texts. The examples presented in the table below show how one formula comes up as a spell in three different incantations, and how other formulae are associated with it in some of the parallel incantations.[12] It will be seen from this presentation: (1) that a formula can be used in different incantations on its own, or in company with other formulae; and (2) that segments outside the spells serve several aims: as a link between the spells, to identify the clients, to incorporate invocations and biblical quotations, and so on.

It may be noted that all three bowls were made for the same person, a lady by the name of Māhdukh(t) daughter of Nēwāndukh(t),[13]

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[12] The formula is attested also in other incantations, but quoting too many variants may not be helpful for this discussion.

[13] The two names, that of the client as well as that of her mother, are Persian. The client's name can be rendered "daughter of the Moon (god)"; her mother's name means "daughter of the brave." The name is usually spelled without the final *t*, reflecting no doubt the actual pronunciation of the word. Māhdukh(t) daughter of Nēwāndukh(t) is recorded as the owner of some 34 bowls in the Schøyen Collection (in three cases the attribution is uncertain), as well as of about six bowls in the Moussaieff Collection. To this large number there may be added a further number of bowls made for other members of her family, e.g. Burzaq son of Mahdukh (who has four bowls under his name in the Schøyen Collection, and two in the Moussaieff Collection). That this client is the son of our Mahdukh seems likely, judging by the quality of the writing and by the handwriting itself, which seems to stem from the same scribal school, if not from the same scribe. The bowls of Burzaq are also close to those of Mahdukh in the sense that they share the same spells as the latter. As bowls are rather fragile and often

and quite possibly by the same scribe. The fact that the bowls were manufactured for a single person and perhaps in the same workshop may arguably diminish from the usefulness of this comparison. The variations seen in the different spells however indicate the degree of freedom in the transmission of the texts even within such a closed circle of texts. This stands in contrast to the practice of manuscript copyists. The bowl texts do not always display the same degree of care as manuscript copies, but in our case they carry texts that are so close to those in the parallel bowls that one can't help feeling that copying from a written model is nevertheless involved.[14]

Three incantations compared

Spells, segments	Bowl I.[15] MS 1927/61	Bowl II.[16] MS 2053/188	Bowl III.[17] MS 2053/13
A. Introductory invocation	(1) May there be healing from heaven to Mahdukh (2) daughter of Newandukh.		(1) May there be healing from heaven (2) to Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and may she be healed.
B. Invocation	By the name of Abraḥsasia.[18]	(1) By the name of Abraxas, Yorba rabba.	By the name of ʾ**brssbyh**.

poorly preserved, and as some of the bowls prepared for this lady may have found their way to unknown private collections, it may be assumed that the total number of bowls made out for Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh was even larger. The fact that the bowls are so widely dispersed is partly the result of the undertaking of museums and public institutions not to acquire unprovenanced ancient artifacts. The wisdom of this policy may be questioned. It is uncertain whether this can stop illegal digging, but it will certainly cause a loss of precious evidence.

[14] On the mode of transmission of bowl texts cf. also Müller-Kessler 1994:8–9; Levene 2003:24–30; Häberl (forthcoming).

[15] The Aramaic text is in Appendix 1. See Plate 1. The line divisions are given in parentheses in each of the three bowls.

[16] The Aramaic text is in Appendix 2. See Plates 2–4.

[17] The Aramaic text is in Appendix 3. See Plate 5.

[18] This is evidently a variant spelling of ʾ**brḥsy**ʾ; note that it corresponds to Abraxas in Text II, and that a similar spelling is found in Text III.

Table (*cont.*)

Spells, segments	Bowl I. MS 1927/61	Bowl II. MS 2053/188	Bowl III. MS 2053/13
C. "I descended to the depths of the earth". *C1, journey and vision*	I descended to the depths (3) of the earth, I saw the foundations of the world with my eyes. (As for) the tremors of the world, I looked at them.	I descended to depths of the earth, (2) I saw the foundations of the world with my eyes. (As for) the tremors of the world, I looked at them.	(3) I descended to the depths of the earth, I saw the foundations of the world with my eyes. (4) (As for) the tremors of the world, I looked at them.
C2, Speech of Segan	(4) And lo, I heard a voice [of a speech] that spoke from the midst of the *electrum*. It spoke and thus did it say: "I am Segai,[19] (5) the swift angel, who stands in the presence of the Lord of the World in the matter of the children of the women who are snatched away." It starts off[20] and thus does it say: (6) "I sat at the tombs of the dead and lo, I heard the voice of women who were moaning and sighing, who were crying and weeping, and who were shouting and screaming, and who burst out in unison saying thus:	And lo, I heard a voice of speech, that spoke (3) from the midst of the *electrum*. It spoke, spoke, and thus did it say: "I am Segan, the swift (4) angel, who stands in the presence of the Lord of the World, in the matter of the children of the women who are snatched away. It starts off and thus does it say: "I sat at the tombs of the dead (5) and lo, I heard the voice of women who were moaning and sighing, who were crying and weeping, and who were shouting, saying thus:	And lo, I heard a voice of speech that spoke from the midst of the *electrum*. (5) It spoke and thus did it say: I am [Segan] the swift angel, who stands in the presence of the Lord of the World, [in the matter of the children of women] who are snatched away, and it starts off (6) and thus does it say: "I sat at the tombs of the dead, and I heard the voice of women who were moaning (7) and sighing, who were shouting and screaming, who were weeping and crying, and who started off saying thus:
C3, Speech of the crying women	(7) "We were in the form of lightning, we were born in the form of clouds.	"We were in the form of lightning, we were born in the form of (6) clouds.	"We were in the form of lightning, we were born in the form of clouds,

[19] Segai corresponds to Segan in the other bowls.

[20] The translation of the verb **PŠḤ** (in *paʿʿel* or *afʿel*) in this context is conjectural. It is generally used in Aramaic to denote "to tear".

Table (*cont.*)

Spells, segments	Bowl I. MS 1927/61	Bowl II. MS 2053/188	Bowl III. MS 2053/13
C4, The four living beings	And lo, (there were) four great living beings who were sent out against the children, who strangle, snatch, crush and devour (8) like a lion that snatches, strangles, crushes and devours. These are the ones who strangle, snatch, crush and devour."	And lo, (there were) four great living beings who were sent out against our children, who strangle, snatch, crush and devour, like a lion that snatches, strangles (7) crushes [and devours]. These are the ones who strangle, snatch, crush and devour."	(8) and lo, (there were) four great living beings who were sent out against our children, who strangle, snatch, crush and devour, like a lion that snatches, strangles, crushes and devours."
D. resultant invocation	Now, you are bound and sealed by his Great Name, by the signet-ring (9) of the Holy One, by the name of the Supreme One, and by the speech of Shaddai: that you may not harm or injure or damage the children that Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh has and those that she will have and everything that exists in the world.	Now, you are bound and sealed by his Great Name and by the signet ring of the Holy One, and by the name of the Supreme One, and by the word (8) [of Shaddai]. (That you) do not [harm…] the children that Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh has, and (her) grandchildren,[21] and her seed, and the seed of her seed, that which she has, and that which she will have.	Now, you are bound and sealed (9) by his Great Name and by the signet-ring of Shaddai and by the name of the Supreme One, and by the word of Shaddai, that you should not [snatch?] the sons that Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh has and that she will have… (10)…from this Indas son of Rašewandukh, from her house and from her dwelling and from her doorway.
E. invocations	(10) By the name of **tyḥṭ ʾtttṭ ḥwššḥ mrmnṭṭ**. Amen, Amen, Selah. [*A series of nomina barbara*] (11)…by the hand of Satan. [*Incomprehensible words*] Amen, Amen, Selah…… princes of spells (?).	By the name of Sansan Saqsan, and…	

[21] One may wonder whether the reference to grandchildren in this bowl, a reference that is not found in Bowls I and III, may be used to indicate that this bowl was made later than the other two.

Table (*cont.*)

Spells, segments	Bowl I. MS 1927/61	Bowl II. MS 2053/188	Bowl III. MS 2053/13
F. segment leading to another spell		(9) …and may they seal and doubly seal Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh by the signet-ring **ʾyzdn** and by the signet-ring **zhrn**, and by the seal of the Great King, by the three great mysteries.	By the name of **ṣbyryt ṣbyryt ywrgʾ ywrbʾ**
G. "The great primordial father".[22] *G1, "a shield of pure steel"*		(10) …for his soul is sealed, (the soul of) the Great Primordial Father, and there stands upright in front of him a shield of pure steel, and there stands upright [in front of] the Great Primordial Father, […] (11) …he took care of it. They threw it to him (?), he took care of it. He who was out of it, took care of it.	
G2, "Not these over these"		Not these over these, nor these over these (?).[23] For I rub them from all that is rubbed, for (12) …from all that is broken.	

[22] Another incantation containing a close variant of this formula (based on the Moussaieff bowl M4) was published in Shaked 2006:373–374. The translation here is modified in some points.

[23] This phrase is difficult to interpret. **hnyh** may be assumed to be a pseudo-historical spelling for the demonstrative pronoun **hny** "these" (common in BTA, but apparently never attested in the bowls); **ʾhnyh** (this, if it is similar to BTA **ʾhny**, serves there as a variant of **hny**) could be interpreted as the attached preposition "on". This preposition, common in Talmudic Aramaic, is very rarely attested in the bowls: it is attested in a bowl from the British Museum, published by Müller-Kessler and Kwasman 2000, and in MS 2053/159 and M145, published in Levene 2003:100–102. The sense of the phrase remains obscure. **hnyh** could also be taken to be a *nomen actionis* from **HNY**, like **bʿyʾ**, **ksyʾ**, **zkyʾ** etc. The phrase could be rendered: "There is no enjoyment to these, and no enjoyment to these". None of these readings is really illuminating.

Table (*cont.*)

Spells, segments	Bowl I. MS 1927/61	Bowl II. MS 2053/188	Bowl III. MS 2053/13
G3, Messengers and envoys		For of the messengers that I sent, and the emissaries that I am sending, he who injures it, may fire injure him, he who causes it injury, may the sword [cause him injury]. He who takes up [arms], and comes up against me, [may he be seized by] the tresses of his head.	
G4, ban and decree		(13) … [if] you do not accept [these oaths], there will be upon you the ban and the decree which is on Mount Hermon (14) … fate … on mountains, deeds of divorce …	
H. "Shkobit Shkobita". *H1, introductory segment, invocation*			**š[k]wbyt škwby[t**',[24] who takes away children] (11) from women, roasts them and drinks of their fat,[25] daughter of Ṭasat L[ilita]. Shut yourself away from Mahdukh daughter of Newan[dukh, do not drink of her fat,] do not knead it with your [own blood].
H2, explaining the situation			Alter [your path, just as] (12) [the primordial demon] altered his path, the one who was at the time of King Solomon son of David.[26]

[24] The name may be explained as "a woman of loose morals", literally: "one (f.) who sleeps (around)".
[25] The word as written can also be translated "milk".
[26] This could be an allusion to Ashmedai, popularly associated with King Solomon.

Table (*cont.*)

Spells, segments	Bowl I. MS 1927/61	Bowl II. MS 2053/188	Bowl III. MS 2053/13
H3, a menace addressed to the demon			If you do not alter your path, I shall hurl you to the axe that dug [up a pit in the place of the demons Dudman,] all of them.
H4, an invocation			[By the name] of Yokson, Yokson. Be [strong, support the demons Dudman, accept this counter-spell] (13) and take away the evil spirit from the entrails of this Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, and the shape of your countenance from her coutenance, and the shape of **bt gwdyt**ʾ, [whose house is in the sand, the axe is seen by the] demon, and he lifts a male [ʾ**wdn**] **s**ʾ. You too, Daughter of Ṭasat the L[ilith, move off, stir,] (14) [go away,] go out, move away, be bound, be gone, go away from Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, from her house, her sons and her daughters, and from her door[way…from the two hundred and fifty two] limbs that are in her, from the sixty six [limbs of her body ...] (15)…Amen, Amen, Selah. I adjure you, may you suppress them, may you suppress them.

Table (*cont.*)

Spells, segments	Bowl I. MS 1927/61	Bowl II. MS 2053/188	Bowl III. MS 2053/13
J. "Your countenance is that of a vile creature". *J1, main part*			Your countenance is that of a vile creature, your horn is that of living beings. May God smite you and annihilate (?) you, for you shall die if you come [near and if you touch…]
J2, biblical quotations			"And the Lord [said] unto Satan, The Lord [rebuke] you, O Satan, even the Lord (16) [that has chosen] Jerusalem [rebuke you]. Is this not a brand plucked out of the fire?" (*Zach 3:2*).…
J3, reduced writing device			Kephalargia, phalargia, [largia,] rgia, gia, ia. Mahdukh daughter of New[andukh.…
J4, biblical quotations			"The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord make] his face [shine] upon you and be gracious unto you. The Lord [lift up his countenance towards you and give you peace]" (*Num 6:24–26*).[27]…
J5, Concluding invocation			(17) May there be healing from heaven to Ma[hdukh daughter of Newandukh] and may she be protected from all evil things…all…all…

[27] This is the Priestly Blessing which is included in the regular Jewish liturgy.

Comments on the texts in the table

The spell which is central to the incantation in Bowl I (section C), is surrounded by the invocations in sections B and D. That the sections A and E are not part of the spell can be seen by the fact that they are not present in the parallel texts; the parallel invocations have different sections in this place, or none at all.[28] The essential part of the spell contained in section C is a text which is known from several other bowls, and must have been quite popular. It is attested in something like half a dozen bowls in the Schøyen Collection, and possibly in further unpublished texts. The main theme of the spell in section C is a vision recounted in the first person singular, and it has the form of a rather elaborate *historiola*.

The occurrence of so many parallel texts is a mixed boon. It enables us to correct and supplement the readings of the badly faded text, and reach something like a satisfactory edition and translation. At the same time it makes the preparation of a critical text so much more complicated.[29] The existence of several parallel texts for most spells is exceptional in the history of magic texts of Antiquity. The Cairo Geniza provides a somewhat similar abundance, although the spells used in Geniza texts are generally not the same as those found in the bowls.[30] The interest of the large corpus of bowls lies precisely in its repetitiveness, which affords the possibility to study the methods of transmission; it also lies, paradoxically, in the diversity found within this mass of repetitive material.

The spell in section C is based on a vision. Although it is introduced in the first person singular, this is not an individual experience. The speaker is not identical with the person who writes the present bowl, but is an anonymous author who serves as a prototype with whom the practitioner and client can identify. The aim of the incantation is obviously the protection of the children of the house. The identity of the hostile person is not specified in the text; he remains a rather nebulous character. His action is done by four large "animals" or "animate

[28] The invocation in section A, which is a common opening text in many bowls, occurs in an expanded form also in Bowl III.

[29] The fluidity of the texts makes them less amenable to being edited by simply noting variants of orthography or word order, as is done in the regular treatment of manuscript texts.

[30] On this point see Shaked 2006.

beings" (*ḥayyot*), that are "sent" against the children, but it is not specified by whom. They act like a lion who snatches, strangles, crushes the bones and devours the children. In terms of contemporary children's stories this is reminiscent of a Gruffalo,[31] or perhaps rather, the African monster in Chukovski's Russian kids' tale.[32] Unlike the monster of the modern stories, the lion-like figures in the spell do not have a change of heart, or undergo a transformation which causes them to start loving children. They need to be chased away and prevented from pursuing their horrific deeds.

The vision and the *historiola* framework are not meant to represent an individual experience, but are part of a liturgical convention of incantation writing. This spell gets its force from the narration of the vision seen and the voices heard; they are made to be present as an experience that could have been undergone by the practitioner or the owner. It does not seem likely that the practitioner would have tried personally to replicate the experience of the vision and the voices, although this is not entirely excluded. The vision is essentially brought to life by the narration; the retelling of the *historiola* makes the experience real, present and effective on each occasion at which the spell is written or recited. In this sense, the story falls within the same bracket as any religious ceremony in which an event of great significance is recounted, as for example in the Passover eve gathering in which the events of the Exodus are recited and, in some Jewish traditions, also enacted.

The positive figure in the story is a voice belonging to an invisible person, who presents himself as an angel, called Segan (or, as in Bowl 1:4, Segai), a designation which refers to a position of power and authority. The angel, appropriately enough, resides inside the *electrum*, a rarefied atmospheric substance which presumably surrounds the deity.

The *historiola* is quite elaborate and contains a story within a story. The practitioner tells of an audial experience, the result of his descent to the deep foundations of the earth; there he hears the voice which comes out of the ether-like envelope of the deity. The angel speaker

[31] Written by Julia Donaldson and first published in the UK in 1999. The Gruffalo does not entirely conform to the image of monstrous animals in the bowls, inasmuch as it is presented as an ambiguous figure: its existence hovers deliberately between that of a playful imaginary invention and that of a real entity.

[32] In Kornei Chukovski, *Barmalei*, first published in the USSR in 1925.

tells a story of his own: he was sitting on the tombs of the dead and heard women crying. The women, for their part, tell of their vision, where they saw something like clouds, out of which perhaps come four animals. At the end of this story, which operates like a Russian matryoshka doll, in which within each figure another one is hidden, we come to the operative part of the incantation: may you be bound and sealed by the Great Name, by the signet-ring, by the name, by the speech, all of which items refer to different names of the highest deity. The structure of this formula, the fact that it encompasses several layers of embedded stories, is reminiscent, perhaps not accidentally, of the graphic layout of the bowls themselves, where the circular writing embodies several lines of text which are ensconced and wrapped within each other.

The movement of the story seems to go downward: "I descended to the depths of the earth." At a certain point in the text one finds the scene shifting and one encounters the person in the narrative listening to a voice coming from the midst of the *electrum*. An angel who serves in the presence of the Lord of the Universe joins the narrative. Are we now high up in the divine universe, or are we still in the depth? We then encounter women sitting on graves and describing forms of lightning, of clouds and of living beings, all presumably coming from high up.

The spell is marked by this confusing to-and-fro movement on a vertical axis. It is not clear whether the story can be described as an *anabasis* or a *katabasis*. It may be supposed that the underground vision and the experience of the upper world are complementary in this narrative.

The performative part of the formula begins with section D: "Now, you are bound and sealed by his Great Name, by the signet-ring of the Holy One, by the name of the Supreme One, and by the speech of Shaddai: that you should not harm or injure or damage the children of Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh and those that will be born to her in the future, and everything that exists in the world".[33] Let us recall that Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh is one of the few great tycoons of the bowl world of Babylonia. She and certain members of her family possess a very large collection of bowls.[34] This may reflect

[33] Quoted from Bowl I.
[34] See above, note 13.

the fact that she is hypochondriac and paranoid, or that she is pious and dedicated to private rituals of this kind, or that she is relatively affluent and feels that having bowls around the house radiated a desirable social message and a certain kind of power.

The *historiola* which precedes the final section is not a mere introduction; it serves to identify the perpetrators of the crime which has to be redressed, for if they are not made known, the work of forcing them to desist cannot be accomplished.

The early parts of the inscription serve to prepare the mood. The criminals are not merely introduced, they are presented to the highest judicial instance, the most powerful authority, the Master of the World. This act serves to instill in them, and possibly also in the human audience, if the text was read out aloud, a feeling of awe and humility. This is enhanced by the dramatic props used: the depths of the earth, the foundations of the universe, the tombs of the dead and the tremors of the earth, which make it possible to gaze into things that are normally hidden.

The protagonist is the angel called Segan, a title of administrative or military eminence borrowed from ancient Mesopotamia.[35] This angel is the link connecting the two poles, the highest point (the divine presence) with the netherworld. He "stands in the presence of the Master of the World," and he reports on things heard over the tombs of the dead, which represent the world underneath. Tombs and cemeteries often stand in the language of the bowls for channels enabling humans to communicate with the other world(s). The vision of the women refers in its turn to the upper world: the world of lightning, of clouds and of animated beings, the latter suggesting the animated beings surrounding the Throne of Glory. These animals (*ḥayyot*) are apparently instruments in the hands of the dark powers, although they owe their literary existence to the figures of living beings in the presence of God.[36] If this interpretation is correct, the crime committed is not merely a transgression against the proper order of things, but also an act of disobedience, a breaking away of the great animated beings from the subservience which they owe to their divine master. The death of small

[35] Petit (1988) and Wiesehöfer (1991) try to interpret the sense of the term *segan* in the Achaemenian period. As the term occurs also in the Aramaic inscriptions on chert objects from Persepolis, it may be useful to refer to the remarks on this term in Naveh and Shaked (1973).

[36] Cf., e.g., Ez. 1:13–15.

children is regarded as a breaking down of the universal order and at the same time as an act of insubordination. Quite appropriately, the names invoked are all different appellations of God, who is called upon in an effort to re-establish the broken order as well as His own authority.

The four animal figures are characteristically ambiguous. It is a feature of the incantations that the definition of persons across the dividing line between good and evil is left opaque. The animals are close to the source of divine power, but at the same time they seem also to serve the evil powers.

The variant texts of this story are quite consistent and show little divergence, and we may tentatively conclude that the spell as transmitted may be reasonably close to the *urtext*, at least as known and quoted within the circle of scribes employed by Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh.

The spell "I descended to the depths of the earth" is combined in Bowl II with another one, "The Great Primordial Father." This is also a popular spell, attested on several different bowls, but much of its meaning is unfortunately obscure.

The two formulae grouped together on the same bowl do not seem to be closely related to one another. We may enquire whether the combination of the two was planned, or whether the scribe wrote the first spell, "I descended to the depths of the earth," then realized that the bowl had some blank space, and decided to put in another spell which he had ready in his memory or somewhere in writing, which he could use to cover the rest of the surface. We need not take a stand on this issue, except in order to observe that the combination of two or more spells in one incantation is by no means rare. This is perhaps due to a certain *horror vacui*, a reluctance to leave a blank space on the bowl; or to the pecuniary consideration that leaving a blank area may not look good in the eyes of the client, who after all ordered a whole bowl covered by writing. The inner surface of the bowl is usually covered by an insciption or a drawing or both. It was evidently considered important that the surface of the bowl should be utilized in full. It must have been assumed that if there is space available the full arsenal at the disposal of the pratitioner should be brought to bear on the demons.

In Bowl III other elements are added to fill up the space. The base spell "I descended to the depths of the earth" is supplemented by two other well-known texts, the spells "Škobit škobita" (in section H), and

"Your countenance is that of a vile creature" (Section J). This is followed by the very common citation of the verse from Zachariah 3:2 (Section J2), which is followed by the reduced writing of Kephalargia, the Greek word for "headache" (section J3) and by the text of the Blessing of the Priests, taken from Num. 6:24–26 (Section J4).

Other incantations have other elements added to the formula "I descended to the depths of the earth." Two examples are given in Appendix 4 and 5.

These elements are added as a padding to the main text of the incantation, and the same biblical verse is cited in the two examples; it may have been considered particularly appropriate for this formula. It seems that the drawings and large magical characters may have been put on the surface of the bowl before the text was written in, for it seems that the text goes round the drawings.

The urge to add textual elements as much as the space allows is significant. It belongs together with an observation already made: despite the assumption often heard that a magical utterance has a power all its own, it appears that this faith has its limitations. In order to strengthen the incantation, one must resort to repetition, hyperbole and pleonasm. The heaping of various formulae indicates that the practitioner wants to throw into the battle all available weapons. If saying a phrase once does not produce the desired effect, saying it twice, or saying it backward, may add power. The power is felt to reside in words, but we do not always know what would be the best order of words, or whether a particular choice of words will bring the result intended. If we say a phrase straight, it may force the demons to run forward and perhaps avoid our grasp; saying it backwards may block their way of escape and place them in a closed box or a bowl-like trap, from which it will be difficult for them to find a way out. Far from breathing an air of confidence, the practice of writing on the bowls suggests a certain *angst*.

Can we draw any conclusions from the restricted sample of texts quoted concerning the mode of transmission of magical formulae? Our examples cannot decide the issue between oral or written transmission. There can hardly be a doubt to my mind that both forms of transmission played a role in the communication of incantations. When we think of the bowl scribes, we are dealing with a literate group of people. There are differences as regards their level of proficiency. Some bowls are written in a good scribal hand such as is known from manuscripts of Late Antiquity and the Medieval period, others display

a crude hand, often with many spelling errors. This external difference usually goes together with the contrast regarding the textual quality of the incantations. Certain prolific scribes have a hand that is easy to recognize and remember. Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh, owner of Bowls I–III, must have paid particular attention to the quality of the scribes she employed. Their texts tend to be rich in vocabulary and to consist of elaborate phraseology.

It is quite possible that the scribes quoted at times from memory. Several errors in Aramaic and Hebrew can best be explained as mistakes of oral transmission.[37] In other cases the errors can be diagnosed as copying mistakes. Were the written prototypes from which some texts were copied available in the form of books, or were they chiefly extant on bowls? This is a question to which no clear answer can be given at this stage. In the period when the bowls were produced, between the fourth and seventh centuries CE, there existed in the Jewish world books of magical instruction with formulae of magic texts, and some of them have survived. None of these books was composed in Babylonia, but the sections in the Babylonian Talmud dealing with spells may suggest the possible existence of magic handbooks.[38] It may be assumed that bowls previously inscribed were easily accessible as a source of texts. Practitioners acquired their knowledge and skill no doubt by being apprentices to well established masters. They may have written down spells as an *aide-memoire*, and may have kept notebooks of spells, in whatever form. This practice is known from the Geniza collections, where, besides structured books of magic, we also have private notations of magic texts.[39] Paper was not yet available in the period of the bowls, nor was papyrus a real option in Babylonia, so leather, pottery and possibly metal seem to have been the major

[37] See in particular the recent works of Matthew Morgenstern, especially 2007. Cf. also an example such as the spelling of *wayyehi binsoaʿ ha-aron* etc., Num. 10:35, in Naveh and Shaked 1985, B3:5, where the Hebrew words are given in the following bizarre form: **whyḥy byn nswʿ hʾrwn wymr mwšh qwmʾ yhwh wypwṣw ʾybʾk wynsw m**[*vacat*] **mypnk**, a spelling that surely betrays poor knowledge of the way Hebrew is written.

[38] Two recent surveys of this literature may be mentioned: Bohak 2008:351ff.; Harari 2010:272ff.

[39] An example for such a notebook, with texts for different purposes in Judeo-Arabic and in Hebrew-Aramaic, is JTSL ENA 2871.7–8, published in Schäfer and Shaked 1997:126–131 (text 28). I should like to correct on this occasion two points in the latter publication. On p. 130, line 8b:1, read: "Wenn du einen Mann vor seiner Frau (*ʿan ahlihi*) binden willst"; read in line 8b:5: "bis zu der Zeit, die wir wünschen."

alternatives. Leather may have been too expensive, and besides, it is a perishable material; metal sheets, though commonly available and long-lasting, have left no traces among the archaeological finds of incantations from Babylonia.

The language of the incantations shows many instances of archaic Aramaic, in some cases used artificially and inconsistently, revealing to us that they must have been quite far removed from the current Aramaic used in speech and writing. The authors of the texts tried to reproduce what seemed to them a higher and more prestigious language, perhaps influenced by the Targum or other learned texts. That it was an artificial language emerges from a series of hypercorrections and from their inconsistency in the use of certain forms.[40]

Despite the chaotic appearance of the texts quoted, we may come to the conclusion that there are rules that govern the confusion, and that these rules are followed by the writers of bowls. The texts, as we have seen, are on the whole quite faithfully and consistently transmitted, but there is a range of toleration for certain additions before and after the main text (and sometimes inside it), and for combining two or three spells in one incantation.

The consistent wording of the spells in different bowls may teach us something about the way incantations were composed and spells transmitted. The transmission of the magical texts is not much dif-

[40] This emerges, for example, from an examination of the spelling deviations detected by Morgenstern (2007). Among our three bowls, it may be noted, Bowl 2 stands out as presenting a number of peculiarities. Cf. the spellings **hwyn**ʾ, ʾ**ytylydn**ʾ (Bowl 1:7, Bowl 3:7) with **hwyn**ʾ**h**, ʾ**ytylydn**ʾ**h** (Bowl 2:5–6); **mmryq**, **mmrqn** (Bowl 1:7; Bowl 3:8) with **m**ʾ**mryq**, **m**ʾ**mrqn** (Bowl 2:7). Bowl 2:9 has **bḥtm**ʾ**h**, **bytlt**ʾ**h**, spellings which look like instances of hypercorrection; Bowls 1 and 3 do not have anything similar. Ch. Müller-Kessler, in a series of articles, has adopted the term 'Standard Literary Babylonian Aramaic' to designate the language of most bowls in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. It is not clear whether she wishes to imply that this form of language was standard for members of all religious groups in Sasanian Babylonia. If this is the claim, one could argue that Christians, Manichaeans and pagans probably used Syriac as their vehicle of literary communication, and that Mandaeans employed the Mandaic language and script. For all we know, the square Hebrew script was used for Aramaic exclusively by Jews, and this is corroborated by the fact that most bowls in this script contain peculiar Jewish elements, such as quotations from the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish prayer book as well as midrashic allusions (cf. also the remarks in the same direction by Harviainen 1995, esp. note 1). The Aramaic used in these bowls shows in general signs of a high literary and archaic language. The important affinities of phrases and expressions between Mandaic and the JBA incantations, which Müller-Kessler has discovered (e.g. in Müller-Kessler 1999/2000; also Greenfield and Naveh 1985) show that certain Mandaic themes were borrowed from Mandaean formulae, but they do not prove, to my mind, that Mandaic is the source of all the common themes.

ferent from the way liturgical texts have been transmitted in Judaism, relying on repetition and memory, before they were codified in a prayer-book form.

It is impossible to ignore the literary quality of many of the spells. This is eminently noticeable in the formula "I descended to the depths of the earth", with its high language, its peculiar poetic structure, and its double-edged vision, downwards and upwards. There is also a marked tendency to high drama, conveyed by the spatial movement of the narrator, by the visions seen, and by the dialogue. A similar observation can be made on the highly structured and complex spell "the Great Primordial Father". One can't help feeling that the demons had a highly developed sensitivity to poetic figures of speech, which acted upon them, we might say, like magic. They had no choice but to flee or be subdued.

Appendix: The Aramaic Texts

1. *Schøyen Collection, MS 1927/61*[41]

1 אסותא מן שמיה תיהוי לה למהדוך
2 בת ניונדוך בשום אברחסיה לחיקרי ארעה
3 נחתית עיקרי ת[יביל ח]זיתי בעיני ⁺רעשי[42] תיביל א[י]סתכל[ית] בהון
4 והא שמעית קל מי[לול]יה דיממליל מיגו חשמלא ממליל וכן אמר אנה הוא סגי
5 מלאכה קלילאה דקאים קודם מריה דעלמה על ולדי נשייא דמיתחטפין ומפשח וכן אמר
6 על קברי מיתי יתיבית והא שמעית קל נשיא דתוחן ומתוחן בכיין ומב[כיין] צוחן [ומצוח]ן מפשחן בחד קלא וכין אמרן
[43]-------
7 בידמות ברקא הוינא[44] בדמות עננין איתילדנא והא ארבע חיון רברבן דמישתדרן על ולדיא דחאנקן וחטפן מממרקן[45] ואכלן

[41] I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. J. N. Ford, who revised the readings of these texts and suggested important improvements to the translation. It has proven complicated to indicate doubtful readings in this edition; this will be put right in the comprehensive edition of the Schøyen bowls; cf. Shaked, Ford and Bhayro (forthcoming). Brackets ([---]) indicate supplements by the editor, as a rule on the basis of parallel texts.

[42] Written **dʿšy**.

[43] A dividing line occurs here in the text.

[44] Written **ḥnynʾ**.

[45] The spelling with three *mem*s occurs here more than once (cf. line 8, **mmmryq**), and is also common in the parallel texts. It cannot be dismissed as an error.

8 כאריה דחטיף וחניק מממריק ואכיל אילין אינון דחנקן וחטפן ממרקן ואכלן כען אסיריתון וחתימיתון בשמיה +רבה[46] ובעזקתיה
9 +דקדוש[47] ובשמיה דעיליון ובמילוליה דשדי דלא תסכלון ולא תחבלון ולא תנז[ק]ון ביבנין דאית לה ודהון לה למהד[ו]ך בת ניונדוך מן {י} כל דאית בעלממ[48]
10 בשום תיחט אתתתט חוששח סרמנטט אמן אמן סלה חשגם גסל חקשגח חלח חחמעג דרוסת מחשרה ט[---] יישויי [---] דשי וסדק שטן
11 [---] לקחת את השכוי שלח [---] וילל תפלותיו ל[---] אמן אמן סלה [---] לחש

2. *Schøyen Collection, MS 2053/188*

1 בשום אברכסס יורבא רבה נחתית לחיקרי ארעא
2 נחתית עיקרי תיביל חזיתי בעיני רעשי תיביל איסתכלית בהון והא שמעית קל מילולה די ממליל
3 מיגו חשמלה ממליל ומליל וכן אמר א[נה הוא] סגן מלאכה
4 קלילא דקאים קודם מריה דעלמה על ולדי נשיא דמיתחטפין ומפשח וכין אמר על קברי [מיתי יתיב]ית
5 והא [שמעית] קל [נשייא ד]תוחן ומתוחן בכין ומבכין ומפשחן וצוחן וכין א[מרן כי]דמות ברקאה הוינאה כידמות
6 עננין איתי[לי]דנאה והא ארבע חיון רברבן דמישתדרן על ולדנאה דחאנקן ו[חט]פן מממרקן ואכלן כאריה דחטיף וחאניק
7 מאמר[יק ואכיל] [אי]ל[י]ן אינון [ד]חנקן וחטפן ממארקן ואכלן כען אסיריתון וחתימיתון בשמי[ה ר]בה ובעיזקתיה דקדוש ובשמיה דעיליון ובמלוליה
8 [דשדי] ולא תח[בלון ---] בבנין דאית לה למהדוך [ב]ת ניונדוך ובני בנין ובזרעה ויבזרעה דזרעה דאית לה ויהוון לה בשום סנסן סקסן וק[---]
9 [---] וחתמ[ין] לה וימחתמין לה למהדוך בת ניונדוך באיזדן איזקתא בזהרן איזקתאה בחתמאה דמלכא רבה ביתלתאה רזי רו[רבי]
10 [---] ל[יה] נפשיה מיטול דחתימה ליה נפשיה לא[בא] רבה קדמאה ותריצא ליה קמיה מגינא דאדמסא דכייא ותר[יצ]א ליה לאב[א] ר[בה קדמאה ---]
11 [...] ביה דידיה איזדהר רמיניה לוי בה דידיה איזדהר דבר מינ[יה] ביה דידיה איזדהר לא הניה אהניה [ו]לא הניה אהניה מיטול דשיפנא אנין מיכול דשייף מיטול
12 [---] דקריט מיטול דשליחייא אינן דשלחת ואשגנדייא אינן דמשדרנה דחטי ביה נורא תיחטי ביה ודחביל ביה ח[רב]ה ת[יחביל ביה] דשקי זי[ניה ולאפי אתי בא]יתקא דרישיה
13 [---] אוקמה [--- ---] [לא] תקבלו תיהוי אליכוה אחרמתא וגיזרתא דהוי אחירמון טו[רא]
14 [---] חילקה ט[---] בטורין גיטי [--- ---]הון גטי[-]ון [---]

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[46] Written **dbh**, perhaps as an error for +**drbh**.

[47] Thus written, as in Hebrew (in Aramaic we might expect the form **dqdyš**). The following words, ʿ**ylywn** and **šdy**, are also in Hebrew.

[48] For **b**ʿ**lm**ʾ.

3. *Schøyen Collection, MS 2053/13*

1 אסותא מן שמיה תיה[וי] לה
2 למהדוך בת ניונדוך ותיתסי בש[ום] אברסביה
3 לחיקרי ארעא נחתית עיקרי תיב[י]ל ח[זי]תי בעיני
4 רעשי תיביל איסתכל[ית] בהון והא שמעית קל מילולא [דיממ]ליל מיגו חשמ[לא]
5 [מ]מליל וכין אמר אנה הוא [...] מלאכה קלילא דקאי[ם] קודם מ[רי]ה דעלמה [על ולדי נשי]א דמיתח[ט]פין ומפ[שח]
6 [וכן אמ]ר על קברי מיתי יתיב[י]ת והא שמעית קל נשיא דתוחן
7 ומת[ו]חן צ[ו]חן ומצוחן בכין ומבכ[ין ו]מפשחן [ו]כין אמרן בידמות ברק[א] הוינא בידמות ענ[ין] איתי[ל]ידנא
8 וה[א] ארבע חיון רברבן דמישדרן[49] על ולדנא דחנקן וחטפן ממרקן ו[א]כלן כאריה [ד]חטיף וחניק ממריק ואכיל כען אסיריתון וחתימיתון
9 בישמ[יה] רבה ובעיזקתיה דשדי ובשמיה דעיליון ויבמילוליה דשדי דלא ת[---] בבנין דאית לה וידהון לה למהדוך בת ניונדו[ך ...]
10 [---] הדא מן הדין אינדס בר רשיונדוך מן ב[ית]ה מן דירתה מן פיתחה בשום [צ]בירית צבירית יורגא יורבא ש[כ]ובית שכובי[תא דנסבא בנין]
11 [מ]ן נשיא וקליא יתהון ושתיא מן חלביהון בת טסת ל[יליתא] סכוריכ[י] מן מהדוך בת ניונ[דוך ולא תישתין מן] חל[ב]ה ולא תלושין יתיה [בדמיכי] שנא [שבילכי כמה דשני]
12 [שידא קדמ]אה דהוא ביומי שלמה מלכא בר דויד [שבי]ל[כי א]ם לא תשני אירמי [י]תיכי לחצין דח[צב גובא אתר דודמן שידיא] כולהון [בשו]ם יוכסון יוכסון אתח[זקו תסמוכו] ש[דייא דודמן קבילו קובל]א
13 דנן וסבו ית רוח רעה מן מעה דמהדוך בת ניונדוך דא וצורת אפכי מן אפה [ו]צור[ת] בת גודיתא ד[ביתא בחלה יתבא פילק יתח]מי שידא [ואודנ]סא דיכרא מסקא א[ף] בת טסת ל[יליתא זחי וזעי]
14 [געורי] ופוקי ועיקורי ואסורי ויחלופי ואיסתליקי מן מהדוך בת ניונדוך מן ביתה ומ[ן ב]נה מן [ב]נתה ומן פית[חה...מן מתן חמשין ותרין] הדמין דאית [ב]ה [מן] שיתין ושיתא [הדמי קומתה ...]
15 [...] אמן אמן סלה אשבעית אתכם הכניע[י]ם והכניעים פניך פנ[י] שפל קרנך קרן חיות יככה יהוה ו[י]ספסכא כי תמות אם תי[קרב ואם תיגע.....ויאמר] יה[וה] אל השטן [יגער] יהוה בך השטן [יגער] יהוה
16 בך [הבוחר] בירושלים הלו זה אוד מוצל מיאש [...] יפולו מה קפלרגיה פלרגיה ל[רגיה] רגיה גיה יה מהדוך בת ניו[נדוך...יברכך יהוה וישמרך יאר יהוה] פניו אליך ו[יחנ]ך [ישא] יהוה פניו [אליך וישם לך שלום ...]
17 [א]סותא מ[ן שמיה] תיהוי לה למ[הדוך בת ניונדוך] ותנטר מן כל מידיעם ביש [...] כל [...] כל ה[...]

4. *Schøyen Collection, MS 2053/257*

The bowl contains the text of the formula "I descended to the depths of the earth," supplemented in conclusion by the following phrases:

[49] The *t* of the *itpaʿal* formation is apparently merged in the *š* of the root; this could also be a scribal error.

5 אסיריתון וחתימיתון לאנפי בר כותסיה ובישמיה דקדוש ובמימריה
6 דשדי ובמילולא דע[50] דלא {ג} תיגעון ולא תיקרבון ולא תחבלון בבנין דאִיתֵ
לֵהִוִן...לדאראי בר אנוהדאג ...תא בת די...
7 בנין דאית ליה ודהון ליה לאטש בת קאקאי מן גונדאס אינתתיה...ובבנין דאית
להון ודהון להון ל...בר קאקיי מן מזדדנגא אנתתיה ובבנין
8 דאית ליה ודהון ליה למ...בר חונדאש מן כודוש אינתתיה לא בזרעיה דיממא
ולא בפיריה [דליליה]...סורקין וסקסנסין וקוי יייי יחליפו כוח יעלו אבר
כנשרים
9 [ירוצ]ו ולא יגעו ילכו ולא [ייעפו]...אמן סלא איס...וא ואסותא תיהוי מ[ן
שמיה] אמן אמן סלא

Outside:

10 איספלידא

Translation

5 [---] Bound and sealed are you in the presence of Bar Kutasia (?), and by the name of the Holy One, and by the word
6 of Shaddai, and by the uttering of ʿE<lyon>, that you should not touch, or come near, or injure the sons that they have…Darai son of Anuhdag…(and)…ta daughter of Di…
7 the children that he has and that he will have, Ataš daughter (!) of Qaqai, from Gundas his wife … and the children that they have and that will have……son of Qaqai, from Mazda-danga (?) his wife, and the children
8 that he has and that he will have, M…son of Ḥundaš from Kuduš his wife, neither his seed of the day nor his fruit [of the night]…**swrqyn wsqsnsyn**. "And those who look to the Lord will win new strength, they will grow wings like eagles,
9 they will run and not be weary, they will march on and never grow faint" (*Is 40:31*)….Amen, Selah…and may there be healing [from heaven]. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Outside:

10 (For the) hall (of the house).

5. *MS 2053/61*

The concluding lines, after the formula "I descended to the depths of the earth," are:

8 [---] כען אסיריתון וחתימיתון בשמיה רבה ובעזקתיה
9 דקדוש ובשמיה דעיליון ובמילוליה דשדי דלא תסכלון ולא תחבלון ולא תנז[ק]
ון ביבנין דאית לה ודהון לה למהד[ו]ך בת ניונדוך מן {י}כל דאית בעלמא
10 בשום תיחט אתתתט חוששח סרמנטט אמן אמן סלה חשגם גסל חקשגח חלח
חחמעג דרוסת מחשרה ט[---] יישוי [------] דשי וסדק שטן

[50] For **dʿylywn**.

11 [---] לקחת אם חשכי ישלח [--- ---] ויל תפלותיו ל[---] אמן אמן סלה
[---] לחש

Translation

8 [---] Now, may you (pl.) be bound and sealed by his great name and by the signet-ring
9 of the Holy One and by the name of the Supreme One, and by the speech of Shaddai, that you may not harm or injure or damage the children that Mahdukh daughter of Newandukh has and those that she will have, and everything that exists in the world.
10 By the name of **tyḥṭ ʾtttṭ ḥwššḥ mrmrnṭṭ**. Amen, Amen, Selah. [*A series of nomina barbara*]
11 [---] Amen, Amen, Selah. [---]

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Bowl 1

Bowl 2

Bowl 3

Bowl 4

Bowl 5

'THIS IS A *QYBL'* FOR OVERTURNING SORCERIES': FORM, FORMULA—THREADS IN A WEB OF TRANSMISSION[1]

Dan Levene

I have been visiting the Vorderasiatische Museum's (VA) collection of magic bowls in Berlin for some years.[2] The texts that have particularly attracted my attention are a number of bowls that contain aggressive formulae which are now in preparation for publication as part of a volume on such texts within the greater corpus of magic bowls.[3] Of the Berlin aggressive texts there are five that share a number of common characteristics that pertain to their literary content and peculiarities of physical form that go beyond the simple fact that they are all earthenware bowls. It is this sub-group of five texts that will be the focus of this paper. We shall see what we can learn about this group of bowls in terms of: purpose, praxis, physical form and structure of formulae. Through a comparison with other groups of bowls from Berlin and London I hope also to map some of the traditions found within them and trace evidence for trails of transmission.

The most obvious connection between all the bowls in this group of five from Berlin is the fact that all define themselves as being a *qybl'* (קיבלא)—in this particular group of texts meaning that they are a kind of counter-charm. Thus they are all intended to return adverse magical actions to their origin—in these cases identified specifically as individuals who are personally named. As such, these spells have an aggressive tone in that they clearly intend harm to be wreaked upon humans they identify by name who are perceived by the clients as adversaries—whom I shall refer to, in general, as "the antagonists." A question which I will not go into in this chapter is whether we consider these "counter-charm" bowl texts as curses—since they constitute an attack on human individuals—or whether we still perceive them as

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[1] I would like to dedicate this chapter to Professor Shaul Shaked who is always an inspiring and patient teacher.

[2] I would like to thank Dr Joachim Marzahn, the curator of the collection, who has been most helpful over the years.

[3] The title of the forthcoming volume is *"May These Curses Flee"; Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity*.

apotropaic—as they define their raison d'être as being the aversion of an attack and a returning of it to its culpable human origin.

The bowls

The five Berlin *qybl'* bowls are:

- VA 2423 and VA 2416[4] which are written by the same hand for the same client and against the same antagonist,
- VA 2434 and VA 2424 are also a pair that are written by one scribe for the same client and against the same antagonist, and
- VA 2484 which, like the other 4, describes itself as a *qybl'* and specifies the names of the client as well as the antagonist; for this last bowl there is none to make it a pair as with the others though, as we shall see, the evidence suggests there was originally an accompanying bowl.

Another group of bowls that describe themselves as *qybl'* bowls, and therefore relevant to this study, are three from the British Museum (BM): 039A, 040A and 041A.[5] 039A and 041A share the names of both client and antagonist. 040A shares with these two only the name of the antagonist. Though I am not entirely certain, it seems to me that these three bowls were written by the same scribe.

In the table below is a synopsis of the opening formulae of the Berlin bowls. VA 2423 and VA 2416 are one of the pairs and are therefore beside each other. As can be seen in the table, VA 2416 has a repetition of the opening formula which is also presented in this synopsis. The beginning of the text of the partner of VA 2434—i.e., VA 2424—has faded, hence its absence from the table. It is, however, clear from the rest of the text visible on VA 2424 that this text is very close in content to VA 2434 in which most of its text is present, despite the fact that it is in a slightly different order. It is, therefore, possible that its beginning might have included a variation of the same formula.

[4] Published by Wohlstein (1893), pp. 11–27, late in the 19th century and re-edited by myself.

[5] Segal (2000), pp. 79–85.

Berlin bowls	VA 2423	VA 2416		VA 2434	VA 2484	
a				בישמך אני עושה	לישמך אני עושה	(18)...
	הדין <u>קיבלא</u> לבטולי חרשי	הדין <u>קיבלא</u> למיפך חרשי	הדין <u>קיבלא</u> למיפך	הדין <u>קיבלא</u> למיפך	הדין למיפך ולשדורי ולאכמורי	דין <u>קיבלא</u> למיפך ושדורי ואכמרי
	ולוטתא ונידרא	ונידרי ולוטתא				
	ואכמראתא	ושיקופתא ואשלמתא ואכמרתא	ירור בישתא (17)	ירור בישתא	ירור ו(א)רחק	ירור בישתא
b		מן אבא בר ברכיתא	דאית עלוהי דאבא בר ברכיתא	מן ביתיה דכטיא בר מחלפתא ומן אמא בת מחלפתא	מן שילתא בת אימי על דשישין בת אי<ס>מנדוך	מן שילתא בת א[ימי
c	דאימי בת ריבקא ומר ולילי בני אימי דלטוי ונידרוי	על אימי בת רבקא על לילי ועל מר בני אימי ועל כל דלט יתהון	תיתהפך על אימי בת ריבקא	על כפנאי בר דאדאי	ועל אימידבי בת שילתא	ועל] שיש(ין ב)ת אסמנדוך ועל אימידבי בת שי[ל]תא
a1			ותיזח ותיפוק מיניה מן אבא בר ברכיתא	ותיזח ותיפוק מיבניה מן ביתיה דכטיא בר מחלפתא		
a	This is a counter-charm to make void sorceries and curses and oaths and aversions	This is a counter-charm to overturn sorceries and oaths and curses and knocks/blasts and magic rites and aversions,	This is a counter-charm for overturning an evil yaror (17)	In your name I make (this). This is a counter-charm for overturning an evil yaror	For thy name-sake I make this (counter-charm) to overturn and to send and to return a yaror and *I shall remove* (it)	(18)...This is a counter-charm to overturn and to send and to return the evil yaror

Table (*cont.*)

Berlin bowls	VA 2423	VA 2416		VA 2434	VA 2484	
b		from Aba son of Barkhita onto Imi daughter of Rivka,	that is upon Abba son of Barkhita.	from the house of Katia son of Makhlafta and from Imma daughter of Makhlafta	from Shilta daughter of Imi against Shishin daughter of Ismandukh	from Shilta daughter of Imi
c	of Imi daughter of Rebecca and Mar and Lili the sons of Imi who have cursed him and vowed [concerning] him.	onto Lili and onto Mar the children of Imi and onto all who cursed them.	May it be overturned upon Imi daughter of Rivka	upon Kafnai son of Dadai	and against Imidevi daughter of Shilta.	against Shishin daughter of Asmandukh and against Imidevi daughter of Shilta.
a1			and may it turn away and go out from him, from Abba son of Barkhita.	and may it depart and go out from the house of Katia son of Maklafta		

Even though it is clear at first glance that these formulae all share the same vorlage, it is nevertheless interesting to note the slight differences between the texts. This variance in detail of duplicate formulae is typical of the magic bowl text as a genre and suggests it to have been a feature of its literary tradition. Note also that although this is a type of curse formula, in that it is definitely intended to the detriment of another human, it also presents itself as being ultimately a protective measure. The supernatural entity that is attacking the client is described as having been conjured up by a human foe to whom it is promptly returned.

The three BM bowls mentioned above start with variants of the same formulae that are found in the five VA bowls.

BM bowls	039A (BM 91771)	040A (BM 91767)	041A (BM 91763)
a	הדין קיבלא למיפך חרשי ונידרי ולוטתא ו...	הדין קיבלא לשדורי רוחא	הדין קיבלא למיפך חרשי
b	מן מחלפא בר בתשיתין		מן מחלפא בר בתשיתין...
c	על מרזותרא בר אוכמאי	על מרזוטרא בר אוכמאי	מרזותרא בר אוכמאי...
a	This is a counter-charm to overturn sorceries and oaths and curses…	This is a counter-charm to send an evil spirit	This is a counter-charm to overturn sorceries
b	from Makhlapha son of Batshitin		from Makhlapha son of Batshitin…
c	upon Marzutra son of Ukmai	upon Marzutra son of Ukmai	Marzutra son of Ukmai

These three texts are written against a certain Mar-Zutra son of Ukmai, the antagonist, who is mentioned in all of them. The client, however, is mentioned in only two of the texts: 039A and 041A, and omitted from 040A.

The meaning of qyblʾ

In Mandaic Drower and Macuch also assign to *qyblʾ* the more specific meaning of "counter-charm."[6] This is poignant in our context as this is the translation Wohlstein provided for *qyblʾ* in his edition of VA 2416, as did Segal in his edition of the BM bowls. Indeed, our group of texts are all charms that state their purpose to be the countering of the aggressive magic conjured up against the clients they were written for and meant to protect. One must, however, note that in the Babylonian Talmud this word is attested in the plainer sense of just "charm";[7] not specifically warranting the expanded sense of "counter-charm." It is, nevertheless, clear from our bowls that this expanded

[6] Drower and Macuch (1963), p. 405b.
[7] Sokoloff (2002), p. 1009b, bBer 62a.

sense be considered, at the very least, as included in the meaning of the term. For even the simple sense of "charm"—to ward off harmful magical forces—is not exclusive of the fact that they might well have had their origin with a human agent. Jastrow provides the gloss "[a means against,] charm (to ward of danger)"[8] that fits the case of the particular bowl texts mentioned above rather well. In the nominal form קבילתא it has the meaning of "complaint,"[9] which in Syriac has the more forceful sense of "accusation" or "rebuke."[10] These meanings fit well the legalistic sense and force that often underpins the tone of the magic bowl incantation texts. Indeed, the Akkadian cognates based on the root *qbl*: qabalu(m) II meaning "battle"[11] and qubbulu "to fight,"[12] also incorporate the aggressive tone that we note in the Aramaic *qybl'* of our bowls.

Other meanings derived from the root קבל that are worth noting are "darkness,"[13] "to become dark"[14] and the preposition לקבל—"junction," "meeting"[15] and "opposite."[16] These meanings bring to mind two things that, as we shall presently see, prove to be significant. The first is the fact that all but one of the bowls (040A) with the *qybl'* formula under discussion have bitumen markings[17] on them; the second is a comment made by Hilprecht regarding the excavation of magic bowls that: "Sometimes two bowls facing one another had been cemented together with bitumen."[18] If our *qybl'* bowls with bitumen markings constitute such pairs—i.e. pairs of bowls that were custom made to be set rim to rim opposite each other to be fixed with bitumen and interred as a unit—then we may consider *qybl'*'s other meanings of "darkness," "junction," "meeting" and "opposite," that are such apt descriptions of such a physical configuration, to bear relevance

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[8] Jastrow (1903), p. 1309b.

[9] Sokoloff (2002), p. 978b.

[10] Brockelmann (1966), p. 641b—ܩܒܠܬܐ accusatio—rebuke, "charge, accusation," and Sokoloff (2009), p. 1310, "accusation, complaint."

(Payne Smith [1903], p. 487a). See also the participial form ܩܳܒܶܠ "to accuse," "impeach," "complain" (Payne Smith, 1903], p. 487b).

[11] Black et al. (2000), p. 281b.

[12] Black et al. (2000), p. 290a.

[13] Jastrow (1903), p. 1309b; Sokoloff (2002), p. 472.

[14] Sokoloff (2002), p. 980b.

[15] Jastrow (1903), p. 1309b.

[16] Sokoloff (2002), p. 978.

[17] For the use of and trade in bitumen in Antiquity, see Connan (1999).

[18] Hilprecht et al. (1903), p. 447. See also Hamilton's comments on bowls found joined in this way (1971, p. 10).

that goes beyond its meanings of "charm" and "counter-charm" that are clearly implied in the texts. Thus the word *qybl'* would be used in this context as a pun referring to both the purpose of the amulet—a "charm," "counter-charm"—and to its physical form—two bowls that are "opposite" each other, their rims "meeting" at a "junction" and the space between them in "darkness." Indeed, the bitumen markings on the verso of VA 2484, as can be seen in figure 1, reveal that this bowl was once lashed to another that is now missing. The two bowls were bound together with some sort of cord wrapped twice around the two bowls, forming a cross shape when viewed from above. This cord was fastened to the bowls in six places with globules of bitumen—upon the four points where the cord traversed the joined rims of the two bowls and at the apex of each of them where the cord crossed itself. Thus the pair of bowls that were a *qybl'* in purpose—"charm" or "counter-charm"—were also a *qybl'* in the physical sense—being "opposite" each other, their rims "meeting" and a "darkness" formed between them.

An examination of the two pairs of *qybl'* bowls from Berlin yielded the following: VA 2434 and VA 2424 is one of the pairs of *qybl'* texts that were each written by the same scribe for the same client against the same antagonist. As can be seen in figure 2 below, when this pair of bowls were placed together, rim to rim, the bitumen markings matched up, verifying that these two bowls were lashed and bitumened to each other in the same way as we saw above was true regarding VA 2484. They both have the *qybl'* formula and together they constitute a *qybl'* form.

Figure 1. VA 2484—two angles of the verso with a reconstruction of how the bowl might have been lashed together with a partner.

Figure 2. VA 2434 and VA 2424 separately, together, and reconstructed as they would have looked with cord and bitumen.

Figure 3. VA 2423 and VA 2416, separately and together.

The other pair of *qybl*ʾ texts from Berlin, VA 2423 and VA 2416, like VA 2434 and VA 2424, are dedicated to the same client, directed at the same antagonist and written by the same scribe. Placed opposite each other, they too reveal the bitumen markings on their rims that match up. The only difference with this pair, in regard to the previous two examples, was that the markings on the extremities of the bowls suggest that the cord was wrapped around them more than twice. This third pair could then also be seen as containing both the *qybl*ʾ formula and *qybl*ʾ form.

Figure 4. 039A, 040A and 041A.[19]

The BM bowls 039A and 041A also share the names of client and antagonist and seem to have been written by the same scribe. They also have bitumen markings on the rims but not on the apex of the verso as with the Berlin bowls. These bowls did not seem to match up very neatly when placed rim to rim. If not a pair in themselves, they most surely had each been parts of separate pairs. 040A, on the other hand, has no signs of bitumen, suggesting that either it was not bitumened to another bowl or that if bitumen had been there it had fallen off, the markings having faded or been removed in some way.

So far it can be observed that within this group of bowls there is a correlation between the type of formula, the *qybl'* formula, and the physical arrangement of these bowls in that they were made in pairs that were set together, rim to rim, lashed with a cord in some cases and bitumened together prior to interment. It can now be stated that the Berlin and BM bowls discussed above constitute the material remains of at least five pairs of joined bowls: 1) VA 2484 and ?, 2) VA 2434 and VA 2424, 3) VA 2423 and VA 2416, 4) 039A and ?, and 5) 041A and ?.

Other aspects of the formulae that appear in this group of qybl' *texts (duplicate section "a")*

We have seen that both the Berlin and BM *qybl'* bowls share an opening formula—a formula that, despite variations, is present in all of the texts where the opening formula is visible. Beyond the opening formula we find that the Berlin bowls share other portions of formula. The text below is from VA 2416 and is found only with minor

[19] The images of the British Museum bowls are from Segal (2000).

variations in VA 2423 and VA 2484;[20] thus it appears in each of the pairs of matching bowls.

VA 2416 (near perfect duplicate to sections in VA 2434 and VA 2484)—Duplicate section 'a'

a	אידמרית ברזי ארעה ואסתכלית {בדיכרי} בדירכי מרכבתא תוב חזיתי <u>ירור</u> בישתא ותקיפתא וזידניתא ומחבלתא דימחבלתא ומבכלתא <u>ירור</u> דאישתדרו עלוהי (18)	I was astonished by mysteries of the earth and I beheld the paths of the Merkabah. Again, **I have seen the evil and powerful and malicious <u>yaror</u> and the destroyer who destroys and the tormentor <u>yaror</u> who were dispatched (18) against him.**
b	<u>ירור</u> בישתא ותקיפתא וזידניתא <u>ירור</u> פוקי ופרחי מן אבא בר ברכיתא ואיזילי על כל מאן דלט יתהון ועל ביתיה ועל דירתיה ועל איסקופתיה	**Evil and powerful and malicious <u>yaror</u>, <u>yaror</u> go out and flee from Abba son of Barkhita and go upon any that have cursed them and upon his house and upon his dwelling and upon his threshold.**
c	ובשום ˹שמי˺רימיאל וחנתיתיאל וחניניאל וחחזיאל אילין אינון (19) עשרא מלאכין קדישין ומפרשין ומהימנין אינון	By the name, Shamirimiel and Hantitiel and Haniniel and Hahaziel. Those are (19) ten holy and distinguished and faithful angels,
	ויזיעון ויבטלון ויפקון <u>ירור</u> בישתא מיפגריה דאבא בר ברכיתא ומן מאתן ואר˹ב˺עין ותמניא הדמין קומתיה	**and may they shake and annul and remove the evil <u>yaror</u> from the body of Abba son of Barkhita and from the two hundred and forty eight limbs of his body.**
	ובשום גבר[יאל ומי] ˹כ˺אל ורפאל ובישמיה דעניאל דקאים אחורי גלגלי שמשא	And by the name of Gabriel and Michael and Raphael and by the name of Aniel who stands behind the spheres of the sun

[20] For the purpose of this article I have found it sufficient to provide only one version. A full synopsis of variants and discussion will appear in my forthcoming volume *"May These Curses Flee"; Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity*.

Table (*cont.*)

VA 2416 (near perfect duplicate to sections in VA 2434 and VA 2484)—Duplicate section 'a'		
d	(20) ובשום זיקיאל ופרקיאל וברקיאל וערכיאל דימשמשין קדם כורסי יקרא דאלהא דשליט(נ) ון בארעה ורשותהון בר[קיעה]ה אינון יזיעון ויבטלון ויפקון <u>וירור</u> יו[ליתא ו] מ[בכלתא בישתא מיניה דאבא בר ברכיתא ומן מאתן וארבעין ותמניא הדמין קומתיה	(20) and by the name of Zikiel and Parkiel and Barkiel and Arkiel who minister before the throne of the glory of God, whose government is in earth, and authority in heaven. **May they shake and neutralize and remove the evil <u>yaror</u>** and Lilith and evil tormentor **from Abba son of Barkhita and from the two hundred and forty eight limbs of his body**.
	בשום אהיה אשר אהיה אין ואמן ובשום חץ מץ תץ ו(ק) נתיאל וחי חי מץ אמן אמן סלה הללו(י)[ה ות](ר)[21]	By the name of I-Am-That-I-Am 'YN and Amen. And by the name ḤṢ MṢ TṢ and Qantiel and ḤY ḤY MṢ. Amen amen selah Hallelujah immediately.

A relationship between the Hekhalot and Merkabah literature and the bowl texts has already been noted.[22] Indeed, this section, of which I have made mention elsewhere,[23] suggests a direct connection between the Merkabah mystic and the magic bowl practitioner. Whether this formula is a particular feature of the *qybl'* text or not is a question that will have to await verification or dispute according to whether it crops up in other texts that are either related to the *qybl'* or not.

The Yaror ירור

We saw in the opening formula of these charms that they were for overturning a yaror so as to send it back to the person or persons who conjured it up and dispatched it. The yaror appears from the texts to

[21] I would like to thank James Ford for elucidating to me the correct reading here of תר which occurs in the bowls as an abbreviation of אלתר.

[22] See Shaked (1995) and Levene (2003), pp. 14–17. For the relationship between the mystic and the sorcerer see also Davila (2001).

[23] Levene (2003) pp. 15–16. All these texts will be discussed in fuller detail in my forthcoming book *"May These Curses Flee"; Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity.*

be a malicious supernatural entity whose speciality is to be conjured and supplied with a human target—a supernatural homing device.

The precise meaning of the word is not clear. In its various manifestations in the rabbinic literature it occurs either as ירור or ירוד, the final letter interchanging between ר and ד. This seems to have already caused problems of interpretation in the Middle Ages.[24] There is, however, the Syriac term ܝܪܘܪܐ that means "jackal." Understandings of this term have been arrived at also on the basis of the versions where *yrwr* appears as a translation of the Hebrew תנים "jackals"[25] and בנות יענה "ostriches."[26] Besides our texts there is the one case where this term is associated with the demonic world—in the Syro-Hexapla to Is 34:14 the translation of לילית is ܝܪܘܪ.[27] Montgomery adds a note to the meaning of ירור, that "the root is onomatopoeic, connoting a howling creature."[28] He then suggests that choosing this word to represent the demon is based on the fact that the "Babylonians represented their demons in uncouth shapes of birds and animals." Hunter also discussed this word in reference to Micha 1:8 and a section from the *Acta* of St. Simeon Stylites, where the cry of the jackal is likened to the cry of mourners.[29] It is quite astonishing considering the nature of this term in our texts, and it might only be a coincidence, that in Akkadian we find the term **arāru** "curse,"[30] and its Hebrew cognate אָרַר that has the same meaning.[31]

One of the Berlin texts, VA 2484, tells a chilling tale of what the yaror can do:

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[24] Nathan ben Jehiel et al., vol. 4, pp. 159–60. See also Lieberman (1992), vol. 2, p. 652.

[25] Job 30:29 תנים—Targum ירורין—Peshitta ܝܪܘܪ ; Micha 1:8 תנים—Targum Jonathan ירורין—Peshitta ܝܪܘܪ.

[26] Micha 1:8 בנות יענה—Peshitta ܝܪܘܪ ܒܢܬ.

[27] Payne Smith et al. (1879), vol. 1, p. 1630.

[28] Montgomery (1913), p. 81.

[29] Hunter (2000), pp. 144–45.

[30] Oppenheim, L., et al., pp. 234 ff. Thanks to Tzvi Abusch who alerted me to this possible connection.

[31] The dictionary favors the spelling יָרוֹרָא (Sokoloff 2002, p. 541b)—yarora, whereas the Syriac is ܝܪܘܪܐ (Payne Smith 1903, p. 197)—Yoruro. It has been suggested to me by Yuval Harari that a spelling on the basis of the Hebrew form יָרוּר—Yarur—might be considered, on the basis of the passive form אָרוּר that is common in Biblical Hebrew.

The yaror is adjured to return to its dispatcher and wreak vengeance (VA 2484)

(1) For thy name-sake I (2) make this (counter-charm) to overturn and to send (3) and to return a yaror and *I shall remove* (it) from Shilta daughter (4) of Imi against Shishin daughter of Ismandukh and against Imidevi daughter (5) of Shilta.	(1) לישמך אני (2) עושה הדין למיפך ולשדורי (3) ולאכמורי ירור ו(א)רחק מן שילתא בת (4) אימי על דשישין בת אי<ס>מנדוך ועל אימידבי בת (5) שילתא
I have adjured and put you under oath that you may go against Shishin daughter of Ismandukh (6) and demand of her all that she has said before you and send against her dogs (7) and bitches and your children and your maid servants and your jailors and your messengers. They shall go against her in great anger. (8) If she gets up and flees to the field and is in exhaustion, strike upon her head and eat from her flesh and drink from (9) her blood until she will serve you.	אומיתי ואשבעית עליכי דתיזלין עליהי דשישין בת אסמנדוך (6) ותיבעין מינה כל דאמרת קדמך ותישדרן עלה כלבי (7) וג וגריתא ודרדקיך ופריסתיך וזנ<ד>יקנך ושליחך יזילון עליהי ברוגזא רבא (8) אם קימא ודימיזלא בארעה ובשופלא תמחין על ראשה ותיכלין מן בישרה ותישתין מן (9) דמה עד תיקום קדמך
I adjure you and put you under oath by your father and your mother, that you shall be upon Shishin daughter of Asmandukh (10) and may your anger punish her *(in accordance with)* all that I said before you, and she will depart. And you will be released from Shilta daughter of Imi. And you will not delay a time (more than) seven days.	אומיתי יתך ואשבעיתי יתיך באבוך ובאימיך תיהוי עליהי דשישין בת אסמנדוך ותי(פ) רע (10) קיניך מינה כל דאמרית ק{מ}דמך ותיזח ותיפקין מינה מן שילתא בת אימי ולא תיעכ(ב)ין זמן שבעא יומין

This narrative is not entirely clear in all its details, though it is sufficiently so to illustrate that the yaror was considered a powerful and deadly entity that could be conjured with fatal consequence.

Summary

If we look at the eight bowls discussed so far we can observe the following aspects in common: Apart from 040A of which we cannot prove there was a pair, all the other bowls were made in pairs that were positioned rim to rim and sealed with bitumen; all the bowls include the *qybl'* formula within them; all state the name of the antagonist/s; all the Berlin pairs include in one or other of each of the pairs the duplicate section "a."

Bowl no	One of a matching bitumened pair	Survivor of a bitumened pair	No bitumen	*qybl'* formula	Antagonist named	Yaror formula	Duplicate section (a)	Use of the verb הפך 'to overturn'	(Which bowls)
VA 2423	•			•	•	•		•	Berlin *qybl'* bowls
VA 2416	•			•	•	•	•	•	
VA 2434	•			•	•	•	•	•	
VA 2424	•			•	•	•	•[32]	•	
VA 2484		•		•	•	•	•	•	
039A		•		•	•	•		•	London *qybl'* bowls
041A		•		•	•	•		•	
040A			•	•	•				

Counter-charm Chart 1

[32] The beginning of VA 2424 has faded. However, this text looks as if it is a near exact duplicate of VA 2434; we assume the likelihood that it did include this part of the formula in the beginning where it has faded.

Other bowls with bitumen markings

In order to ascertain whether the physical praxis implied by the bitumen markings found on the five pairs of bowls discussed above was inextricably related in some way to the particular kind of counter-charm formulae that are found in these bowls, it is important to identify any other bowls with such markings and examine their literary contents.

Following are some examples of bowls that display similar markings of bitumen that suggest the praxis of inscribing bowls in pairs with the purpose of sealing them with bitumen to form a single magical object. Examining their textual content, we shall try and ascertain whether they are related in any way to the counter-charm *qybl'* texts found in the Berlin and BM bowls.[33]

020A[34]

The first bowl that we shall look at is 020A. The bitumen markings found on this bowl are identical to those found on five of the eight bowls examined above. These marks clearly attest that this was one of a pair that were originally lashed together and sealed with bitumen.

Figure 5. 020A (▲—the triangles point to the gaps in the bitumen where once there was a cord.)

[33] The choice of bowls that follow are those that were available to me at the time of writing the article. There is, therefore, a randomness in this selection. At a late stage of writing a small number of new examples became available; their contribution to the points made in this chapter will be published in due course.

[34] Segal (2000), pp. 61–62.

Looking at the content of the incantation we find two aspects in common with our other texts: (1) the existence of a formula stating its purpose to be the removal of a yaror; and (2) the presence of part of the duplicate section "a" that we found in VA 2416, VA 2434 and VA 2484.

A distinct difference between this bowl and the ones that we have discussed above is the fact that the antagonist is not mentioned or alluded to directly in this bowl.

020A	VA 2416, VA 2434 and VA 2484
ויגערון ויזיעון ויפרחון (3) ויפקון ויפרזון ירור בישתא מן ביתיה ומן דירתיה ומן מדורתיה דאחתו בר (4) בתשיתי ומן איספרם בת אחתונתו	
בשום שמורימיאל וחנתיתיאל וחניניאל החזיאל ובכליאל (5) ושלשזיאל אינון עשרא מלאכין קדישין ומפרשין ומהימנין אינון ויזיעון ויבטלון ויפקון יבי ירור (6) בישתא מן ביתיה ומן דיריה מן בתדרתיה ומן איסקופתיה דאחתו בר בתשיתי ומן איספרם בת אחתונתו ומן ביתיה (7) ומן דירתיה אמן אמן סלה הללויה	ובשום ˹שמי˺רימיאל וחנתיתיאל וחניניאל וחחזיאל אילין אינון (19) עשרא מלאכין קדישין ומפרשין ומהימנין אינון ויזיעון ויבטלון ויפקון ירור בישתא מיפגריה ד...
...(2).....And may they rebuke and move and (3) carry off and exclude and keep away the evil yaror from the house and dwelling of Aḥatu son of (4) Batshiti and from Esparam daughter of Aḥatonatu.	
By the name of by Shamurimiel and Hantitiel and Haniniel, Haḥaziel and Bakliel and (5) Shalashziel. Those are ten holy and distinguished and faithful angels, may they shake and cancel and send away **the evil** (6) **yaror** from the house and...of Aḥatu son of Batshiti and from Esparam daughter of Aḥatonatu and from his house (7) and from his residence. Amen amen sela halleluiah	By the name, Shamirimiel and Hantitiel and Haniniel and Hahaziel. Those are (19) ten holy and distinguished and faithful angels, and may they shake and annul and remove **the evil yaror** from the body of...

Figure 6. VA 2575 and VA 2496

VA 2575 and VA 2496[35]

These two bowls are almost exact duplicates. They were written by the same scribe and for the same client. Bitumen markings appear only around the rims, suggesting that these bowls were glued to each other. The lack of the type of bitumen marks found upon the apexes of the outer surfaces of the other bowls suggest that this pair were not lashed together with a cord as some of the others appear to have been.

A glance at the text reveals two additional elements—beyond the fact that these bowls constitute a physical *qybl'* form—in common with the other bowls that we have been looking at: (1) these bowls are against yarors, though their activators (the antagonists) are not named; (2) the use of the verb הפך "to overturn." The formula employed in these two bowls does not refer to itself as a *qybl'*.

> …(2)…May the sorceries and magical acts and **evil yarors** (3) and bindings…(4) and curses and mishaps and evil rites and neck charms and the weeping of all (5) humanity and types of destruction and types of punishment (מיני משחית וכל מיני פרענות) that are in the world be overturned (יתהפכון). (6) They will leave, depart and go out from her, Dandukh daughter of Kurzai and from all the members (7) of her household, may they go and be cast on those that worked them and upon those that sent them and upon their masters. Likewise, they will be overturned (יתהפכון),

[35] I have provided here only what is necessary for the argument in this article. An edition with commentary will be published in my forthcoming volume *"May These Curses Flee"; Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity.*

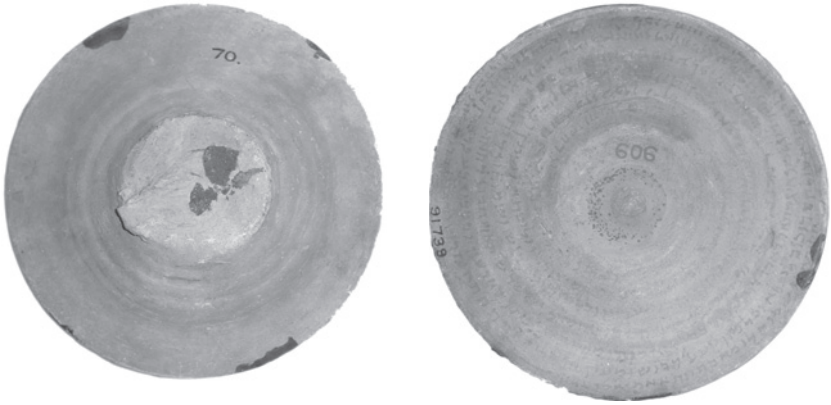

Figure 7. 025A

returned (8) and overturned from her, Dandukh daughter of Kurzai and is called Qaqai; in the name of Hadriel and…iel the angel…

025A (duplicate section "b")[36]

The bitumen markings on this bowl indicate that this is one of a pair of bowls that were lashed together and sealed with bitumen. Although much of the text of this bowl is faded and unreadable, there is what appears to be a near perfect duplicate to it in the British Museum—024A—which is completely legible.[37] As the formulae in what remains of 025A are so close to 024A, we might assume the likely probability that like the latter, 025A too is a counter-charm text in which the antagonist was named.[38] Both 024A and 025A contain a parallel section of a formula that occurs in a *qybl'* text that is one of our Berlin pairs—VA 2423. The most distinct parts of this parallel formula are unique to these three texts that are all counter-charms for averting the magical acts of a human antagonist. The longest version of this section of parallel formula occurs in VA 2423. This formula states itself to be for dissolving (שרי) and making flee (אזל) "a vow, a curse, a knock and a spell" from the client to the human origin, to which these are attributed.

[36] Segal (2000), p. 66.
[37] Segal refers to 025A as "an inferior duplicate of 024A" (2000, p. 66).
[38] We might add that despite the fact that these two bowls share the same formula, 024A does not display the bitumen markings on the back that would suggest that it was made as one of a pair.

Synopsis of parallel sections of VA 2423, 024A and 025A—Duplicate section "b":[39]

VA 2423	024A	025A
ומיפום (4) תלתא סבין דאהוי יתבין באתונא ותרין ודהוי יתבין על ימא דמילחא (5) ושרן ליה לאבא בר ברכיתא	מיפום תלתא (3) סבין דיתבין על פומה דאתונא ותרין דיתבין על ימה דמילחא ושרין[40] (4) לרב מארי בר ממה ולאינה בת מאמה וילירתיהון בתריהון	
לוטתא ונידרא ושיקופתא וקריתא וענקתא (6) ושיקופתא ומשקופתא ואשלמתא	נידרא ולוטתא (5) ושיקופתא ואשלמתא	..... ונדרא (3) ולוטתא ושיקופתא[42] ואשלמתא ...
... דעבדי ליה (11) ודעבדין לאבא בר ברכיתא יתהפכון ויזילין על עבדינהון ועל משדרנהון	דבתשיתין בת מדודאי	...מעבדי וכלם. (4) בישי
מישמהון דיתלתא סבין דהון יתבין באתונא ותרין דהון יתבין על <ימא דמילחא> {(ב)אתונא}	ושמהתהון דיתלתא סבין דיתבין על פומה (6) דאתונה ותרין דיתבין על ימה דמילחא	ושמיהון דיתלתא סבין {ואתו[43]} דיתבין על פומה את(ונ)[א][44] ....
(12) דביבו בר שלתא וצרי(חה) בר מורתא ופקומן בר משרשיתא	רבריבי בר מרתי וצרויה בר שילתי וברבעמה בר משרשתנא (7)	(5) (ש)רשיתא

[39] A complete synopsis and detailed discussion of these parallel sections will appear in my forthcoming volume *"May These Curses Flee"; Jewish Aramaic Curse Texts from Mesopotamia in Late Antiquity*. As in other parts of this chapter, I have only provided what is necessary for making the argument presented here. It is for this reason that I only give a translation of the section from VA 2423 which is the longest of the three. Both transcriptions of the BM bowls that are provided here include the emendations of Christa Müller-Kessler (2001/2002). Where I have made additional corrections, I have put Segal's reading in the footnotes.

[40] ושרק read ושרין. One can see in the line above that the ין in סבין, and elsewhere in the bowl, is written in exactly the same way.

[41] נחלת read נחלה on the basis of the reading נחלא in our text and the fact that in 024A the ת is distinguished from ה and ח quite clearly, as its bottom left leg is always extended further out to the left.

[42] Segal reads ושדין ופתא.

[43] This seems to yield either דאהוי or more likely דיהוי.

[44] Segal reads ----- דאתא.

VA 2423	024A	025A
ותרין דהון יתבין על ימא דמילחא אבי(ד)ג בר גדרי וספקונא בר נחלא	וקניה בר נחלה[41]	ויתרין דהוה יתבין על ימא דמיל<ח>א
אילין דאיתממנין (13) עליכין		אינון דאיתמנן עליכון
ושדרנא לי ⌜כון די⌝סקא הדין בשום רבי יהושוע בר פרחאיה	קבילו דיסקה הדין דשדר לכון רבי יהושע בר פרחיה	ושגרין לכון איגרתא הדא[45] דרבי [יהושע] בר [פרחיה]
מיתי מיתי דשכבין בארעה ומידמכין בעפרא קיבילו איגרתא דשדרנא ליכון חאוי וסבי (14) וקביל כל מידעם ⌜ד⌝ [2–3 words] ⌜איגרתא⌝		(מיתי מיתי) דשכבין (6) בארעה[46] ודמכין בעפרא קבילו[47] איגרתא דשדר(ו) לכון ...
ושקולו וקבילו לוטתיה ונידריה וקריתיה וענקתיה ושיקופתיה ומשקופיתיה ואשלמתיה ואחרמתיה ואסכמתיה ושדרתיה (15) וחרשי וקיטרי [וקיברי וקובלי ומיא עזי]בי דעבדו ליה ודעבדין {ליה} ליה ודמעבדין	שקולו וקבילו נידרא ולוטתא (8) ושיקופתא ואשלמתא	שקולו וקבילו נידרא ⌜ו⌝ מומתה די כל ברעלא
לאבא בר ברכיתא	דבתשיתין בת דודאי בישמיה דקננמיאל מלאכה הוא יפרחה מן רב מארי בר ממה (9) נידרא דילוטתא וכל מידיעם דביש ומעיק	וכל מידיעם דביש ומעיק .. (7) תחתא ..... וחרשתא...ת שדר(ין) .....שמי (ק)לימא בת יותא

Translation of VA 2423:

And from the mouths (4) of three old men who are sitting in a furnace and two who are sitting on the Sea of Salt (5) and are undoing for Abba son of Barkhita curses, and oaths, and afflictions, and mishaps, and *neck charms*, (6) and afflictions, and [other types of] afflictions, and evil rites,…that have acted against him (11) and that are acting

[45] Segal has for all this sequence only חדא --- .
[46] Segal reads דארע (6) ----- ----- .
[47] Segal reads קרו לי.

against Abba son of Barkhita. May they overturn and go against those who performed them and against those who sent them.

In the names of the three old men who are sitting in the furnace and the two who are sitting upon [the Sea of Salt] {in the furnace} (12)—Debybw son of Shilta and Tsarikha son of Marta and Paquman son of Mesharshita, and the two who are sitting upon the Sea of Salt—Abidag son of Gadri and Sapquna son of Nakhla—those who are appointed (13) over you.

And we have sent you this document in the name of Rabbi Joshua bar Perahia. Dead people dead people who are lying in the ground and sleeping in the earth accept the document that I have sent you, look and take (14) and receive every.…document and take and accept his curse, and his oath, and his mishap, and his *neck charm*, his afflictions, and his [other types of] afflictions, and his evil rites, and his anathemas, and his hypocrisies, and his dispatches, (15) and sorceries, and knots,.…that are being enacted and being prepared for Abba son of Barkhita.

04A[48]

This final bowl is another of the BM bowls that displays the markings that indicate it to have been one of a pair that were lashed together with some kind of cord and secured with bitumen.

Figure 8. 04A

[48] Segal, 2000, pp. 45–46.

The text in this bowl does not, however, on first inspection seem to include elements that obviously connect it to the *qybl'* counter-charm texts discussed above. A closer look at three close parallels to this short text[49] reveals a definite relationship with our other texts. These parallels to 04A appear as sections of longer formulae all of which start with one or another permutation containing the verb אפך/הפך—"to overturn"—within them. They all belong to a family of permutations of a formula that is for overturning sorceries, curses and other harmful entities.[50] These texts present themselves as being for the overturning of sorceries and the like. One of these, 05A, even names an antagonist whom the client must have believed had cursed him—using this formula to overturn it.

Below is a synopsis of portions of the start and end of four versions of this formula. Note that like with other duplicates, there is considerable variance between the different texts, such as for instance the fact that in 04A:1 we have בולבול ("nightingale"), in 05A:7 כריבא ("crow"), whereas in the 11th line of the Yamauchi bowl we have דיבה ("wolf").

04A	05A[51]	IM 9726[52]	Yamauchi[53]
	(1) הפיכא הפיכא	(1) הפיך היפיכה	(1) מזמן הדין
	הפיכה שמיה הפיכה	{ארע} ארעה היפכה	מילתא (2) לאפוכי
	ארעה הפיכי כוכבי	שיקא היפיכה אופיכה	חרשי ומעבדי
	הפיכי מזלי הפיכא	אופיכה לוטתא דכל	מן (3) מירדבוך
	לוטתא הפיכה שעותא	בני (2) אינשה אופיכה	{ו}<ד>מתקרי מירדא
	הפיכה לוטתא חדא	לוטתא דכל בני	בר כוסיג הפיכא
	דאימה ודיברתא	אינשה אופיכה לוטתא	הפ<י>כא (4) הפיכא
	ודיחמתא (2) ודכלתא	דאימא וברתא דכלתא	ארעא הפיכא שמיא
	רחיקתא ודקריבתא	וחמותא דרחקתא	הפיכא כל מילי הפיכא
	דקימא ברוהקא	וקרבתא דקיימא	לוטתא (5) דאימא
	ודקימא בקורבא על		וברתא לכלתא וחמתא

[49] See Geller (1986), p. 105 and Hunter (2000).
[50] For a discussion of some of the versions in which this formula occurs, see also Naveh and Shaked (1985), p. 136.
[51] With Müller-Kessler's corrections (2001/2, p. 120).
[52] Hunter (2000).
[53] Yamauchi 1965, pp. 514–15.

04A	05A	IM 9726	Yamauchi
	בירכה רכבה ועל אנפיה נפל בפומיה ליט ...	בדברה (3) וקיימא במתא קיימא בדברה מלתה רכבה על אפה שקפה בפומה לוטיא ...	ודרחקתא ודקריבתא דקימא בדברא (6) ודקימא במתא דקימא ביבשא על אפה נפלא ארעא תקפא וזידנא דברא ופומא (7) לוטא ...(11)...
(1) קל בולבול בלילי קל תרנגלא בנגהי קלה דידי (2) מהוא דיקדח תני ויאלל תוב קדחתני ויאלל תוב קדח תני (3) ותני קח ותבי ויאלל	קל כריבא בלילי (8) קל תרנגלא בנגהי קלה דימשרשיא בר פורתי דקדח וצנף וממללא לוטתיה	וקל ברבל בלילי קל תרנגל בנגהי קלה דאימא ובת אוימאו קדח צנף ילילי (7) ותוב קדח צנף יליל ותוב קדח צנף יליל...	קל דיב<ה> ביל[יל] קל תרנגיל ב<נ>גה קלהין דנשי זידניתא ריקדתא וצנפא ותנחא ויילא

Translation of 05A:

(1) Overturned, overturned. Overturned be the heavens, overturned the earth, overturned the stars, overturned the planets, overturned the curse, overturned the hour, overturned the curse of the mother and of the daughter and of the mother-in-law (2) and of the daughter-in-law, far and near, standing afar and standing near. Upon his knees kneeling and upon his face falling, with his mouth cursing—

...

the voice of the crow by night, (8) the voice of the cock by daybreak; the voice of Mešaršiya son of Porti who wails and screams and utters his curse…

The text that we find in 04A seems truncated, as if incomplete. One might suggest the possibility that the bowl to which it was attached did have the "overturned" (הפיך הפיכה) formula that occurs in the other bowls before the formula that we have in 04A. In any event, we have seen that most of the *qybl'* bowls that we have looked at above employ the verb הפך "to overturn" within them. Indeed, the formula of which 04A is clearly a part has the verb הפך "to overturn" as its main theme—like the *qybl'* texts these are for "overturning" malicious magic.

Bowl no	One of a matching bitumened pair	Survivor of a bitumened pair	No bitumen	*qybl'* formula	Antagonist named	Yaror formula	Duplicate section (a)	Use of the verb הפך 'to overturn'	הפיכה overturning formula	Duplicate section (b)	(Which bowls)
VA 2423	•			•	•	•		•		•	Berlin *qybl'* bowls
VA 2416	•			•	•	•	•	•			
VA 2434	•			•	•	•	•	•			
VA 2424	•			•	•	•		•			
VA 2484		•		•	•	•	•	•			
VA 2575	•					•		•			
VA 2496	•					•		•			
039A		•		•	•	•		•			London *qybl'* bowls
041A		•		•	•	•		•			
040A			•	•	•						
020A		•				•	•				
025A		•			•					•	
04A		•							•		

Counter-charm Chart 2

Conclusion

The evidence is far from conclusive, but if we were to infer anything from what we looked at we would consider that joined pairs of bowls that were sealed with bitumen are related in some way to the *qybl'* texts. This could not be said of the *hpykh* texts—04A and its parallels—most of which do not show evidence of joining and sealing with bitumen. However, the fact that 04A, a *hpykh* text—also a counter-charm by definition—was lashed and sealed with bitumen suggests the possibility that this, the physical aspect of praxis, was adopted from its initial use in the *qybl'* type.

I would argue the possibility that the *qybl'* form has a special relation to the *qybl'* formula. It might be that the form originated from its use with the formula. However, the *qybl'* form and formula might have evolved independently, yet became more closely associated in praxis as the punning connection between the form and formula implied in the word *qybl'* was realized and exploited. If, however, it could be proved that the former is the case—i.e., the *qybl'* form was conceived as part of the function of the *qybl'* formula—then the trail of transmission of joining bowls and sealing with bitumen could be traced from its use with the *qybl'* formula to use in conjunction with the *hpykh* formula and beyond.

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ASTRAL MAGIC IN ANCIENT JEWISH DISCOURSE: ADOPTION, TRANSFORMATION, DIFFERENTIATION

Kocku von Stuckrad

Astrology and Magic in Ancient Culture

When scholars analyze the relationship between Judaism and Christianity on the one hand, and the practice of astrology and magic on the other, they are confronted with many biases and preconceived attitudes about the nature of these practices and their incompatibility with monotheistic theology. Therefore, an analysis of the complex history of astral magic in ancient Jewish discourses has to begin with a brief overview of previous research.

Many nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians, who made astrology the main focus of their studies, seemed to feel the need for justifying what they did. Auguste Bouché-Leclercq (1842–1924), for instance, opens his celebrated study on *L'astrologie grecque* (1899), with the witty remark that it is perhaps not a simple waste of time to study things with which other people have wasted their time. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was a widespread belief that European post-Enlightenment modernity had left astrological "superstition" behind for good, and that this discipline could now only be studied as a curiosity. This changed only with Aby Warburg (1866–1929), whose legendary lecture in 1912 on the cycle of frescos in the Palazzo Schifanoia and its astrological iconography suddenly moved astrology into the center of academic scrutiny. With his study *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeit* (1920, Engl. as *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*), Warburg—and subsequently many scholars of the Warburg School—paid attention to the important role of astrology in the Renaissance, which he read as a conscious revival of ancient paganism.

Research into ancient astrology witnessed similar progress. Franz Cumont (1868–1947) and Franz Boll (1867–1923) collected and edited an incredible amount of astrological manuscripts and fragments from the ancient Greek world in the *Corpus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*.

Wilhelm Gundel and his son Hans Georg published many studies about ancient astrology. Finally, Lynn Thorndike has to be mentioned, whose encyclopedic *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1923–1958) covers no less than seventeen centuries. Thorndike and the other historians thus made accessible a cornucopia of primary sources that had previously been unknown or had not been taken seriously. At the same time, many historians of science (including Thorndike) had difficulties in interpreting astrological sources in a neutral way. Small wonder, then, that George Sarton dismissed these sources in 1951 as "superstitious flotsam of the Near East." Despite the famous reply by Otto Neugebauer (1889–1990), published under the title "The Study of Wretched Subjects" in the scholarly journal *Isis*, and Neugebauer's insistence on the importance of astrology for our understanding of the history of the natural sciences, this area of scholarly research has something sleazy about it still today.

The reluctance of modern historians to analyze astrology as an important element of European cultural history—as well as the at times bitter and polemical fights between natural scientists and astrologers about the legitimacy of astrology—reveal one thing: at stake here are not only historical facts but also identities. Pushing astrology to the margins of natural science, rationality or the Christian religion confirms modern identities that like to see "the West" as enlightened, rational and immune to the "pagan past."[1]

Standing on the shoulders of the academic giants mentioned above, recent scholarship has tried to free itself from biased assumptions about astrology being merely a discipline of "pseudo-science" or "superstition."[2] Today, only few scholars would doubt that in Late Antiquity astrology held a key position among the accepted and well-reputed sciences. As *ars mathematica* closely connected with astronomy, it made its way into the highest political and philosophical orders of the Roman Empire[3] and became the standard model for interpreting past, present and future events. Nevertheless, many scholars assume that the application of astrological theories is limited to the "pagan mind," whereas Jewish and Christian theology is characterized by a harsh refutation of astrology's implications. Unfortunately, this assumption is not the

[1] On this mechanism, see also Zika (2003).
[2] See, for instance, Barton (1995); Oestmann et al. (2005).
[3] See Cramer (1954).

result of careful examination of the documentary evidence but of a preconceived and misleading opinion about the basic ideas of astrology (as well as of "Judaism" and "Christianity" being homogenous entities), which led to an astonishing disregard of Jewish and Christian evidence for astrological concerns. This evidence has either been played down—if not neglected entirely—or labeled "heretic," thus prolonging the polemics of the "church fathers" right into modernity. One gains the impression that Jews and Christians simply did not take notice of what was going on around them. David Flusser plainly notes: "The Jewish people in Palestine and elsewhere had become completely immune to the attractions of the paganism against which the prophets [had spoken]."[4] And Gundel resumes regarding the Christians: "Right from the beginning Christianity refuted astrology's axioms and radically fought against them."[5] Considering the huge amount of Jewish and Christian astrological documents in Late Antiquity, these statements are, at least, questionable.[6]

These often undoubted academic axioms have had negative implications for the study of ancient astrology and magic. First of all, documents not fitting into the narrow perspective of modern scholarship have simply been ignored. The fact that it took 35 years from the preliminary publication of the Qumran horoscope 4Q186 by J. T. Milik in 1957 and its new presentation to a wider public by R. Eisenman and M. Wise in 1992 is a telling example. But in some cases the astrological connotations were too strong to be ignored entirely, e.g. the pavements of the Palestinian synagogues with their zodiacal depiction[7] or—on the Christian side—the elaborated astrological ingredients within gnostic writings. In these cases scholars tend to claim that those developments were only able to emerge outside "orthodox" or "normative" Judaism and Christianity. With regard to astrology the same process of centralization has taken place as in the case of Christian mythmaking, profoundly analyzed by Burton L. Mack.[8] Jonathan Z. Smith laid further emphasis on the methodological difficulties still determinable within theological historiography:

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[4] Quoted from Charlesworth (1987), p. 945 note 65.

[5] Gundel (1966), p. 332 (if not noted otherwise, all translations are mine).

[6] For a detailed description of ancient Jewish astrology, see von Stuckrad (2000b); for the present article, I have used material from that study, as well as passages published in von Stuckrad (2000a).

[7] On which see von Stuckrad (1996), pp. 161–175.

[8] Mack (1995), see especially pp. 7–11.

> As in the archaic locative ideology, the centre has been protected, the periphery seen as threatening, and relative difference perceived as absolute 'other.' The centre, the fabled Pauline seizure by the 'Christ-event' or some other construction of an originary moment, has been declared, *a priori*, to be unique, to be *sui generis*, and hence, by definition, incomparable. The periphery, whether understood temporally to precede or follow the Pauline moment, or, in spatial terms, to surround it, is to be subjected to procedures of therapeutic comparison. This is exorcism or purgation, not scholarship.[9]

The modulations of this criticism have been intensively discussed in the humanities during the last three decades,[10] but its implications have only rarely been put into practice. In other words: although that criticism is widely accepted theoretically, many scholars shrink from the consequences that lead to a new position regarding the possibility of telling a monolinear history. But one has to take them seriously. General definitions of "Judaism," "Christianity" or "astrology" should be avoided.[11] They are the result of a theological project of legitimization carried out in ancient and early modern times. Acknowledging the multiplicity of astro-magical perspectives in ancient culture means that we will no longer try to "detect" a linear development from refutation to adoption, from superstition to enlightenment, or vice versa. Those "developments" are mere inventions of scholarly *emplotment*.[12] What we will have to take seriously is the fact that the ancient authors were involved in a twofold discourse—first, in their religion's tradition, and, second, in their contemporary social, political, scientific and religious negotiations. Hence, the analysis has to keep in mind the possible overlapping of different discourses, regardless of religions' boundaries.

Addressing discourses instead of distinct religious traditions is a strategic response to the fact that the very terms "Jewish" and "Christian" are *contested categories*. As to Judaism, Shaye J. D. Cohen argued in a much discussed monograph that until the third and fourth centuries the category "Jewish" did not have the same importance and

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[9] Smith (1990), p. 143.

[10] Among the most illuminating contributions to this debate are Berger & Luckmann (1966); White (1973); White (1978); Koselleck (1995); Müller and Rüsen (1997). Cf. von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 12–101; von Stuckrad (2003).

[11] See von Stuckrad (2002).

[12] Hayden White introduced this expression and distinguished it from *argument* and *ideological implication*. All three are standard means to give a pretence of explanation to an academic treatise; see White (1973).

connotation that modern interpreters found in terms as *Ioudaios*/ *Iudaeus* or *ioudaizein*. Cohen argues:

> [M]y thesis is that Jewish identity in antiquity was elusive and uncertain for two simple reasons. First, there was no single or simple definition of *Jew* in antiquity. Indeed, the Greek word *Ioudaios*, usually translated as "Jew," often is better translated as "Judaean," and the concepts "Jew" and "Judaean," in turn, need clarification. Second, there were few mechanisms in antiquity that would have provided empirical or "objective" criteria by which to determine who was "really" a Jew and who was not. Jewishness was a subjective identity, constructed by the individual him/herself, other Jews, other gentiles, and the state.[13]

If we regard ancient religions as a dynamic plurality of identities with various subjective meanings and if we acknowledge the fact that people could be followers of theologically quite different religious traditions, we will perhaps gain a better understanding of the processes of group formation and theological competition in Late Antiquity. As Andreas Bendlin argues, for Republican Rome the "hybridity" of religious convictions was by no means an exception. "Religious hybrids [...] resulted from the instrumentalisation of the public domain by private concerns; students of Roman religion shun them as marginal to their systematizations, yet hybrids such as these may in fact have been the rule in the polytheistic society of late republican Rome."[14]

But if the terms "religion" or "tradition"[15] in general, and "Judaism," "Christianity" or "paganism" in particular, are hybrid, fleeting and dynamic categories, we will have to find other categories for adequately describing religious processes in Late Antiquity. This is why I use the term of *fields of discourse*, a concept that takes the transgression of religious traditions as the normal case, subsequently identifying shared fields of interest as well as arenas of conflict. Talking of discourses also acknowledges the insight that European history of religion is characterized by a two-fold pluralism—i.e., a transfer between religious traditions on the one hand, and an interference between various cultural systems, such as religion, philosophy, politics, law, art, economy, etc.—on the other.[16]

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[13] Cohen (1999), p. 3.

[14] Bendlin (2000), p. 132. Methodologically, this is a problem of *singularization* that affected both theology and—subsequently—the study of religion. On the concept of "singularization," see Gladigow (2006) and Smith (2004).

[15] For a problematization of the concept of "tradition" that is ultimately a polemical term for constructions of conflicting identities, see von Stuckrad (2005).

[16] See Kippenberg, Rüpke and von Stuckrad (2009); von Stuckrad (2010, pp. 3–23).

This approach can easily be combined with Peter Schäfer's notion of *macroforms*, which he introduced to describe the textual structures that underlie the Hekhalot literature. According to Schäfer, macroforms are (ideal) literary units that materialize in a large number of concrete *microforms*—i.e., texts.[17] If we extend the concept of macroforms to the magical and astrological texts of Late Antiquity, we will encounter many structural elements that are shared by representatives of different religious convictions; macroforms are a way to identify fields of discourse. When it comes to the concrete manifestation of such shared fields of discourse—the microforms—the transformation, adaptation and polemical differentiation in a pluralistic religious environment become visible.

The methodological considerations concerning the status of astrology in ancient culture pertain to the field of magic, as well. However, this is not the place to analyze the controversial term "magic" in detail. The basic problem boils down to the question whether we apply the use of "magic" as it is attested widely—and controversially—in ancient documents, or an academic use of the term. The latter is fraught with difficulties and preconceived attitudes that have a history of their own.[18] My suggestion is that we as scholars should adopt a meta-position and analyze the various uses of the term in historical context (what I call a "magical field of discourse"). Despite these precautions, my use of the term in this article also reflects my understanding that it is analytically meaningful to call something "magic" that (a) involves a cosmological model that reckons with an intrinsic connection between various layers of reality, and (b) a ritual practice that intends to work with these relationships. Hence, the *doctrine of correspondences* is a

[17] "I employ the term *macroform* for a superimposed literary unit, instead of the terms *writing* or *work*, to accommodate the fluctuating character of the texts of the Hekhalot literature. The term *macroform* concretely denotes both the fictional or imaginary single text, which we initially and by way of delimitation always refer to in scholarly literature (e.g., *Hekhalot Rabbati* in contrast to *Maʿaseh Merkavah*, etc.), as well as the often different manifestations of this text in the various manuscripts. The border between micro- and macroforms is thereby fluent: certain definable textual units can be both part of a superimposed entirety (and thus a 'microform') as well as an independently transmitted redactional unit (thus a 'macroform')" (Schäfer 1992, p. 6 note 14).

[18] See Styers (2004); e.g. the polemical distinction between "magic" and "religion" or between "compulsion" and "prayer."

common feature both of astrology[19] and of magic; we can even argue that many forms of magic or ritual power are based on techniques of "applied correspondences."

During Greco-Roman times magic was a common religious activity and worldview. Recent studies in ancient magic reveal the fact that this kind of "ritual power" flourished among Jews and Christians as well.[20] Just as with astrology, there is no reason to sever magic from pious Jewish or Christian faith, as theological historiography used to do.[21] Nor is it appropriate to consider magic as being the religion for daily life purposes of less educated people. The complex rituals performed in the so-called *Mithras Liturgy*, the *Sepher ha-Razīm*, or some gnostic documents demanded a high standard of education, not to mention the philosophical skills of an Apuleius.[22] The differences between sophisticated magical theory and practice, on the one hand, and the more pragmatic application for medical and daily life reasons, on the other, still await thorough scholarly research.[23]

Astral Magic in Ancient Jewish Discourse

In what follows, my objective is to identify three major fields of ancient magical discourse that make use of astrological semantics. All of them—the control of cosmic powers, the veneration of planets,

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[19] In Late Antiquity there was a broad consensus that the heavenly realms mirror—in a secret or obvious way—mundane events. This notion was so common that it is difficult to find a document which does *not* make use of it. It is visible in the stoic concept of *sympathy* and *heimarmenē*, as well as in the Platonists' description of the world as a living creature with every part connected to other parts or to its transcendent idea. In Roman Egypt, Platonism was molded with older priestly traditions and brought forth the esoteric doctrines of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Despite the various roots of Hermetic doctrines and practices, the Egyptian matrix of Hermeticism that originated in Ptolemaic times cannot be doubted. On this point I agree with Cumont (1937) and Lindsay (1971). See also Mahé (1978–1982); Fowden (1986); Burns (2004).

[20] The literature is abundant. The change of paradigm concerning our understanding of magic can be studied in Naveh and Shaked (1987); Faraone and Obbink (1991); Gager (1992); Meyer and Mirecki (1995); Graf (1996); Schäfer and Kippenberg (1997); Bremmer and Veenstra (2002); Mirecki and Meyer (2002); Shaked (2005).

[21] In fact, magic and demonology formed an integral part of early Christian theology, which perpetuated magic in a mode of condemnation; see Flint (1999).

[22] See Sandy (1997).

[23] It seems that the former is represented by theurgic groups, philosophers and others, the latter by the authors of PGM, magic bowls and similar documents. But this distinction is far from being accurate. For the theurgic groups cf., for instance, Johnston (1997). On Neoplatonic theurgy, see Shaw (1995).

and the heavenly journeys of religious specialists—reveal strategies of adopting, transforming and polemically differentiating magical theory and practice in the first centuries CE.

Controlling the Cosmic Powers

Starting with the discursive field of control of heavenly powers, the first macroform to be identified is the textual tradition that was shaped around the figure of Solomon, with the *Testament of Solomon* being its most important representative.[24] The text's title makes sufficiently clear what the reader can expect:

> Testament of Solomon, son of David, who reigned in Jerusalem, and subdued all the spirits of the air, of the earth, and under the earth; through (them) he also accomplished all the magnificent works of the Temple;[25] (this tells) what their authorities are against men, and by what angels these demons are thwarted.[26]

To unfold his magic power, Solomon, after having prayed to God, receives his famous seal ring[27] from the archangel Michael. With the help of his magic ring Solomon is able to find out the names of the demonic powers and, subsequently, to thwart them.[28] Of astrological interest is the fact that Solomon forces the entities to tell him the zodiacal place they inhabit. For example:

> (2:1) When I heard these things, I, Solomon, got up from my throne and saw the demon shuddering and trembling with fear. I said to him, "Who are you? What is your name?" The demon replied, "I am called Ornias." (2) I said to him, "Tell me, in which sign of the zodiac do you reside?" The demon replied, "In Aquarius; I strangle those who reside in Aquarius because of their passion for women whose zodiacal sign is Virgo […]."

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[24] On Solomon as an esoteric authority in Antiquity, see Torijano (2002). On textual criticism and the astrological doctrines involved in the *Testament of Solomon*, see von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 394–420. Johnston (2002) gives a brief overview of the *Testament*'s status and reception.

[25] Sarah I. Johnston notes: "This, so far as I have been able to discover, is the first example of demons being so used from any Mediterranean culture" (2002, p. 42).

[26] I follow D. C. Duling's translation in Charlesworth (1983–1985), vol. 2, pp. 935–987, who in most cases relies on McCowns' translation of 1922.

[27] Cf. PGM V.213–303; VII.628–42; XII.201–305; *Sepher ha-Razīm* 6:16–29. There is much more evidence in antiquity for making rings in order to exorcise or control demons; see references in Preisendanz (1956); Johnston (2002), p. 36 note 4; on ring spells see also Dieleman (2005), pp. 182–183.

[28] Very often, the magical act rests on the knowledge of the 'secret names.'

The zodiacal astrology, combined here with demonological perspectives, is further attested by the seven constellations that appear through the power of Solomon's evocation:

> (8:1) There came seven spirits bound up together hand and foot, fair of form and graceful. When I, Solomon, saw them, I was amazed and asked them, "Who are you?" (2) They replied, "We are heavenly bodies [*esmen stoicheia*], rulers of this world of darkness [*kosmokratores tou skotous*]." (3) The first said, "I am Deception." The second said, "I am Strife." The third said, "I am Fate." The fourth said, "I am Distress." The fifth said, "I am Error." The sixth said, "I am Power." (4) The seventh said, "I am The Worst. Our stars in heaven look small, but we are named like gods. We change our position together and we live together, sometimes in Lydia, sometimes in Olympus, sometimes on the great mountain."

The seven *stoicheia*—heavenly bodies, planets, or just evil entities—belong to the most prominent actors of Jewish and Christian theology in Late Antiquity. They were known to Paul who reminded his audience that "we have not to fight against humans of flesh and blood but against the rulers and powers, the sovereigns of this dark world (*pros tous kosmokratores tou skotous toutou*), against the evil beings of the heavenly realm."[29] At this point, Paul adopts the same attitude as his gnostic fellow-Christians at Nag Hammadi:

> Then since Death was androgynous, he mixed with his nature and begot seven androgynous sons. These are the names of the males: Jealousy, Wrath, Weeping, Sighing, Mourning, Lamenting, Tearful Groaning. And these are the names of the females: Wrath, Grief, Lust, Sighing, Cursing, Bitterness, Quarrelsomeness. They had intercourse with one another, and each one begot seven so that they total forty-nine androgynous demons. Their names and their functions you will find in "the Book of Solomon."[30]

This is the only passage in the Nag Hammadi corpus that explicitly refers to a "Book of Solomon."[31] We cannot be sure whether this reference is to our *Testament of Solomon*; Doresse argued for the *Letter to Rehobeam*, which is also known as the *Hygromancy of Solomon* or the *Key to Hygromancy*, and which probably originates in first-century BC

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[29] Eph. 6:12; cf. also Col. 2:4.20; Gal. 4:3.9.

[30] *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II.5 and XIII.2), trans. Bethge and Wintermute, in: Robinson (1988), p. 167.

[31] Solomon's name, however, is mentioned in three other texts; see Duling in Charlesworth (1983–1985), p. 942.

Egypt.[32] In that book, there are lists of the seven planets, angels, and demons, rendering their influence on the 24 hours of the day during one week, accompanied by prayers to the planets and angels, magical symbols of planets, and the correspondences between planets, zodiacal signs and plants. Despite this clear similarity, Doresse argues that the reference of the Nag Hammadi treatise is "to something in that vast collection entitled the *Testament of Solomon*, which enumerates a crowd of genies and mentions, for example, as rulers of this terrestrial world, Deception, Discord, Quarrelsomeness, Violent Agitation, Error, Violence and Perversity."[33] In any case, the mention of Solomon's astro-magical powers and a remarkable similarity in texts originating from Hellenistic Egyptian,[34] Jewish and Christian contexts, indicate the existence of a *macroform* of these texts that was extremely popular in those days.

The *stoicheia* topic is widespread among ancient theologies. And equally acknowledged was the ontological subordination and subjugation of the celestial powers, forced under Solomon's will who himself received his power from the almighty God. The intention is clear: The stars are under God's control and human beings are capable of invoking them in order to do pious work. Each adept, knowing the demons' secret names and performing Solomon's instructions, can accurately take part in the power—the magician actually becomes Solomon. The transformation of older Egyptian theological doctrines in monotheistic contexts is apparent in the *Testament of Solomon*. Already in 1936,

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[32] Edited by J. Heeg in CCAG VIII, 2 (1911), pp. 139–165. Cf. Reitzenstein (1904), pp. 186–187, who lists parallels in Josephus, *Kore Kosmou*, and the *Testament of Solomon*; Festugière (1950–1954), I, pp. 339–340; Goodenough (1953–1968), II, p. 233; Preisendanz (1956), pp. 690ff. (with further texts on hygromancy—i.e., the attempt to thwart demons in liquids to gain revelation from them). The *Letter to Rehobeam* with its prayers to the stars serves Ness as an explanation of the zodiacs in ancient synagogue pavements, because the planetary angels are representatives of God himself, "maintaining the world He created" (Ness 1990, p. 217).

[33] Doresse (1986), p. 170.

[34] The strong Egyptian influences are studied in detail by Dieleman (2005). With reference to PGM IV.850–929, which deals with a communication with Osiris by means of an ecstatic seizure of an adult or boy medium, he states that, "given the purely Egyptian character of these ritual techniques and mythological references, the attribution to the Jewish king Solomon is rather remarkable. However, the occurrence of Solomon's name in a magical text of the Roman period is not unusual, since, among Hellenised Jewish circles in Alexandria of the second century BCE onwards, the Biblical figure Solomon had been transformed from a wise king to a powerful astrologer and magician who exerted control over a wide range of demons" (p. 279, with reference to Torijano 2002, pp. 225–230).

W. Gundel had argued for a strong influence of Egyptian *decan tradition* on the Jewish *Testament*.[35] In the wake of a monotheistic adaptation, the ontological status of the planetary powers changed, an impression that is further attested if we look at the *decan melothesy*—i.e., the correspondence between decan rulers and parts of the human body. Emerging from an Egyptian background, the decans were positively described as healing powers;[36] the "astrologer of the year 379" referred to the Hermetic text *Iatromathematica* that introduced the planets of the decans as rulers of human diseases;[37] Teukros of Babylon likewise seemed to follow this tradition;[38] but the major interceder of Egyptian iatromathematics was Ptolemy: "The Egyptians completely united medicine and astrological prognosis."[39] The same can be said of magic—often functioning as "applied astrology." Thus, Jan Assmann remarks that "the most typical functional context of magic, in Egypt, is medicine, and the physician is the normal magician."[40] That the Jewish *Testament of Solomon* has to be linked to these Egyptian doctrines, is further attested in an anonymous *Greek-Jewish Decan Book*[41] that

[35] Gundel (1936), pp. 49–62; 286–7. For further literature on the decan tradition see von Stuckrad (2000b), p. 399 note 261; cf. also Mastrocinque (2005), pp. 173–183.

[36] In a very old magical papyrus the 36 parts of the body are already mentioned, perhaps in concordance with the decan system; see Koch (1993), p. 533; on the age of this text see also Quack (1995), p. 102.

[37] Likewise, in the *Apocryphon of John* the decans are not so much healing powers but demons ruling over the different parts of the body, probably more likely to cause illness than healing.

[38] See Cumont in CCAG V, 1, 209, 9ff.; VIII, 4, 196, 1; Gundel 1936, 282ff.; Gundel and Gundel (1966), pp. 16ff. On the Egyptian element in Teukros cf. Boll (1903), pp. 158ff. Quack (1995, p. 121) assumes that Teukros is a link between Egyptian astrologoumena, the so-called *Salmeshiniaka*, the *Book of Zoroaster*, and the *Apocryphon of John* from Nag Hammadi.

[39] *Tetrabiblos* 1:3. Barton certainly has a point in asking why we should doubt the judgment of such a scholar. Rather, this is further evidence for the fact "that the origins of the networks of correspondences between astrological entities, stones and plants may have been in Egyptian medicine, famed already in the age of Homer, and that they were probably elaborated in Hermetic writings" (Barton 1995, p. 186). Cramer (1954, p. 194) links Ptolemy's iatromathematics to his discussion of fatalism and volition.

[40] Assmann (1997), p. 4.

[41] Kroll provided a first edition in CCAG VI, pp. 73–78; see Gundel (1936), pp. 385ff. For Gundel, the Egyptian origin of these doctrines is beyond any doubt, as a comparison of the twelfth decan in the present text with the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* chapter 162 suggests; regarding the magical power of the decans, Gundel states that the *Greek-Jewish Decan Book* comprises "the most extensive table of this kind known from antiquity, which especially refers to the magical power of the decan amulets" (Gundel 1936, 292).

described the magical incantation of decans for all zodiacal signs as appropriate means to cure illnesses, as in the following example: "The third decan [of Aries] is called Delphaa. You write it [i.e. its name] with Zaphora and rose extract, made of honey, in green jasper and drink it. It heals teeth pain and pains in the throat. [On the margin Venus]."

Certainly, the demonization of the decans is a new step of astral magic taken in the macroform of Solomonic magic between 200 BCE and 200 CE. The transformation is directly attested in the *Testament of Solomon*. In chapter 18, probably originating in second-century BCE Egypt, the demons are introduced as the "world rulers of this dark age," but here their number is 36 (mirroring the 36 decans). The stars appear in various forms, some human, others with a dog's head, as bulls, dragons, birds or sphinxes. Self-assured they say to Solomon: "But you, King, are not able to harm us or to lock us up; but since God gave you authority over all the spirits of the air, the earth, and (the regions) beneath the earth, we have also taken our place before you like the other spirits" (18:3). After having investigated all the names and activities of the 36 demons, Solomon declares: "When I, Solomon, heard these things, I glorified the God of heaven and earth and I ordered them to bear water; Then I prayed to God that the thirty-six demons who continually plague humanity go to the Temple of God" (18:41–42).

Let us take a brief look now at the astrological doctrines that underlie the *Testament of Solomon*. The lines of correspondences show no determinable common traditions. By way of example, the connection between Aquarius and Virgo (2:2, see above)—standing in the minor quincunx aspect—is not attested as significant in astrological literature. Manilius talks of Sagittarius who "is in love with Virgo only," and Ptolemy assures his readers that a quincunx is irrelevant for interpretation.[42] However, this is not due to the Jewish author's lacking acquaintance with astrological tradition but to the simple fact that, up to Ptolemy's outstanding work, there was no such common tradition available. All texts, however, shared the doctrine of correspondences that is the backbone of astrological hermeneutics. This perspective found its way into the *Testament of Solomon*, as well:

[42] Manilius *Astron.* 2:504–506; Ptolemy *Tetrabib.* 1:17.

> (20:14) I asked him, "Tell me, then, how you, being demons, are able to ascend into heaven." (15) He replied, "Whatever things are accomplished in heaven (are accomplished) in the same way also on earth; for the principalities and authorities and powers above fly around and are considered worthy of entering heaven."

It is important to note that the astrological techniques are not blamed in the text. Instead, the document's contribution to ancient discourses is the following: the doctrine of correspondences is not to be disputed. Knowledge of those correspondences—astrology—leads to a deep understanding of future events (see also *Testament of Solomon* 2:3; 20:12). To obtain that knowledge one has to control the demonic powers which inhabit the zodiacal sphere. Astrology, it appears, is a sacred gift from God, embraced thankfully by man.

Veneration of Planets

In addition to, and often in combination with, the discursive structure of "controlling the angelic powers," ancient magic shows an astonishing interest in devotion to planetary entities.[43] This is remarkable insofar as according to a normative view of monotheistic theology, the veneration of stars—idolatry—was regarded as forbidden. This presumption has led some scholars to the conclusion that evidence of star cult can by definition not be evidence of Jewish authors. This, of course, is far too simple. Hans Dieter Betz correctly notes with regard to magical spells that we cannot determine the religious background of their authors in a general way. Instead, "the examples of Jewish magic present a complicated but illuminating picture, and that the question of the Jewishness of each particular spell may have to be answered from case to case, depending on the types of texts involved."[44] Having analyzed three spells of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM), he concludes: "What makes them Jewish are the quotations from Scripture"[45]—nothing more. In a similar vein, Mastrocinque aptly notes that "it must not be forgotten that magic texts were not part of a religion that can be labelled as 'magic', because there was no such thing. Those who practised magic worshipped Isis, Sarapis and Horus, or Hecate and

[43] For a more detailed discussion of this topic see von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 512–533.
[44] Betz (1997), p. 47.
[45] Ibid., 59.

Apollo, or the Hebrew god, or the saviour-Messiah, and frequently worshipped all these gods together."[46]

With regard to planetary veneration, there is also no reason to exclude this religious practice from ancient "Judaism." Instead, we will have to reckon with the possibility that Jews took part in an ongoing discourse of ritual involvement with planetary divinities. Perhaps the best evidence for this religious matrix or pattern is the "Book of Mysteries," the *Sepher ha-Razīm* (SHR), originating in the first centuries CE but compiled later.[47] According to the preface, this book explains how

> to master the investigation of the strata of the heavens, to go about in all that is in their seven abodes, to observe all the astrological signs, to examine the course of the sun, to explain the observations of the moon, and to know the paths of the Great Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades, to declare the names of the overseers of each and every firmament and the realms of their authority, and by what means they (can be made to) cause success in each thing (asked of them), and what are the names of their attendants and what (oblations) are to be poured out to them, and what is the proper time (at which they will hear prayer, so as) to perform every wish of anyone (who comes) near them in purity.[48]

The genealogy of "sages," known from Mishna *Pirque Abot* 1:1 to lead to the rabbinic sages, is now revealed to all adepts of ritual magic. Interestingly enough, in SHR the chain of revelation does not end with the *chachamim* but adds King Solomon to the list.[49]

Repeatedly, the adept is requested to pour libation or sacrifice incense, or even animals, to the celestial bodies, thus revealing a totally different attitude toward cultic purity than more 'orthodox' theology would prescribe. For example:

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[46] Mastrocinque (2005), p. 45. Mastrocinque's study is an important contribution to the development of gnostic and Jewish magic and astrology in late antiquity, even if—or because—some of his conclusions are controversial.

[47] An edition of SHR still is a scholarly desideratum, cf. von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 523–532. In his first collection, Mordechai Margalioth (1966) put together the SHR as a *macroform* on the basis of quite distinct fragments, particularly from the Cairo Genizah, medieval codices, and collections such as *Sefer Raziel, Sefer Kamayōt, Sefer hamalbūsh*, or *Mafteach Shlomo*; see Morgan (1983), pp. 2–6; Leicht (2005), pp. 241–242. Gruenwald notes that "Margalioth tampered with the text, in some cases even where the manuscripts supply good and interesting readings" (1980, p. 226).

[48] "Preface" to SHR, 5–10 (Morgan 1983, pp. 17–18).

[49] "Preface" to SHR, 23–26 (Morgan 1983, p. 19).

> If you wish to speak with the moon or with the stars about any matter, take a white cock and fine flour, then slaughter the cock (so that its blood is caught) in "living water" [מיים חיים].[50] Knead the flour with the water and blood and make three cakes and place them in the sun, and write on them with the blood the name(s) of (the angels of) the fifth encampment and the name of its overseer and put the three of them on a table of myrtle wood, stand facing the moon or facing the stars and say: *I adjure you to bring the planet of N and his star*[51] *near to the star and planet of N, so his love will be tied with the heart of N son of N.*[52]

Another example shows the close relation between astral magic, mystical discourse, and the Hekhalot literature. It has the objective to observe the sun (Helios) at night on its way "in the North."[53] After several purification ceremonies and dietetic measurements, the magician utters 21 times the names of the sun and the angels that accompany it. Then follows the adjuration:

> In the name of the Holy King who walks upon the wings of the wind,[54] by the letters of the complete name that was revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, (by)[55] the Ruler of the planets, and the sun, and the moon, who bow down before Him as slaves before their masters, by the name of the wondrous God, I adjure you, that you will make known to me this great miracle that I desire, and that I may see the sun in his power in the (celestial) circle (traversed by) his chariot, and let no hidden thing be too difficult for me.[56]

While this adjuration is still in accordance with the pious Jewish subordination of angels under the rule of God, the next passage reveals a theologically more tolerant position. Here, Helios is addressed directly:

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[50] This "living water" is important not only in ritual practice but also in Baptist milieus, for instance for Mandaeans. Do we come across a shared theology here? On the function of water in Hekhalot texts cf. also Morray-Jones (2002).

[51] Here, SHR applies the same language that the rabbis used to depict the planetary influences—one's star or *mazzal*; on the מזל see von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 472–473; 480–483.

[52] SHR 1:161–167 (Morgan 1983, pp. 36–37). Probably this ritual is compiled from two different texts, because the adjuration does not really fit the ritual's objectives. The aspect of veneration melts here with the aspect of adjuration. And cf. the detailed analysis of this passage in Ithamar Gruenwald's paper in the present volume.

[53] See 1 Enoch 72:5.

[54] See Ps. 104:3.

[55] Morgan reads במושל instead of המושל. However, such an emendation is superfluous, because המושל relates to the "Holy King" as ruler of the planets and not necessarily to Adam.

[56] SHR 4:51–57 (Morgan 1983, pp. 70–71).

> Holy Helios who rises in the east, good mariner, trustworthy leader of the sun's rays, reliable (witness), who of old didst establish the mighty wheel (of the heavens), holy orderer, ruler of the axis (of the heaven), Lord, Brilliant Leader, King, Soldier. I, N son of N, present my supplication before you, that you will appear to me without (causing me) fear, and you will be revealed to me without causing me terror, and you will conceal nothing from me and will tell me truthfully all that I desire.[57]

This passage equips the Sun God with the same epithets reserved for YHWH in orthodox Jewish theology. Not only is Helios revealer of superior knowledge; the author even praises him as the creator of the cosmic order. That is why Margalioth called the *Sepher ha-Razīm* a "heretical work."[58] Ithamar Gruenwald adopts a more nuanced position, asking "whether a book like *Sefer Ha-Razim*, and similar material contained in manuscripts, does not betray, in a more reliable manner than do the rabbinic writings, the nature and scope of these occult practices among the common people."[59] However, as noted above, the lay status of SHR and related documents is by no means certain.[60] Mastering correspondences and ritual practice afforded experience and knowledge; hence, for SHR we must note the same as for the PGM: "We have to assume that for the prescribed performance of the magical ritual the magician had to know the astrological systematics, and also had to have access to respective charts or astrological handbooks."[61]

If we are looking for macroforms and shared patterns of magical discourse, a comparison of SHR with PGM is an obvious choice. Repeatedly, the planetary divinities are praised and adjured, which I want to exemplify with PGM IV here.[62] PGM IV.2241–2358, is an extensive adjuration of the moon that several times underscores the divinity of the earth's satellite:

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[57] SHR 4:60–66 (Morgan 1983, p. 71).

[58] Margalioth (1966), pp. 14ff.

[59] Gruenwald (1980), p. 230.

[60] In SHR 1:94–96, for instance, the author suggests to consult a hieratic papyrus to predict the future and to write the message down in hieratic script. This is certainly not aiming at "common people."

[61] Gundel (1968), referring to PGM V.

[62] For a good overview of astrological connotations within the PGM see Gundel (1968), pp. 3–17 (Sun), pp. 17–25 (decans), pp. 25–41 (Moon), pp. 41–52 (planets). Gundel correctly stresses the significant doctrine of correspondences (see p. 39). Further examples from PGM are provided in von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 516–518; on the *Mithras Liturgy* see ibid., pp. 514–516.

Hail, Holy Light, Ruler of Tartaros,
Who strike with rays; hail, Holy Beam, who whirl
Up out of darkness and subvert all things
With aimless plans. / I'll call and may you hear
My holy words since awesome Destiny
Is ever subject to you.[63]

Similarly, in a prayer to Selene it says:

Come to me, O beloved mistress, Three-faced
Selene; kindly hear my sacred chants;
Night's ornament, young, bringing light to mortals, /
O child of morn who ride upon fierce bulls,
O queen who drive your car on equal course
With Helios, who with the triple forms
Of triple Graces dance in revel with /
The stars.[64]

Praise and adoration of planetary divinities does not exclude their subjugation:

I truly know that you [the waning moon] are full of guile
And are deliverer from fear; as Hermes,
The Elder, chief of all magicians, I
Am Isis' father. Hear: EŌ PHORBA
BRIMŌ SCHMI NEBOUTO / SOUALĒTH.
For I have hidden this magic symbol
Of yours, your sandal, and possess your key.
I opened the bars of Kerberos, the guard
Of Tartaros, / and premature night I
Plunged in darkness. [...]
What you must do, / this you must not escape.
You'll, willy-nilly, do this task for me.[65]

Thus, the planetary gods play a significant role in ritual practice. The magician developed a personal relation with these divinities that ranged from reverent praise to instrumentalization. This is true not only for Selene/moon and Helios/sun, but also for Hermes/Mercurius, Aphrodite/Venus, or simply "the gods" to whom long hymns and prayers are documented in PGM.

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[63] PGM IV.2241–2247, trans. Betz (1986), p. 78.
[64] PGM IV.2785–2795, trans. Betz (1986), p. 90.
[65] PGM IV.2289–2300, trans. Betz (1986), p. 79.

For a comparison with SHR an adjuration of Venus, combined with an incense offering to the planets, is particularly interesting (PGM IV.2891–2942).

> A white dove's blood and fat, untreated myrrh and parched wormwood. Make this up together as pills and offer them to the star on pieces of vine / wood or on coals. And also have the brains of a vulture for the compulsion, so that you may make the offering. And also have as a protective charm a tooth from the upper right jawbone of a female ass or of a tawny sacrificial heifer, tied to your left arm with / Anubian thread.[66]

Subsequently, the magician secures the success of the compulsion hymn with praise of the Goddess. The compulsion itself has the goal to "attract […] NN […] to bed of love" (2937–2938). The final sentence demonstrates the clear connection between astral-magical ritual and astrological divination: "If you see the star shining steadily, it is a sign that she has been smitten, and if it is lengthened like the flame of a lamp, she has already come."[67]

The magical papyri are not the only sources that reveal the liturgical and magical function of planetary divinities. I have argued elsewhere that for Manichaeism, Hermeticism and gnostic discourse this feature of religious practice and worldview was indeed ubiquitous—despite the diversity of theological positions that we find in the documents.[68]

Heavenly Journeys

According to ancient understanding, the secrets of divine astronomy were revealed to a few religious specialists who made their way into the heavens or received their knowledge by God's own intervention:

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[66] PGM IV.2893–2900, trans. Betz (1986), p. 92. Gundel notes: "In the ingredients of the sacrifice we can easily discern the sympathetic relationship with goddess and celestial body: Blood and fat of a white dove, myrrh, and Artemisia belong to Venus. The 'vulture's brain,' the 'right mandible of a female donkey,' or a 'red sacrificed calf' and the 'cord of Anubis' connect the vision of the star with the simultaneous vision of the divinities Horus, Anubis, Seth, and the cow-headed Isis or Hathor" (Gundel 1968, pp. 48–49).

[67] PGM IV.2940–2941, trans. Betz (1986), p. 94.

[68] See von Stuckrad (2000b); on Gnosis and Hermeticism see pp. 624–699; on Manichaeism see pp. 700–766 (particularly 728–742). On Zoroastrian sources see Panaino (2005); on the interlacing of Mesopotamian magic and the later Aramaic magic bowls from the same regions see Geller (2005) (who builds on Naveh and Shaked 1985 and 1993). On an often neglected, yet enormously important genre—magical gems—see Michel (2004). These studies testify to the wide range of mutual dependence and transfers of tradition.

Enoch, Moses, Solomon or other heroes of Jewish tradition guaranteed the revelatory status of astrological information. But secret knowledge was attributed not only to those extraordinary persons. Many people in Late Antiquity were engaged in heavenly journeys in order to gain insight into the mysteries of God's cosmic order. Connected with that mystical orientation was an application of astrological skills in a way one would call magical. In Late Antiquity, this topic is so common that Ithamar Gruenwald notes:

> These heavenly ascents of the soul became almost a cultural fashion in many religious systems in the first centuries of the Christian Era, the spiritual climate of which was full of a constant exchange of religious ideas and practices. In this respect there was no substantial difference between religion, philosophy and science.[69]

Heavenly journeys are a key motif within gnostic and Hermetic theologies, but—contrasting the Hekhalot mysticism where the mystic serves as a mediator between God and Israel—here the intentions are individual ones. One may only recall the famous passage of *Poimandres* that was so influential—and controversial—in subsequent esotericism, as it inaugurates the divinization of the adept.

> Thence the human being rushes up through the cosmic framework, at the first zone surrendering the energy of increase and decrease; at the second evil machination, a device now inactive; at the third the illusion of longing, now inactive; at the fourth the ruler's arrogance, now freed of excess; at the fifth unholy presumption and daring recklessness; at the sixth the evil impulses that come from wealth, now inactive; and at the seventh zone the deceit that lies in ambush. And then, stripped of the effects of the cosmic framework, the human enters the region of the ogdoad; he has his own proper power, and along with the blessed he hymns the father. […] They rise up to the father in order and surrender themselves to the powers, and, having become powers, they enter into god. This is the final good for those who have received knowledge: to be made god.[70]

The gnostic searches for redemption either in the world to come or during her or his lifetime. Pursuing this goal, it is of crucial importance "to know one's enemies"—i.e., to understand the heavenly opponents who try to block the mystic's way into the realms of light. This

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[69] Gruenwald (1988), p. 202 with no. 30. See on this topic Dean-Otting (1984); Himmelfarb (1993).

[70] CH I:25–26, trans. Copenhaver (1992), p. 6. On the *Poimandres* see von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 673–677.

Platonic notion is found in a variety of texts. In the *First Apocalypse of James* from Nag Hammadi it is Jesus himself who gave instructions: He admonishes his disciples to be confidential since, after his grievous way through death, he will return and "appear for a reproof to the archons. And I shall reveal to them that he cannot be seized. If they seize him, then he will overpower each of them."[71]

The recipient of the holy revelation is rescued from the powers of *heimarmenē* and can depart from this dark world heading through the planetary spheres toward the pleroma. In order to fulfill this desire it seemed appropriate to examine the planetary laws thoroughly. Thus, the fight against the *stoicheia* led the gnostic to a different reaction than Paul who refuted astrology. What at first glance seems inconsistent becomes the gnostics' primary motivation for studying astrology. Just *because* gnostic theology strives to overcome the demonic planetary chains, it made extensive use of astrological tradition.

The gnostic interest in astrology resulted in an extraordinary discourse of its own. Special treatises have come down to us elaborated by Markos and Theodotus, both Valentinians, by Bardaisan of Edessa and—last but not least—by Mani. Summarizing the feature of gnostic astrology one comes to the conclusion that, besides the topic of heavenly journeys and magical empowerment, it is the doctrine of correspondences that is of particular importance.[72] This doctrine was applied to different manifestations such as the twelve apostles, to zodiacal geography, or zodiacal medicine (*melothesia*). In most cases the doctrines of the astrological tradition were well-known, at times even to a very sophisticated degree. Of further interest is the fact that the influence of Egyptian doctrines, particularly the decan system with its implementation of the numbers 36 and 72, had an important impact on gnostic astrology's proceedings.

The subjugation of the planets and their subsequent instrumentalization are fully in line with texts originating from Jewish milieus.

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[71] NHC 5.3:30,2–6 (Robinson 1988, p. 264). See also the *2nd Book of Jeû* ch. 52; the *Left Ginza* 3:56; NHC 7.127:20f. Those documents witness the correctness of Origenes' bold remarks in *c. Cels.* 7.40 and 6.30f.

[72] See esp. the doctrines of Markos as described in Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.14,3–6; Epiphanius *Panarion* 34.5. Theodotus was the first to explore the correspondences between zodiacal signs and apostles, see *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 25.2. Bardaisan "has to be called the first significant astrologer within the wider perspective of Christianity" (Gundel and Gundel 1966, p. 326); that was witnessed by Eusebius *Praep. evang.* 6.9,32.

Furthermore, the visionary's search for a heavenly journey calls similar texts of the Hekhalot tradition to mind; even rabbinical parallels may be mentioned.[73] But there are also marked differences. One such difference is, as noted above, the aspect of individual salvation prominent in gnostic texts, while the *yored merqabah* is acting on behalf of his community. Linked to this functional difference is another one—namely, the temporary nature of the heavenly journeys of Hekhalot texts. The *yored merqabah* ascends the heavens and returns to report to his people about what he experienced. A third difference pertains to the evaluation of stars and serving angels;[74] for the Hekhalot mystic, the angels are usually friendly entities, assigned to keep the unworthy out of the highest heavens. The gnostics, however, usually identify the angels with the archons that are dependent on the Demiurge.[75]

I have argued elsewhere that these differences—and also the differences *within* the Hekhalot literature—have to be taken seriously.[76] And I agree with Ithamar Gruenwald that "it seems very likely that some of the Gnostic writers were indeed familiar with certain aspects of the Merkavah tradition, while the opposite—that is, the adaptation by the Merkavah mystics of specific Gnostic doctrines—cannot so easily be proved."[77] At the same time, it is apparent that the Hekhalot mystics, the authors of gnostic literature and others shared a common view of religious experts entering the heavenly spheres in order to explore divine secrets. That is the discursive macroform that materializes in a variety of microforms, the latter clearly displaying the different—and often competing—claims and worldviews of the respective groups and milieus.

From a methodological point of view, the three discursive fields that I have discussed—the control of cosmic powers, the veneration of planets and the heavenly journeys of religious specialists—challenge

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[73] The rabbinic tradition is focused on R. Aqiba; see tChag 2:3; jChag 77b; bChag 14b.

[74] Here we come across the same positive function of the angels as attested in the Qumran literature, particularly in the *Shirot Olat ha-Shabbat*. On the astrological connotation of the priestly cult in Qumran, see von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 168–183. From this point of view, there is much to argue in favor of Rachel Elior's thesis of continuation of priestly traditions in Hekhalot literature; see Elior (1997). A nuanced discussion of astrology in Qumran is now provided by Popović (2007).

[75] On these differences see Gruenwald (1988), pp. 192–193; see also Maier (1963), pp. 39–40.

[76] See von Stuckrad (2000b), pp. 681–686, with references.

[77] Gruenwald (1988), p. 201.

simple demarcations that have dominated scholarly analyses of Judaism's relation to astrology and magic. It turns out that the very notion of a singular "Judaism"—as well as of "Christianity"—is difficult to retain. What we witness in the sources of Late Antiquity is a creative blend of various influences that added to Jewish identities. Jews were involved in and connected to ongoing debates in ancient society. While some milieus tried to protect their identity by blocking out what was seen as "pagan practices," there were many Jewish milieus that embraced these doctrines as an important element of their worldview and practice. The demarcation lines that divided ancient society were not so much related to "religions" as to philosophical, metaphysical and ritual considerations.

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THE PLANETS, THE JEWS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF "JEWISH ASTROLOGY"

Reimund Leicht

When did the Jews find out that there are planets in the heaven, and since when did they observe their course? This, we will probably never know. But if we ask when Jewish sources start to speak about planets, we are confronted with a surprise: For a very long period, we find virtually nothing about planets in Jewish culture. Neither the Hebrew Bible nor the post-biblical Jewish literature of the Second Temple period provide us with any substantial knowledge about those "wandering stars," and even Qumran—which has otherwise preserved a small but highly significant collection of texts dealing with astrology, astronomy and calendar issues—is largely silent about planets.

This exclusion of the planets from Jewish culture is quite striking. One could ask oneself whether this is a tendentious condemnation of a knowledge that was deemed dangerous or at least incompatible with Jewish religion, but this will not be the focus of the present paper. Here, we will follow a different line: In contrast to biblical times and Second Temple Judaism, some basic knowledge about planets and their role in astrology becomes ubiquitous in traditional Jewish learning in Late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. After the long period of total silence, planets were suddenly rising on the horizon of Jewish texts, and more than that, they fulfilled an important role in certain astrological practices.

This is quite a surprising phenomenon: How could it come about that a number of basic tenets of planetary astronomy and astrology eventually did find their way into the core Jewish traditions after any reminiscence was banned during centuries? How did the silenced outcasts of Jewish culture in Antiquity assume a place of honor, and how was the tendentious exclusion transformed into a most honorable inclusion?

The absence of planets in ancient Jewish sources

With the exception of Saturn, which is mentioned with its Akkadian name *Kewan* (*Kiyyun*) in Amos 5:26, and the doubtful translation of *ʿAsh* as *Hesperos* (Venus as the evening star) in the Septuagint version of Job 38:32, there are no unambiguous references to the planets, i.e. the five "real" planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Mercury in the Hebrew Bible.[1] This absence of any detailed knowledge about the planets is perhaps not totally surprising in view of the general scarcity of astronomical and astrological knowledge in the Hebrew Bible in general.[2] It remains nevertheless remarkable, since astronomy, astrology and the belief in astral deities played an enormous role in Assyrian and Babylonian culture. Accordingly, it seems quite possible that some kind of astral piety and religious practice did have some impact on ancient Israel, and was thus refuted by some of the prophets.[3] But be this as it may, there is no positive evidence that forces us to assume that any aspect of planetary astronomy or astrology was known in greater detail in biblical times.[4]

The same observation holds true for most of the Second Temple period. This is perhaps slightly more surprising given the fact that during the Hellenistic period astrology underwent one of its peaks, and one might expect that it would have been rather easy for Jews to create literary contexts, where the planets could have found a decent place in Jewish literature. Consider, for example, the astronomical teachings of chapters 72–82 of 1 Enoch, where the planets, which are next to the sun and the moon the most striking astronomical entities visible in the sky, are conspicuously absent. Attempts have been made to fill this gap by interpreting the "seven stars," which "transgressed God's

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[1] On star names in the Hebrew Bible cf. Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Sternennamen in Alten Testament," in *Norsk Teologisk Tijdskrift* 29 (1928); Robert C. Newman, "כוכב (kôḵāḇ)," Willem A. VanGemeren (ed.), *New International Dictionary of Old Testament and Exegesis*, vol. 2, pp. 609–614; cf. also R. E. Clements, "כוכב (kôḵāḇ)," G. Johannes Botterweck et al. (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, vol. 4, col. 79–91.

[2] Cf., e.g., the classical study by Giovanni Schiaparelli, *L'astronomia nell'Antico Testamento* (Milan, 1903).

[3] Cf. Rainer Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit* (Göttingen, 1992), pp. 295–297.

[4] Cf., for a more recent discussion, Ida Zatelli, "Astrology and the Worship of the Stars in the Bible," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 103 (1991): 86–99.

commandments," mentioned in 1 Enoch 18:13ff. and 21:2–6, as referring to the irregular course of the planets.[5] This, however, remains highly hypothetical, so that it might seem to be an appealing solution to interpret the absence of the planets as the result of intentional censorship. The religious and astrological orientation of human beings toward the planets may have been seen as a "*lapis offensionis*,"[6] but at any rate, the planets are virtually inexistent in 1 Enoch.

Whereas a re-insertion of the planets into the cosmology of 1 Enoch by means of sophisticated interpretations might be possible, it is even more difficult to detect a closer familiarity with planetary astronomy or astrology in other literary sources of the period. Attempts to "prove" the influence of astrological speculations, most notably that of the theory of the Great Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, on the political events during the Hasmonean and Herodian eras, are pure guesswork, and scholars advocating such an interpretation presuppose a general familiarity with this astrological concept as a *petitio principii* rather than being able to deduce it from their literary sources.[7] Similarly, the re-discovery of the planets and their angels in various texts belonging to the Qumran community is possible only at the cost of enormous interpretative detours.[8] The same corpus of texts, which has preserved some unambiguous sources for astrological practices[9] and an almost complete list of the Aramaic names of the signs of the zodiac in the *brontologion* 4Q318,[10] remains silent as soon as it comes to speak about planets.

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[5] Cf. the passages speaking about irregular movements of stars in 1 Enoch 75:2; 80:6.7; 82:2; for a discussion cf. Matthias Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube. Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (Neukirchen/Vluyn, 1994), pp. 115–116.

[6] Albani, *ibid.*, pp. 249–255, 335–344.

[7] Cf. Kocku von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie. Jüdische und christliche Beiträge zum antiken Zeitverständnis* (Berlin/New York, 2000), pp. 102–158.

[8] Stuckrad, *ibid.*, pp. 159–222, especially pp. 173–176.

[9] Cf. Stuckrad, *ibid.*, and Reimund Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen, 2006), pp. 17–27.

[10] This text has been the subject of vivid scholarly dispute in recent years. Cf. J. C. Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, "An Astrological Text from Qumran (4Q316) and Reflections on Some Zodiacal Signs," *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1993–95): pp. 507–525, and for further literature and discussions Stuckrad, *ibid.*, pp. 204–215, and Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 19–24.

This general impression is only partially mitigated by the fact that both Josephus Flavius[11] and Philo of Alexandria[12] describe the Menorah according to an astral symbolism and associate its seven arms with the seven planets. Both authors are oriented toward a Greek-speaking audience to such an extent that we cannot deduce from these texts that their interpretation necessarily reflects beliefs current among Jews in the first century CE.

Furthermore, we have to assume that the Jewish astrologers who composed Greek astrological texts attributed to Abraham (probably in Hellenistic Egypt) knew about the planets,[13] but even from the fragments preserved here we cannot seize a single piece of clear evidence dealing with planets. Finally, the observance of extraordinary celestial phenomena connected with Jesus' birth (Matthew 2:1–12) are too vague to prove the opposite.

To sum up, from the whole period preceding the destruction of the Second Temple, we possess not a single piece of evidence from Jewish culture testifying to a more intimate knowledge of planetary astronomy or astrology. As a consequence, close to nothing is known about the "status" of the planets in Jewish culture. We cannot even tell their Hebrew or Aramaic names. It probably would be a rash conclusion to argue that this is to be interpreted as the outcome of intentional censorship. It is equally possible that the lack of interest was due to the fact that there was no urgent need to deal with planets at all. Nothing forces men to think about planets as long as their daily life is regulated; even if more sophisticated problems arise, such as the question of the fixing of the correct calendar, this does not necessarily imply an interest in planets at all. This situation, however, would change in later centuries.

The first steps toward an inclusion: Planets in the Talmud

Many aspects of the development of the present Jewish calendar prior to its implementation traditionally associated with Hillel II in 358/59 CE remain obscure. Rabbinic literature has preserved only highly frag-

[11] Josephus, *Jewish War*, V,216–218, and *Jewish Antiquities* III,182.

[12] Philo, *Moses*, II,105; *Questions and Answers on Exodus*, II,73–79; *Who is the Heir*, 216–229.

[13] Cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 11–17.

mented information about it, and many attempts to reconstruct this dark period remain mere guesswork.[14] However, our sources make it quite clear that toward the end of the tannaitic period (end 2nd century CE) and in the early amoraic period (first half of the 3rd century) the rabbis intensified their efforts to find solutions for a number of intricate problems of a fixed luni-solar calendar.

Accordingly, in this very period we encounter some unambiguous expressions of the high esteem in which the study of the calendar and astronomy was held among the rabbis. An example in case is Bar Qappara, a tanna of the fifth generation, who is reported to have said that "everyone who knows to calculate the *tequfot* and *mazzalot* and does not calculate (them)—Scripture says about him (Is 5:12): *And they do not look at the work of the Lord and the doing of his hands they did not see*" (bShab 75a).[15] Variant versions of the same dictum circulated for Rav, a Babylonian amora of the first generation ("Who knows to calculate the *tequfot* and *mazzalot* and does not calculate [them]—one does not talk to him"),[16] and for R. Yohanan, a Palestinian amora of the second generation ("From where do we know that it is a commandment for man to calculate the *tequfot* and *mazzalot*? Because it is said [Deut 4:6]: *And you shall preserve and do it, because it is your wisdom and your understanding in front of the nations.*—this means: the calculation of *tequfot* and *mazzalot*.")[17]

Since this is not the place to discuss the whole problem of the Jewish calendar, a few details relevant for these quoted dicta suffice. The calculation of the *tequfot* mentioned by Bar Qappara, Rav and Yohanan clearly refers to the attempts made at that time to fix the length of the tropical solar year and, concomitantly, to make a precise calculation of the length of the four seasons defined by the equinoxes and

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[14] Cf. on the development of the Jewish calendar Adolf Schwarz, *Der jüdische Kalender historisch und astronomisch untersucht* (Breslau, 1872); Ludwig Basnitzki, *Der jüdische Kalender. Entstehung und Aufbau* (Frankfurt am Main,[2] 1998;[1] 1938); Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community. A History of the Jewish Calendar Second Century BCE–Tenth Century CE* (Oxford, 2001).

[15] bShab 75a: אמר רבי שמעון בן פזי אמר רבי יהושע בן לוי משום בר קפרא: כל היודע לחשב בתקופות ומזלות ואינו חושב—עליו הכתוב אומר *ואת פעל ה׳ לא יביטו ומעשה ידיו לא ראו.*

[16] bShab 75a: אמר רב זוטרא בר טוביה אמר רב: [...] והיודע לחשב תקופות ומז־לות ואינו חושב—אסור לספר הימנו.

[17] bShab 75a: אמר רבי שמואל בר נחמני אמר רבי יוחנן: מנין שמצוה על האדם לחשב תקופות ומזלות—שנאמר *ושמרתם ועשיתם כי היא חכמתכם ובינתכם לעיני העמים*—הוי אומר זה חישוב תקופות ומזלות.

solstices. For our purpose it is of little relevance that Jewish tradition has adopted two different lengths of the solar year: Mar Shemuel, a Babylonian amora of the first generation, fixed the length of a *tequfah* to 91 days and 7 1/2 hours, based on a solar year consisting of 365 days and 6 hours, which is identical with the Julian calendar, whereas one generation later, the Babylonian amora Adda is reported to have calculated the *tequfah* at 91 days, 7 hours, 519 *halaqim* and 31 *regaʿim*, summing up to a solar year of 365 days, 5 hours, 997 *halaqim* and 48 *regaʿim*.[18] What is more important for us is that given the fact that the very first *tequfah* of Nisan was believed to have fallen on Wednesday 0 hours (i.e. 6 p.m.), all the following *tequfot* of Nisan, Tammuz, Tishre and Tevet happen to fall on different hours of the day according to a fixed pattern. This pattern is expounded in another passage of the Babylonian Talmud (bEr 56a):

> Shemuel said: The *tequfah* of Nisan falls in the four quarters of the day only: either in the beginning of the day, or the beginning of the night or the middle of the day or the middle of the night. The *tequfah* of Tammuz falls either in the first or the seventh and a half only, be it during the day or the night. The *tequfah* of Tishre falls in three hours or nine hours only, be it during the day or the night. The *tequfah* of Tevet falls in the fourth and the tenth and a half only, be it during the day or during the night. And between one *tequfah* and the other there are 91 days and seven and a half hours only, and one *tequfah* never attracts more than half an hour of the other one.[19]

Mar Shemuel's year thus counts 365 days and 6 hours, and the *tequfah* of Nisan progresses 1 day and 6 hours every year (i.e., first year: 0 hours [6 p.m.] of Tuesday; second year: 6 hours [0:00 a.m.] of Thursday; third year: 12 hours [6 a.m.] of Thursday etc.) to the effect that the *tequfah* reverts to the original weekday every 28 years.

In principle it would have been possible to count weekdays and hours simply by numerals as was done in the texts quoted above and is still customary today (*yom rishon, shaʿah shesh* etc.), but there is evidence that the rabbis adopted a system of *planetary rulers* for both

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[18] One hour contains 1080 *halaqim*, one *heleq* 76 *regaʿim*.

[19] bEr 56a: אמר שמואל: אין תקופת ניסן נופלת אלא בארבעה רבעי היום או בתחלת הלילה או בחצי היום או בחצי הלילה. ואין תקופת תמוז נופלת אלא או באחת ומחצה או בשבע ומחצה בין ביום ובין בלילה. ואין תקופת תשרי נופלת אלא או בשלש שעות או בתשע שעות בין ביום ובין בלילה. אין תקופת טבת נופלת אלא או בארבע ומחצה או בעשר ומחצה בין ביום ובין בלילה. ואין בין תקופה לתקופה אלא תשעים ואחד יום ושבע שעות ומחצה ואין תקופה מושכת מחברתה אלא חצי שעה.

Table 1

Tequfat Nisan	0 hours (6 p.m.)	6 hours (midnight)	12 hours (6 a.m.)	18 hours (noon)
Tequfat Tammuz	7,5 hours (1:30 a.m.)	13,5 hours (7:30 a.m.)	19,5 hours (1:30 p.m.)	1,5 hours (7:30 p.m.)
Tequfat Tishre	15 hours (9 a.m.)	21 hours (3 p.m.)	3 hours (9 p.m.)	9 hours (3 a.m.)
Tequfat Tevet	22,5 hours (4:30 p.m.)	4,5 hours (10:30 p.m.)	10,5 hours (4:30 a.m.)	16,5 hours (10:30 a.m.)

the days of the week and for the hours of each day (Sun-day, Mon-day etc.) at a relatively early stage.

The origins of this "planetary week" are still unknown, but as Franz Boll pointed out, "it is beyond any doubt that the lunar week [of seven days—R. L.] existed long before the idea occurred to dedicate each day of the week to one planet."[20] The earliest direct evidence for the association of the seven planets Saturn—Sun—Moon—Mars—Mercury—Jupiter—Venus with the seven days of the week is relatively late. It cannot be dated earlier than the first century BCE. Various technical explanations were given for the basic ideas underlying this system, but it seems quite likely that the one provided by Vettius Valens, an astrologer of the second century CE, is historically seen as the correct one. In chapter I:10 of his *Anthologiae* he reports that planetary rulers were first allotted to each hour of the weekdays, from where the planetary rulers of the days were then deduced. The underlying order of the planets reflects their distance from the earth:[21]

> The order of the stars in relation to the days is as follows: Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. The arrangement of the zones is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. From this arrangement the hours receive their designation, from the hours the day of the star one after the other.

[20] Franz Boll, art. "Hebdomas" in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 14 (München, 1912), col. 2547–2578, on col. 2556; cf. also A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque* (Paris, 1899), pp. 476–486, and Wilhelm Gundel, *Sternglaube, Sternreligion und Sternorakel* (Heidelberg,[2] 1959), pp. 104–110.

[21] Vettius Valens, *Anthologiae*, ed. David Pingree (Leipzig, 1986), pp. 25–26.

In other words, Vettius Valens assumes that the first hour of Saturday was given to Saturn, the second to Jupiter, the third to Mars etc. until one reaches the seventh hour, which belongs to the moon. Then one returns to the beginning and attributes the eighth hour to Saturn etc. If one follows this paradigm, the planetary ruler of the 24th hour of Saturday is Mars, so that the planet ruling the first hour of Sunday automatically turns out to be the Sun. Accordingly, the ruler of the first hour of a day is always also the planetary ruler of the whole day:

Saturday

1., 8., 15., 22.	Saturn
2., 9., 16., 23.	Jupiter
3., 10., 17., 24.	Mars
4., 11., 18.	Sun
5., 12., 19.	Venus
6., 13., 20.	Mercury
7., 14., 21.	Moon

Sunday

1., 8., 15., 22.	Sun
2., 9., 16., 23.	Venus
3., 10., 17., 24.	Mercury
4., 11., 18.	Moon
5., 12., 19.	Saturn
6., 13., 20.	Jupiter
7., 14., 21.	Mars

Monday

1., 8., 15., 22.	Moon
etc.	

It was repeatedly argued that the whole system of planetary rulers of the weekdays and the hours must go back to Jewish origins. Based on a rather complex argument Solomon Gandz, for example, was convinced that it is purely Jewish invention: As we have seen above, the whole system logically starts with Saturn as the first planetary ruler. Now, Saturn's rule falls on Tuesday evening 6 p.m. This, however, is quite conspicuous, because such a fixation seems to presuppose that the stars were created on that day, just as it can be found in Gen 1:14–19. Gandz therefore believes that the creation of the stars "was the natural point of departure for the cycle of the planetary hours, and this first hour was dedicated to Saturn, and all the rest followed the

natural and generally accepted order of the planets—i.e. שצ"ם חנכ"ל, or SaJuMa SuVeMeMo." Accordingly, he comes to the conclusion that from a historical point of view this system was introduced in Rome in the second century BCE (p. 224) by Jewish astrologers, who were familiar with the biblical account of the creation.[22]

However speculative Gandz's interpretation might be, some kind of Jewish influence on the development of the system of planetary rulers cannot be ruled out. In chapter I:10 of Vettius Valens' *Anthologiae*, for example, which bears the title "On the heptazônos, [i.e. the sabbatical day]—off-hand" we find the opening words: "About the week [and the sabbatical day] it is like this…".[23] The references to the Sabbath in this passage are considered by David Pingree, the editor of the most recent critical edition of the *Anthologiae*, as later glosses. This possibility cannot be ruled out. On the other hand, it should be noted that pagan authors also quite often explain Jewish Sabbath observance as being related to the dominance of Saturn on this day.[24] Not all of them, however, necessarily deduce from this fact that the whole system of planetary rulers must be of Jewish origin. Dio Cassius, for example, a pagan historian of the second century CE, reports in a long chapter of his *Roman History* (XXXVII, 18), which deals with the Jewish God and the observance of the Sabbath:[25]

> Now as for him, who he is and why he has been so honored, and how they got their superstitious awe of him, accounts have been given by many, and moreover these matters have naught to do with this history. The custom, however, of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was instituted by the Egyptians, but is now found among all mankind, though its adoption has been comparatively recent; at any rate the ancient Greeks never understood it, so far as I am aware. But since it is now quite the fashion with mankind generally and even with the Romans themselves, and is to them already in a way an ancestral tradition, I wish to write briefly of it, telling how and in what way it has

[22] Solomon Gandz, "The Origin of the Planetary Week or The Planetary Week in Hebrew Literature," in *PAAJR* 18 (1948/49): 213–254.

[23] Vettius Valens, *Anthologiae*, ed. David Pingree (Leipzig, 1986), pp. 25; cf. also Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1980), p. 174.

[24] Cf. Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 158–167 and Peter Schäfer, *Judeophobia. Attitudes toward the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge/Mass. and London, 1997), pp. 82–92.

[25] Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, translated by E. Cary, vol. 3 (Cambridge/Mass. and London, 1914), pp. 129–131 (Loeb Classical Library).

> been so arranged. I have heard two explanations, which are not difficult of comprehension, it is true, though they involve certain theories. For if you apply the so-called 'principle of the tetrachord' (which is believed to constitute the basis of music) to these stars, by which the whole universe of heaven is divided into regular intervals, in the order in which each of them revolves, and beginning at the outer orbit assigned to Saturn, then omitting the next two name the lord of the fourth, and after this passing over two others reach the seventh, and you then go back and repeat the process with the orbits and their presiding divinities in this same manner, assigning them to the several days, you will find all the days to be in a kind of musical connection with the arrangement of the heavens. This is one of the explanations given; the other is as follows. If you begin at the first hour to count the hour of the day and of the night, assigning the first to Saturn, the next to Jupiter, the third to Mars, the fourth to the Sun, the fifth to Venus, the sixth to Mercury, and the seventh to the Moon, according to the order of the cycles which the Egyptians observe, and if you repeat the process, covering thus the whole twenty-four hours, you will find that the first hour of the following day comes to the Sun. And if you carry on the operation throughout the next twenty-four hours, in the same manner as with the others, you will dedicate the first hour of the third day to the Moon, and if you proceed similarly through the rest, each day will receive its appropriate god. This, then, is the tradition.

Accordingly, the degree of Jewish contribution to the development of the planetary week in general is difficult to assess. It seems quite likely, however, that the planetary week is the product of a long process of assimilation and amalgamation of different but parallel elements, some of which were Jewish, others Egyptian and others Greek or Roman. Accordingly, far-reaching hypotheses as to the great age of Jewish familiarity with the system of planetary weekdays and hours are unfounded and moreover not corroborated by the observations about the beginnings of planetary astronomy and astrology in Judaism made in this paper. As we will see, there are no unambiguous sources testifying to the possibility that Jews used the concept of planetary rulers prior to the turn of the 3rd century CE.

One of the first pieces of evidence for a Jewish acquaintance with the system of planetary rulers of weekdays and hours is to be found in a *sugya* from the Babylonian Talmud (bEr 56a), which we had occasion to mention above. In this text Mar Shemuel exposes his astronomical theories about the *tequfot* and the length of the solar year, but occasionally also slips into the field of astrology predicting that the occurrence of the *tequfot* in the hour of Jupiter will bring forth heavy (Nisan) and hot (Tevet) winds:

> And Shemuel said: There is no *tequfah* of Nisan, which falls in (the hour of) Jupiter and does not fell the trees, and there is no *tequfah* of Tevet, which falls in (the hour of) Jupiter and does not dry the seeds.[26]

For a slightly later period we can observe that the concept of the solar cycle of 28 years and the association of the hours of the *tequfot* with the planets even appears in halakhic discussions. In bBer59b we find the *barayta*:

> Our rabbis taught: He who sees the sun in its *tequfah*, the moon in its strength, and the stars in their paths and the *mazzalot* in their order, says: Blessed be He who made the creation,[27]

which in all likelihood originally meant nothing but that one is obliged to say a benediction whenever one sees the sun on the days of the equinoxes and solstices, the full moon, the stars and the *mazzalot*. This, the redactors of the Talmud may have observed, might happen quite often, so that consequently the following Talmudic discussion tries to limit this practice to a much rarer occasion. "When does this happen?" (ואימת הוי?) they ask, and then provide us with an answer, which was given by a Babylonian amora of the fourth generation (ca. 280–339 CE):

> Abbaye said: Every 28 years, when the cycle repeats itself and the *tequfah* of Nisan falls in (the hour of) Saturn in the evening of Tuesday before the morning of Wednesday.[28]

The literary evidence thus indicates that the system of the planetary rulers for weekdays and hours was adopted in rabbinic Judaism in close connection with the theories concerning the calculation of the *tequfot* and the length of the tropical solar year.[29]

We can, however, go one step further: If we try to interpret our earliest piece of evidence quoted above—i.e., Bar Qappara's dictum in bShab 75a that "everyone who knows to calculate the *tequfot* and

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[26] bEr 56a: ואמר שמואל: אין לך תקופת ניסן שנופלת בצדק שאינה משברת את האילנות ואין לך תקופת טבת שנופלת בצדק שאינה מייבשת את הזרעים.

[27] bBer59b: הרואה חמה בתקופתה לבנה בגבורתה וכוכבים במסילותם ומזלות כסדרן אומר: ברוך עושה בראשית.

[28] bBer59b: אמר אביי: כל עשרים ושמונה שנין והדר מחזור ונפלה תקופת ניסן בשבתאי באורתא דתלת נגהי ארבע.

[29] The passage bEr 56a adds: והוא (והני מילי) דאיתליד לבנה או בלבנה או בצדק—"and this is the case if the New Moon is born either in (the hour of) the moon or of Jupiter." However, this transposition of the calculation of the *tequfot* to the New Moon is clearly secondary, both in literary and historical terms.

mazzalot and does not calculate (them)—Scripture says about him (Is 5:12): *And they do not look at the work of the Lord and the doing of his hands they did not see*," we may ask ourselves, what the obligation to calculate the *tequfot* and *mazzalot* actually means? If the term *tequfot* is unambiguous, what does the term *mazzalot* mean in this context? A close reading of the Talmudic texts reveals that *mazzalot* must be interpreted in a specific technical meaning as referring to the ruling planet: Whoever is able to calculate the hour of the *tequfah* and to find out the *ruling planet* (*mazzal*) of this hour is obliged to do so! In other words, Bar Qappara's dictum can be seen *cum grano salis* as being the earliest rabbinic evidence for the practice of planetary astrology as a *mitzvah*, which is considered by R. Yohanan to be nothing less than *your wisdom and your understanding in front of the people* (Deut 4:6).

This interpretation is based upon the philological assumption that in all the texts quoted above the word *mazzal* designates "ruling planet" in the technical sense rather than "sign of the zodiac" or any other astral constellation, as is current in later rabbinic and medieval Hebrew.[30] Such an interpretation, however, is corroborated by a comparison with other Talmudic sources. The most famous among these is the discussion about Israel's subordination to the *mazzal* in bShab 156a-b,[31] where *mazzal* is again used in the specific sense of "planetary ruler":[32] The *sugya* begins with a long quotation from a *pinqas* attributed to Yehoshuaʿ ben Levi, a Palestinian amora of the first generation. It contains simple genethlialogical prognostications according to the weekday on which a person was born. These prognostications are interspersed with numerous minor discussions and interpretations attributed to later amoraim such as Rav Ashi or R. Nahman bar Yizhaq. The main focus of this "interlinear" commentary, however, is the attempt to provide a systematic foundation of the moral characteristics attributed to a person born on a specific day in the events of the seven days of creation. It is striking that in this context the prognostications given in the *pinqas* generally agree with the symbolism

[30] In biblical Hebrew the word *mazzalot* appears only once in I Reg 23:5 in the expression לבעל לשמש לירח ולמזלות ולכל צבא השמים, which does not allow any definite conclusion regarding the exact meaning of the word.

[31] For detailed discussions of this passage cf. Stuckrad, *ibid.* pp. 460–480; Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 90–94.

[32] Cf. also bAZ 42b, "all the *mazzalot* permitted, apart from the *mazzal* of the sun and the moon", which again allows an association with the planets rather than with the signs of the zodiac or other astral constellations.

deduced from the creation story, whereas they disagree with what one would find in the classical astrological teachings about the "planetary character" of persons.[33] Therefore, it seems quite likely that Yehoshuaʿ ben Levi intentionally tried to eliminate everything astrological in his short "genethlialogical treatise" by replacing them with biblical symbolism.

On the other hand, it is patent that the following Talmudic discussion did not follow the Palestinian amora in this line. The Talmud totally ignores the anti-astrological intention of Yehoshuaʿ ben Levi's *pinqas* and bluntly re-inserts astrology by telling us:

> R. Hanina said to them: Go and tell the son of Levi that it is not the *mazzal* of the day but the *mazzal* of the hour which exercises its influence,[34]

as if Yehoshuaʿ spoke in his *pinqas* of *mazzalot* rather than of the days of creation! What follow in the name of R. Hanina, however, are purely astrological prognostications, which—this time—are in total agreement with the moral qualities of the planets in classical astrology. The exact details of these prognostications expounded in bShab 156a are of little interest for us here. What is important for us is the fact that here the term *mazzalot* is used for the planetary rulers (*mazzalot*), which are being transposed here from the field of *tequfot*-astrology to the field of horoscopic astrology.[35]

Another piece of evidence for planetary astrology from the same period of time is preserved in bShab 129b, where several issues related to blood-letting are being discussed. Here, Shemuel again proves to be a competent astrologer, when he declares:

> Shemuel said: Blood-letting on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday. […] Why not Tuesday? For Mars rules an even-numbered hour. But on Friday, too, it rules an even-numbered hour?! Seeing that the majority of the people are in the habit of doing it (on Friday, we say:)—*The Lord preserves the simple-minded* (Ps 116:6).[36]

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[33] E.g., the *pinqas* predicts that a person born on Tuesday will be a fornicator. This has, of course, nothing to do with the character of Mars, the planet ruling the third day of the week. It rather reflects the fact that on this day the grasses were created, which widely spread their seed (Gen 1:11).

[34] bShab 156a–b: אמר להו רבי חנינא: פוקו אמרו ליה לבר לואי לא מזל יום גורם אלא מזל שעה גורם.

[35] Cf. also the following passage in bShab 156a: איתמר רבי חנינא אומר מזל מחכים מזל מעשיר ויש מזל לישראל. רבי יוחנן אומר אין מזל לישראל.

[36] bShab 129b: אמר שמואל: פורסא דדמא חד בשבתא ארבעה ומעלי שבתא. אבל שני וחמישי—לא דאמר מר: מי יש לו זכות אבות יקיז דם בשני ובחמישי שבית דין

To sum up, we can observe that a vivid interest in calendar reckoning prevailed at the turn of the 2nd to the 3rd century CE. These efforts yielded the fixation of the solar year and brought about the adoption of methods for the determination of the four *tequfot*. In order to designate these points of the annual cycle, the rabbis did not hesitate to adopt the practice of using the planetary rulers for the hours and days, which was a common heritage of the Greco-Roman *oikumene*. This cultural adoption gave rise to the application by the rabbis of certain astrological techniques for some aspects of mundane astrology (bEr 56a), which were also transposed to the casting of primitive horoscopes (bShab 156a–b) and the fixing of the correct day for blood-letting (bShab 129b). In other words, through the halakhic practice of calendar reckoning by the planets, the outcasts of the Second Temple period tacitly passed over in the earlier sources, found entrance into the cultural world of the rabbis, and with them a halakhically legitimate practice of astrology came into being.

"Jewish astrology" in later centuries

The interwoven development of calendar reckoning and the adoption of astrological practices had great repercussions in later Jewish history. Numerous sources provide evidence that mainly the astrological techniques related to the calculation of *tequfot* and the planetary rulers gained a place of honor in later Jewish cultural history. Legitimized through the role in calendar calculations, it is no surprise that the system of planetary rulers found its way also into numerous literary works of the later layers of rabbinic literature.[37]

On the theoretical level, the system of planetary rulers was widely accepted in Jewish sources. It was known, for example, to the author of the *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliʿezer*, who deals with it extensively in chapters 6–8 of his work,[38] and it is described in detail in a few passages transmitted in the context of the so-called *Barayta di-Shemuʾel*.[39] Shabbetai

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של מעלה ושל מטה שוין כאחד. בתלתא בשבתא מאי טעמא לא—משום דקיימא ליה מאדים בזווי. מעלי שבתא נמי קיימא בזווי. כיון דדשו ביה רבים—*שומר פתאים ה׳*.

[37] For a useful collection of many relevant texts cf. Gandz, *ibid.*, but his datings and the identification of literary works is often erroneous.

[38] Cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 82–89.

[39] Ed. J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim*, vol. 2, pp. 543 and 544.

Donnolo (10th century CE) accepts it as binding scientific truth in his commentary on *Sefer Yezirah* IV: 5–11.[40]

The appearance of the system of planetary rulers in the Babylonian Talmud made possible the entrance of astrological doctrines into the Jewish schoolhouses in medieval Europe, too.[41] To give a few examples of this, it should be noted that Rashi displays full acquaintance with the system of the planetary rulers of the hours in his commentaries on bBer 59b, bShab 129b, bShab 156a–b and bEr 56a. Accordingly, it does not come as a total surprise that this theory can also be found in a 12th-century Ashkenazi Bible commentator like Bekhor Shor, who uses the completion of the weekly cycle of the planetary rulers as an explanation to an inherent interpretative difficulty in the verse Gen 2:2, which claims that God completed the creation on the seventh day, although He must have rested on Sabbath.[42] Later on, Eleʿazar of Worms provides lengthy texts on the system of the planetary rulers borrowed from Shabbetai Donnolo in his own commentary on the *Sefer Yezirah*,[43] which in turn were identified as Eleʿazar's own words in a commentary of the 13th-century writer Abraham ben Azriel in his book *ʿArugat ha-Bosem*.[44]

As we have observed above, the calculation of the *tequfot* was closely linked with the adoption of the system of planetary rulers of the days, the hours and astrological practices from the very beginning. After all, it was none other than Mar Shemuel, who had stated that "There is no *tequfah* of Nisan which falls in (the hour of) Jupiter and does not fell the trees, and there is no *tequfah* of Tevet, which falls in (the hour of) Jupiter and does not dry the seeds" (bEr 56a). In more general terms, however, the divinatory relevance of the *tequfot* brought forth beliefs concerning the prohibition to drink water on these days,[45] but it also

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[40] Ed. D. Castelli, *Il Commento di Sabbatai Donnolo sul Libro della Creazione* (Firenze, 1880), pp. 61, 70 and 71–72.

[41] For a more detailed discussion of these processes cf. Reimund Leicht, "The reception of astrology in medieval Ashkenazi culture," *Aleph* (forthcoming).

[42] Bekhor Shor on Gen 2:2 (ed. Y. Nevo; Jerusalem 1994, pp. 8–9).

[43] Ed. M. Shapira, *Ha-R"' Mi-Garmayza ʿal Sefer Yezirah* (Przemysl, 1883), fol. 9c.

[44] Ed. E. E. Urbach, Abraham ben Azriel known as *ʿArugat ha-Bosem* (Jerusalem, 1939–1963), vol. 2, pp. 210–211.

[45] Cf. the responsa by Hai and Sherira Gaon, in *Zikhron kamah ge'onim,* ed. A. E. Harkavy (Berlin, 1887), pp. 206–208. The belief in the astrological influence of the *tequfot* and the prohibition of drinking water on them is discussed in a responsum of Hai Gaon's in *Hemdah genuzah,* ed. Z. Wolfensohn (Jerusalem: Y. Back, 1863), fol. 29v; on this text see Israel Ta-Shema, "The Danger of Drinking Water During the

yielded a number of popular astrological texts, which can be called authentic products of "Jewish astrology."

One of the most popular texts is a little booklet, which contains predictions of wheat-prices according to the part of the month on which the *tequfah* of Tevet falls (*Shaʿar ha-Hittin*). Since it is attested in early fragments from the Cairo Genizah and was written in Palestinian Aramaic, it probably stems from Palestine in the late Byzantine or early Islamic period.[46]

Specifically based on the system of planetary rulers is a small astrological work providing short predictions for the beginning of actions (*katarchai*) and simple horoscopes for the children born in every single planetary hour of the week. This text was extremely popular in the Jewish Middle Ages. It is preserved in at least two manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah (one in Babylonian Aramaic, the other one in Hebrew), and numerous medieval European manuscripts.[47] The text often bears the title *Shimmush HaNKaL ShaZaM*, and was also incorporated at the end of the manuscripts and the printed edition of Eleʿazar of Worms's commentary on the *Sefer Yezirah*[48] and in the *Sefer Gematriot* attributed to Judah he-Hasid.[49]

One of the most prolific fields of "Jewish astrology," however, was prognostications for the *tequfot*, which can be found in calendar handbooks, liturgical manuscripts and mystical treatises. Only examples of these texts can be mentioned here. An important early example of calendar handbooks with astrological appendices is the manuscript Or. Oct. 352 (Steinschneider 221) of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. It was presumably written around 1300 and bears the title *Sod ha-ʿIbbur*. Two and a half folios at the end of this handbook contain astrological prognostications, most of them referring to the *tequfot* (and *moladot*)[50]

Tequfah: The History of an Idea" (Heb.), *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 17 (1995): 21–32, on pp. 21–22 (with references to earlier studies). This belief was also known to Muslim scholars like al-Bīrūnī (973–1048); cf. Bernard R. Goldstein, "Astronomy and the Jewish Community in Early Islam," *Aleph* 1 (2001): 17–57, on p. 28.

[46] Cf. Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica*, pp. 73–75.

[47] Cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 94–96.

[48] Ed. M. Shapira, ibid., fol. 20c–21c.

[49] Ed. Y. Israel, *Sefer Gematriot le-had min qamai Rabbenu Yehudah he-Hasid ZLH"H* (Jerusalem, 2005), pp. 256–264, based upon the facsimile edition *Sefer Gematriot of R. Judah the Pious. Facsimile Edition of a Unique Manuscript,* edited by D. Abrams and I. Ta-Shema (Los Angeles, 1998), ff. 25r–29v.

[50] Astrological prognostications for the New Moon (*molad*) are much less frequent than those for the *tequfot*. A close connection of both aspects, however, is already

and using the system of planetary rulers.[51] Later *Sifre ʿEvronot* perpetuate this custom.[52]

From calendar handbooks these texts migrated to liturgical manuscripts, which often contain appendices on calendar issues, too. An early example of this is the manuscript Sassoon 535 (now Klagsbald), which preserves one of the earliest testimonies for the *Mahzor Vitry*. It was written in France in the middle of the 12th century, but contains on pp. 451–453 two short astrological texts on the *moladot* and the planets added by a slightly later hand.[53] Later on, we can encounter much more elaborate collections of cognate texts in the Italian *Sefer ha-Tadir* written by Moshe ben Yequtiel de Rossi (1380).[54] Presumably via Italy such appendices reached Yemen in the 17th century, where astrological *tequfot*- and *moladot* prognostications based on the system of planetary rulers can be found regularly in liturgical manuscripts, too.[55]

Finally, astrological texts on the planets and the *tequfot* also found their way into medieval Jewish esoteric works such as Eleʿazar of Worms's *Sode Razzaya*, although generally speaking these works themselves display a slightly more developed knowledge of planetary astronomy and astrology than the former traditions.[56]

Planetary astrology thus became an inseparable part of traditional Jewish learning in the Middle Ages. Little can be said about the exact date and origin of each of these medieval samples of astrology. One might assume that some of them might well be much older than their first attestation in medieval manuscripts, but this remains guesswork. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the enormous popularity of *tequfot*-astrology closely associated with the system of planetary rulers of the days and the hours, which can be observed in medieval Judaism, finds its ideological and pragmatic justification nowhere else than in the Talmudic tradition itself. Mar Shemuel's astrological dictum about

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indicated by a short addition in bEr 56, which follows Mar Shemuel's dictum about the influence of Jupiter on the *tequfot* quoted above: ואמר שמואל: אין לך תקופת ניסן שנופלת בצדק שאינה משברת את האילנות ואין לך תקופת טבת שנופלת בצדק שאינה מייבשת את הזרעים, *והוא דאיתליד לבנה או בלבנה או בצדק*.

[51] For a more detailed description of this manuscript cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 115–116.

[52] Cf., e.g., Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. quart. 692 (Steinschneider 225; Germany, 1715); on this manuscript cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 145–147.

[53] Cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, p. 111.

[54] Cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 123–130.

[55] Cf. Leicht, *ibid.*, pp. 177–184.

[56] Ed. Sh. Weiss, pp. 71–73.

Jupiter's influence on the *tequfot* was both the first echo *of*, but even more so a powerful catalyst *for* the development of a halakhically sanctioned brand of "Jewish astrology." At the turn of the 2nd and 3rd century CE we are thus witnesses to the birth of an astrology which possesses its proper *Sitz im Leben*, its ideological roots and its proper practical context within rabbinic culture.[57] This cultural phenomenon with its repercussions on later Jewish history can thus be justly called authentic "Jewish astrology."

[57] For a short discussion on the attitude of the rabbis towards astrology cf. Y. Harari, "The Sages and the Occult," J. Schwartz, P. Tomson, Z. Safrai (eds.), *COMPENDIA RERUM IUDAICARUM AD NOVUM TESTAMENTUM II/3b—The Literature of the Sages, Second Part: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Language of Rabbinic Literature*, Assen 2006, pp. 521–564 (on pp. 558–64).

METATRON AND THE TREASURE OF GOLD: NOTES ON A DREAM INQUIRY TEXT FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

Yuval Harari*

In 1927 some 50 fragments from the Cairo Genizah found in the Freer collection were published by Richard Gottheil and William Worell.[1] Two of them were classified by the authors as "charm." One was rightly identified by them as a charm of protection from various afflictions.[2] The other one was mistakenly understood to be a case of divination through gazing at a crystal.[3] The aim of what follows is to correct their error and expose the real essence of the text—a rare case of the execution of a dream inquiry. But first, here are some introductory words about dreams and dream inquiries among the Jews in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period.

Dreams and Divination

The peoples in Antiquity shared a view that a dream can be and in many instances is a meaningful message sent to a person from the gods.[4] The dream's advantage and disadvantage derive precisely from that origin. On the one hand, the information conveyed by it was perceived as valuable and credible. On the other hand, this knowledge often happened to be bizarre or vague and thus hard to uncover and understand. As dreams usually combine peculiar, inadequate

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[1] R. Gottheil and W. H. Worrell, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (New York, 1972).

[2] Ibid., pp. 106–7. It is of course the evil spirits that inflict harm by causing the diseases (or, differently put, the demonical personification of the diseases) that are addressed in the charm.

[3] Ibid., pp. 76–81 and n. 1.

[4] This common view was one way dreams were perceived in Antiquity, Ancient sources also reveal the view that the dream is a psychobiological phenomenon. See, for example, P. Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity—Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 39–73.

happenings with normally experienced events and themes, a special expertise was required to decipher and adjust them to the familiar reality of wakefulness. Indeed, such proficiency developed in many, if not all, cultures in Antiquity, as one can learn from the broad textual evidence related to it.[5] However, the interpretation of spontaneous, coincidental dreams did not suffice. The unique quality of the information delivered in dreams and the desire to gain access to it generated practices for the initiated turning to them, or more accurately to their senders. Through these practices certain required knowledge was

[5] For a comparative study of dreams in the ancient world based on Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hittite, Syro-Phoenician and biblical sources, see Jean-Marie Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World* (Sheffield, 1999). Dreams in these cultures are also studied in the relevant chapters in A. Esnoul et al. (eds.), *Les Songes et Leur Interprétation* (Paris, 1959). The most exhaustive study of the concept of dreams and the methods of their interpretation in Mesopotamia is still A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, NS 46/3) (Philadelphia, 1956). See also idem, "New Fragments of The Assyrian Dream Book," *Iraq* 31 (1969), pp. 153–65; R. Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel: Its Structure in Relation to Ancient Near Eastern Dreams and Its Theological Significance* (New York, 1984), pp. 11–55. For dreams in ancient Egypt, see A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd series, vol. 1 (text) (London, 1934), pp. 9–23. On dreams in Mari, see J. M. Sasson, "Mari Dreams," *Journal of American Oriental Studies* 103 (1986), pp. 283–93. Of the ongoing, broad discussion on dreams in the Greco-Roman world the most updated study is Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity*. Some further studies of significance are R. G. A. van Lieshout, *Greeks on Dreams* (Utrecht, 1980); A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans L'Antiquité* (Bruxelles, 1963 [Paris 1879]), vol. 1, pp. 277–329; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1959), pp. 102–34; C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 171–95; J. H. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980), pp. 1395–427; G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi, Magic and Occult in the Greek and the Roman Worlds* (Baltimore, 1986), pp. 231–39; M. Berchman, "Arcana Mundi: Magic and Divination in the De Somniis of Philo of Alexandria," in *Mediators of the Divine: Horizons of Prophecy, Divination, Dreams and Theurgy in Mediterranean Antiquity,* ed. G. Luck, (Atlanta, 1998), pp. 115–54 (on pp. 116–32). Of highest significance in this respect is Artemidorus' book of dreams interpretation. See Artemidori Daldiani, *Onirocriticon Libri V*, ed. R. A. Pack (Teubneri, 1963); R. J. White, *The Interpretation of Dreams, by Artemidorus* (Park Ridge, 1975). For studies of this treatise, see Berchman, ibid., pp. 115–16 n. 3. Cf. P. S. Alexander, "Bavli Berakhot 55a–57b: The Talmudic Dreambook in Context," *JJS* 46 (1995), pp. 230–48. For a succinct overview of dreams in early Christianity, see Hanson, ibid., pp. 1421–25. For more detailed considerations see J. Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, tr. A. Goldhammer (Chicago 1988), pp. 193–231; G. Stroumsa, "Dreams and Visions in Early Christian Discourse," in *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming*, ed. D. Shulman and G. Stroumsa (Oxford/New York, 1999), pp. 189–212; idem, "Dream and Magic among Pagans and Christians," in *Barbarian Philosophy: The Religious Revolution of Early Christianity*, ed. G. Stroumsa (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 191–203. Cf. Cox Miller, ibid., pp. 129–83, 205–53.

sought that would hopefully be revealed during sleep. In Antiquity dream inquiries were usually performed in the temples, the place where the human and the divine realms met and mingled.[6] However, if one is to judge on the basis of biblical evidence, it seems that this kind of practice was not widespread among the Israelites. Except for the case of King Solomon to whom God appeared in a dream after the king had sacrificed a thousand burnt-offerings at Gibeon "for that was the great high place," apparently a dream-incubation episode, the Bible does not relate cases of dream inquiries in places of worship.[7]

That is not surprising given the biblical view of prophecy, namely, the explicit word of God delivered to man as the major and almost sole legitimate means of divination. This stance lies behind the inner contradiction in the biblical approach to dreams that moves between admiration and consent, on the one hand, and disdain and rejection on

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[6] This practice, known as dream-incubation, is attested to in Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Greco-Roman sources. See R. Fidler, *Dreams Speak Falsely? Dream Theophanies in the Bible: Their Place in Ancient Israelite Faith and Tradition* (Jerusalem, 2005) (Heb.), pp. 17–18 and notes 48–50; Hanson, "Dreams and Visions," pp. 1397–98 and notes 12–17; A. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 134–39. Some twenty-five years of ongoing incubation dreams in Asclepius' temple in Pergamon (144–171 CE) are broadly attested in Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales*. See C. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales* (Chicago, 1968).

[7] 1 Kings 3:3ff; 2 Chron. 1:3ff. For a comprehensive discussion of this episode see Fidler, *Dream Theophanies*, pp. 252–81. The revelation of God to Samuel at Shiloh (1 Sam. 3:1ff.) might also be—and has sometimes been—considered as a close case. However, in spite of its taking place during the nighttime (or toward morning) at the House of God, not only is it not explicitly associated with a dream, some of its details actually undermine the possibility of its being a dream revelation. Moreover, it seems that the emphasis on Samuel's naiveté and the lack of any ritual preparations on his side, in contrast to God's initiative recurring time after time, is actually aimed at disassociating the scene from the (probably well known) case of dream-incubation. For the debate over the cultural meaning of the episode, see Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany*, pp. 149–52; Fidler, ibid., pp. 288–99; Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, p. 138; V. Hurowitz, "Eli's Adjuration of Samuel (1 Samuel III 17–18) in the Light of a 'Diviner's Protocol' from Mari (*AEM* I/1, 1)," *Vetus Testamentum* 44 (1994), pp. 483–97. Jacob's dream at Beth-el has also been observed as relating to the practice of dream-incubation. Though no initiation, let alone any ritual practice, is mentioned on Jacob's part, etiologically understood the story might recount the roots of dream-incubation practice that was customary at Beth-el temple. See Fidler, ibid., pp. 152–87 (esp. 166 and notes 185–87); R. Kutscher, "The Mesopotamian God Zaqar and Jacob's *Massebah*," *Be'er-Sheva* 3 (1988), pp. 125–30 (Heb.). Robert Gnuse suggests that the episode of Jaddus' dream told by Josephus (Ant 11:326–328), was actually a case of incubation narrated in the cautious way typical of the Bible concerning this kind of divination. See R. Gnuse, "The Temple Experience of Jaddus in the *Antiquities* of Josephus: A Report of Jewish Dream Incubation," *JQR* 83 (1993): 349–68. It is possible that also Philo's notion of Jacob's dream already involved incubation. See Berchman, "Arcana Mundi," pp. 141–42.

the other.[8] The biblical view seems to (implicitly) distinguish between *theophany dream*s, in which the explicit word of God is given to the dreamer, and *riddle dreams*, which require interpretation. The *theophany dream* was approved as part of the general belief in God's revelation to man. The *riddle dream* was rejected in favor of prophecy. Its mantic interpretation was perceived among other divinatory practices as part of the ways of the nations, prohibited for Israel, even though it was not so decisively condemned as they were. Dreams mentioned in the Bible are thus mostly of the *theophany* type, where God's message is delivered clearly and not through riddles or symbols. If the phenomenon of interpreting *riddle dreams* did gain popularity among the Israelites in biblical times, it went, however, almost unrecorded.[9]

The rabbinic view of dreams is also not homogenous.[10] Polyphonic in its very essence, their literature provides a stage for different, even

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[8] Compare for example Gen. 20:6 or Num. 12:6 (for the approving attitude) with Jer. 29:8, Zech. 10:2, or Eccles. 5:6. For the parallel between "a prophet" (נביא) and "a dreamer of dreams" (חלם חלום) as carriers of a (false) heavenly message, see Deut. 13:2–6.

[9] The most famous example for that kind of practice in the Bible is, of course, the case of Joseph, who began as an annoying interpreter of his own dreams and reached the pinnacle as a most celebrated interpreter at Pharaoh's court (Gen. 37–42). For comprehensive surveys and typology of dreams in the Bible, see Fidler, *Dream Theophanies*, pp. 7–95; Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany*, pp. 57–118. Cf. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, pp. 125–39.

[10] For a concise survey of the Sages' attitudes toward dreams, see Y. Harari, "The Sages and the Occult," in *COMPENDIA RERUM IUDAICARUM AD NOVUM TESTAMENTUM II/3b—The Literature of the Sages, Second Part: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Language of Rabbinic Literature*, ed. J. Schwartz, P. Tomson and Z. Safrai (Assen, 2006), pp. 521–64 (on pp. 552–58). For a more detailed version, see Y. Harari, *Early Jewish Magic: Research, Method, Sources* (Jerusalem, 2010), pp. 330–40 (Heb.). The most comprehensive study on the subject is H. Weiss, *The Role of Dreams in Rabbinic Literature: Cultural Aspects* (dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006) (Heb.). A comprehensive source book is A. Kristianpoller, *Traum und Traumdeutung* (Monumenta Talmudica 4/2.1), (Wien, 1923). And see further, I. Afik, *Hazal's Perception of the Dream* (dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, 1990) (Heb.); Alexander, "The Talmudic Dreambook"; G. Hasan-Rokem, *Web of Life—Folklore and Midrash in Rabbinic Literature*, tr. Batya Stein (Stanford, 2000), pp. 88–107; idem, "Communication with the Dead in Jewish Dream Culture," in *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming*, ed. D. Shulman and G. Stroumsa (Oxford/New York 1999), pp. 213–232; idem, "'A Dream Amounts to a Sixtieth Part of Prophecy': On Interaction Between Textual Establishment and Popular Context in Dream Interpretation by Jewish Sages," in *Studies in History of Popular Culture*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, pp. 45–54 (Jerusalem, 1996) (Heb.); M. Niehof, "A Dream Which Is Not Interpreted Is Like a Letter Which Is Not Read," *JJS* 43 (1992): 58–84; R. Kalmin, *Sages, Stories, Authors, and Editors in Rabbinic Babylonia* (Atlanta, 1994), pp. 61–80; J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish*

conflicting voices and opinions. Thus, on the one hand, it comprises clear manifestations of the belief in the validity of dreams and in their power to affect the lives of the dreamer and even of those people he or she dreams about. Examples are the saying that "a dream is one-sixtieth of prophecy" (bBer 57b); Rabba's desire to attain the solution of an unsolved halakhic dilemma in a dream (bMen 67b); and the ritual practices for reversing a bad dream (*hatavat ḥalom*).[11] On the other hand, we hear that "the words of dreams have no effect,"[12] or that "one only shows a person [in his dream] his own ponderings."[13] In between is the approach that "all dreams follow the mouth"—that is to say, that they are fulfilled in accordance with their interpretation.[14] By declaring that, the rabbis shifted the core of the connection between the dream and reality from the dreamer and his symbolic dreamed vision to that of the interpreter. The power to foretell reality and to affect it is thus removed from the dream and its message and handed over to the person (preferably a rabbi) who effects it through the very act of declaring its interpretation.

It is no wonder, then, that the Sages' literature includes traditions concerning dream interpretation as well as practices for initiated dreaming. The former is attested to mainly in the talmudic "dream book" and the partial, earlier parallels in *Midrash Rabba* on Lamentations.[15] Dreaming techniques, which bring us closer to our subject, are evidenced in the Tosefta.

Practices of Dream Inquiry

Explicit rabbinic evidence concerning dreaming practices is extremely rare. As far as I can tell it amounts to three methods, all classified

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Magic and Superstition (New York, 1970), pp. 230–48; R. Margalioth, *She'elot u-teshuvot min ha-shamayim le-rabbenu Yaakov mi-Mervege* (Jerusalem, 1957), pp. 3–24 (Heb.).

[11] See for example bSab 11a; bTaan 12b; bNed 8a; ySan 10:2, 28c; bBer 10b, 55a; EccR 5, 4.

[12] See bGit 52a; bSan 30a; bHor 13b; tMS 5:9; yMS 4:12 (The Academy of Hebrew Language); *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* 68:12 (Theodor-Albeck, II, p. 784).

[13] bBer 55b. Cf. the related stories about the dreams of Caesar and King Shapur (bBer 56b).

[14] bBer 55b. Cf. yMS 4:12; *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* 89:8 (Theodor-Albeck, III, p. 1096f).

[15] bBer 55a–57b; *Midrash Eicha Rabba* 1 (Buber, pp. 26a–28a).

under the prohibited "ways of the Amorites"[16]—kissing the coffin of the deceased, turning the garment (inside out), and sitting on a broom:

> Kiss the coffin of the deceased in order to see him at night. Do not kiss the coffin of the deceased in order not to see him at night. Turn your garment in order to dream dreams. Do not turn your garment in order not to dream dreams. Sit on the broom in order to dream dreams. Do not sit on the broom in order not to dream dreams.[17]

In addition, the Babylonian Talmud apparently alludes to the incubation technique performed by gentiles in their temple (bAZ 55a). However no technical dimension of the practice is mentioned.[18]

Magical practices for dream revelation—that is, the application of ritual means of adjurations and gestures to subdue a heavenly being into appearing in a dream and revealing to the dreamer any desired (concealed) matter[19]—were employed in the Greco-Roman world. Some professional manifestations of the technique are recorded in the Greek magical papyri.[20] Jewish evidence of such prescriptions is

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[16] On the rabbinic category "the ways of the Amorites" see Harari, "The Sages," pp. 528–9 (and n. 28 for further bibliography); G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic—A History* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 382–5.

[17] tShab 6:7 (Lieberman, vol. 2, p. 23, MS Erfurt). Cf. S. Lieberman, *Tosefta kifshuta* (New York, 1955–1988), vol. 3, Shabbat, pp. 86–87 (Heb.). Isaac Afik's view concerning the necromantic notion of the turning of the garment is groundless (Afik, *Hazal's Perception*, p. 16, n. 2). Haim Weiss suggested a semiotic interpretation in which the exposing of the hidden side of the garment symbolizes the dreamer's wish that knowledge, hidden throughout the day (the time when the garment is worn properly), will be exposed at night. See Weiss, *The Role of Dreams*, pp. 37–38.

[18] Two sequential and parallel stories in the Babylonian Talmud (MK 28a) tell about the revelation of the deceased in their brother's or student's dream, in fulfillment of the latter's request, expressed before the former's death. The fact that it was a dream revelation is explicitly attested in mss. Oxford 366, Munich 140, Vatican 108. In all the other manuscripts, including Munich 95 and Vatican 104, as well as in the printed version, the word בחלמא (in a dream) is missing. However, there is little doubt that this is indeed the meaning of the text.

[19] This phrasing is by no means a definition of magic, though it might be useful for our purpose here. For my view on the definition of magic in Late Antiquity, see Y. Harari, "What Is a Magical Text?—Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic," in *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity,* ed. S. Shaked (Leiden, 2005), pp. 91–124.

[20] See K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae, Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri,* 2nd rev. ed. by A. Henrichs (Stuttgart, 1973–74), or H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986), §§ VII/359–369, 478–490, 703–726, XXIIb/27–35. The Greek magical papyri were written in the first half of the first millennium. However, in many cases the origin of the magical traditions recorded in them predates their writing by hundreds of years. For an excellent discussion on this issue, see W. M. Brashear, "The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibli-

recorded only in a later period. Actually, we have no "professional" prescriptions for receiving a dream revelation prior to the mystical-magical treatises of the *Hekhalot* and *Merkavah* literature.[21] Broad, detailed instructions for inducing an angel to appear in one's dream are found in a text known as the adjuration of the Prince of Dream. Here is a portion of it:[22]

> Thus do: fast for three days and say {to me}[23] these (scriptural) verses on each and every night and sleep in your clothes. And on the third night take the book in your hand and say these names three times with the verses and afterwards lie on your shoulders for immediately a figure of a man will come to you and will speak to you (about) everything you may ask him, both great and small matters[24] [...] And this is what you should say: Blessed are you, our God, king of the world, God the great, mighty, awesome, exalted, wonderful king, who answers at all time of trouble [...*here come 12 verses from Psalms*][25]

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ography (1928–1994)," *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995): 3412–20. On Hellenistic dream request adjurations and their relationship to Jewish ones in early Jewish mystical writings, see R. M. Lesses, *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Harrisburg, 1998), pp. 325–36. On visionary dreams in the Greco-Roman world, see Hanson, "Dreams and Visions"; Cox Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity*; Berchman, "Arcana Mundi," esp. pp. 115–32; S. Eitrem, "Dreams and Divination in Magical Ritual," in *Magika Hiera*, ed. C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (Oxford, 1991), pp. 175–87; J. Finamore, "Iamblichean Dream Theory," in *Mediators of the Divine: Horizons of Prophecy, Divination, Dreams and Theurgy in Mediterranean Antiquity*, ed. M. Berchman (Atlanta, 1998), pp. 155–64.

[21] On the scholarly debate over the nature of Hekhalot and Merkavah literature between (visionary) mysticism and (practical) magic, see Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*, ch. 2. Though most of the *Hekhalot* and *Merkavah* texts are found in medieval manuscripts of the Ashkenazi pietists (along with a small portion of fragments in the Cairo Genizah), they no doubt derive from earlier mystical traditions. It is widely accepted that the cultural attitude recorded in these texts developed mainly, but not exclusively, in Palestine during the third to eighth centuries of our era. There is no reason to assume that the quoted text exceeds these lines.

[22] See the full text in P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1981), §§ 502–507. For an English translation, see Lesses, *Ritual Practices*, pp. 395–99. See also Rebecca Lesses' discussion on this and other related texts of adjuration for dream requests and the translation of some of the texts on pp. 230–54, 395–411. I generally follow her translation with some necessary changes.

[23] The word לי (to me) does not fit in the context of the adjuration and seems to be superfluous. Nowhere else in the texts is it mentioned that the instructions are given by the angel (or by God). They are always delivered in a neutral manner: "and say these names," "and this is what you should say," "these verses he should say," "on the third [night] he should say," etc.

[24] The Hebrew מן דבר גדול עם דבר קטן is grammatically incorrect. Either עם is an error of עד, or the word מן is surplus.

[25] The verses appear in their right order in Psalms starting with 4:2 and ending with 22:20.

Those verses he should say both (first) nights.[26] And on the third (night) he should say these verses with these names three times: In the name of YHWH God of Israel, living Lord of hosts, I am who I am forever and ever YHW YHWY TDYH YḤH YH YḤYH […] Blessed are you, Lord our God, king of the world […] I am the servant son of your maidservant and I have come to cast my plea before you to tell me about this certain matter whether it will happen or not. And may his [i.e. the angel's] coming be in calmness and not in anger so that I will understand his word and will not forget […]

And by your marvelous and glorious name I decree the Prince of Dream to hurry and come to me this very night and to tell me tonight all of my desires. I adjure you RGŠY'L the great, Prince of Dream, in the name of ḤY YHWH ZB'WT 'HYH 'ŠR 'HYH YQW'L YQḤW'L YMW'L […] to come[27] to me this night in calmness, in goodness, and not in anger, and to speak to me and to give me a sign or a wonder or a verse which will be in my hand, and to inform me about a certain matter[28] and about everything concerning it [when we speak] or that will be of its concern in the future whether for good or for something else […] I adjure you in these names to come to me[29] in calmness and goodness and not in anger, and to speak[30] with me about everything I wish [to know] concerning a certain matter. And tell me in my dream whether I should reveal its interpretation or whether I should conceal its interpretation from people, so that I shall not fail in this matter before the One who spoke and the world came into being, blessed is He and blessed is His Name […] And sleep[31] on your shoulders, like we said above. And on that night do not speak a lot with your wife and direct your heart towards heaven. And be careful with yourself for if the prince told you in your dream: "do not reveal a [certain] matter," do not reveal it.[32] If, however, he was silent about that matter[33] and did not tell you to conceal it, but he spoke[34] to you about whatever you needed [to know] and went away from you, do not be afraid to reveal it and to tell everything that

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[26] The ritual lasts for three continuous days and nights. The inquiry is posed on the third night. The Hebrew אילו הפסוקים יאמר כל השנים לילות might also mean that the verses should be recited during the whole (first) two nights.

[27] The Heb. שתבאו (pl.) is a corruption of שתבא (sing.).

[28] At this point, the user of the adjuration is supposed to insert his own matter of concern.

[29] The Heb. אלו is a corruption of אלי.

[30] The Heb. ותבכר is a corruption of ותדבר.

[31] The Heb. ותליו is a corruption of ותלין.

[32] The Heb. שאם אמר לך השר בחלום אל תגלה דבר אל תגלהו can also be translated: For if the prince told you in your dream: "do not reveal a thing" do not reveal it [i.e., the whole matter]. However, the next sentence makes it clear that it is the certain matter discussed that is at stake.

[33] The last seven words are written twice surely because of a scribe error.

[34] The Hebrew יאמרו is a corruption of יאמר.

> you saw whether good or bad. Be careful with yourself not to add to the things and lie and tell more. For if you lied and you have to do [it] another time he will never come to you [again], but if you acted faithfully he will not move from you at any time that you wish.

In this highly complex prescription, only partially quoted here, practical instructions concerning the reciting of a certain formula of adjuration and the way to lie down to sleep are linked with a demand for purity and a magical prayer to God, strictly formulated and fixed, for the sake of enabling the adjurer to induce the Prince of Dream to appear in his dream and to speak to him.[35] This whole set of preconditions is further combined with ethical requirements that relate to the concealing of the heavenly information or the accuracy of its transmission.[36] However, once all these terms are met, the visit of the Prince of Dream is assured time and again, and a broad, indeed unlimited, range of knowledge becomes potentially exposed to the adjurer.

As we all know, knowledge is power and the mastering of concealed knowledge is even more so. One can easily detect this from the self-image of *yordei ha-merkavah* (the "descendants" to the chariot) presented at the opening of *Hekhalot Rabbati* from the mouth of R. Yishma'el, though with no precise connection to the adjuration of the Prince of Dream.[37] As we shall see later it carries not only social advantages (emphasized by R. Yishma'el), but also financial ones.

The old weapon in political-theological struggles, accusations of sorcery (כשפים), also played a role in the anti-Rabbanite argumentation of the Karaites around the turn of the first millennium. Daniel Al-Qumisi, Salmon ben Yeruhim and other Karaite theologists accused the Rabbanites of writing amulets and of using both pure and impure names for various kinds of sorcery.[38] In a fragment of a tractate written

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[35] On the genre of magical prayers see P. Schäfer and S. Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, I–III (Tübingen, 1994–1999), vol. II, pp. 1–14. Cf. P. Schäfer, "Jewish Liturgy and Magic," in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger and P. Schäfer (Tübingen, 1996), I, pp. 541–57.

[36] For another example of ethical restrictions that condition the effectiveness of a magical practice, see Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, pp. 120–21 (2a:12–2b:11).

[37] See Schäfer, *Synopse*, §§ 81–91.

[38] On this issue, see Y. Harari, "Leadership, Authority and the 'Other': The Debate over Magic from the Karaites to Maimonides," *Journal for the Study of Sephardic and*

by an uncertain author (Salmon ben Yeruhim or Sahl ben Mazliah) dream inquiry is also mentioned among the Rabbanite's acts of "sin and wickedness."[39] Leaving aside the judgmental value of his claim, it seems to have been grounded. Dream inquiries were undoubtedly performed by Jews at that time as manifested in the famous correspondence between R. Hai Gaon and the rabbis of Kairouan.

In the early eleventh century R. Hai Gaon wrote a long, detailed responsum to the rabbis of Kairouan (today in Tunisia) concerning various matters of wonder that they had asked him about. Both their ponderings (mentioned by R. Hai) and his reply focus on the power of the Ineffable Name and the possibility of putting it into effect.[40] It is clear from R. Hai's words that this is not the first time he had replied to them about these matters. Apparently unsatisfied with his first response, the rabbis of Kairouan emphasized in their second letter the reliability of the evidence underlying their inquiry. And they wrote the following about dream inquiry:[41]

> And also concerning [practices of] dream inquiry—there are (were)[42] some wise and pious old men among us who knew them. And they used to fast for some days not eating meat and not drinking wine and sleeping in a pure place, and praying and saying (certain) known verses and letters in numbers,[43] and (then) to sleep. And they used to see wonderful dreams, like prophecy. And there were some of them who lived in our days and whom we knew. Each one of them had a (certain) known figure—one (had) an old man and the other (had) a youth—who would appear in it [i.e. the dream] and tell him and say verses to him that convey the certain matter he had asked about.

Mizrahi Jewry 2 (2007): 79–101 (on pp. 84–7) (digital only: http://sephardic.fiu.edu/journal/november07/YuvalHarari.pdf).

[39] J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (New York, 1972), 2, pp. 82–83.

[40] See Harari, "The Debate," pp. 87–90 and note 26.

[41] See S. Emanuel, *Newly Discovered Geonic Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1995), p. 126 (Heb.). The following translation is slightly different from the one in Lesses, *Ritual Practices*, p. 236.

[42] This version is a hybrid combination of the two versions found in other manuscripts: יש, היו (there are, there were). See ibid., n. 21.

[43] They probably refer to the technique known as Gematria—i.e., the assigning of a numerical value to the letters and the mystical-mathematical calculations that stem from the combinations of words, verses, or the names of God. Moshe Idel assumed that these words (Heb. אותיות במספרים) refer to Ex. 14:19–21. Each of these verses comprises 72 letters and a certain combination of them constructs the famous Name of 72 Letters. This name is first mentioned and described by Rashi (on Suk. 45a) almost a century later. See M. Idel, *Nocturnal Kabbalists* (Jerusalem, 2006), pp. 96–97 (Heb.).

R. Hai's responsum attests that the very practice of dream inquiry was also known in his surroundings (Pumbedita, Babylonia). Yet, he was very skeptical about the figure that appears in the dream:

> And you mentioned [the matter of] dream inquiry in your query and that there are people among you who inquire and see prophecy-like [visions], and this is also far [from being admitted or approved]. And we have heard that also here there were people who used to see true answers to what they had inquired (about),[44] but now we have only seen those who require signs like [the appearance in a dream of] rabbis in case that would happen, or [the appearance in a dream of] non-Jews in case that would happen, and [also] (biblical) verses relating the required matter. And there are (indeed) some people whose dreams are more definite and clear when they set a dream inquiry than other's dreams, and sometimes the answer is clear and sometimes it is obscure and sometimes there is no answer at all, but fear falls upon the inquirer. […] But this [matter] that you mentioned (that) each of them [i.e. those who practiced dream inquiry] (had) a certain figure, a master of the dream (בעל החלום), who would come to him, an old man to one and a youth to the other, we have heard that such (things) happened, but we have not seen it nor has anyone told us that he had seen it. And we have seen versions [of prescriptions] in which it is mentioned [i.e. the appearance of the master of the dream] and people (even) said before us that they had tried them once and twice but they did not work for them.[45]

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[44] The Heb. singular in מי ששואל רואה…מי שרואה תשובות מוכיחות למה ששואל indicates the existence of the phenomenon and not a certain person. Emanuel followed Heschel in taking the words of R. Mazliah, son of Al-Bazak about the revelation of R. Saadia Gaon in R. Hai's dream as evidencing that "even R. Hai himself experienced things alike [i.e. true answers in the dream to pre-set questions]." See ibid., n. 117; A. J. Heschel, "On the Holy Spirit in the Middle Ages (up to Maimonides' Time)," in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Lieberman (New York, 1950), Hebrew section, pp. 175–208, on p. 204 n. 168. The article was recently published in English in idem, *Prophetic Inspiration after the Prophets: Maimonides and other Medieval Authorities,* edited by M. M. Faierstein (Hoboken, 1996). See p. 59, n. 171. Interestingly enough, Abraham Heschel on the one hand considers the traditions about dream queries among the *geonim* to be "legend," whereas on the other hand, he asserts, "In these statements R. Hai Gaon hints at the fact that he too was occupied with adducing answers through divinatory dreams. He merely denies that he actually saw the dream-master" (ibid). I believe that we should indeed treat all these *late* traditions as legendary. Accordingly, unless we can historically reinforce the tradition about R. Hai, written in Sicily by one of his students (through the mediation of words by Moses son of Jacob Ibn Ezra written in Spain about a hundred years later), I suggest considering it evidence of R. Hai's image among his disciples rather than indicating biographical fact(s).

[45] Ibid., pp. 137–38.

R. Hai distinguished between two branches of the practice. One strove for information through dreamed signs and biblical verses. The other aspired for a clear, explicit message from the mouth of a dreamed entity. The difference between them lay in the figure of the mediator between the heavenly message and man. In the first case the heavenly message was sent directly into the dream, in a coded form. No heavenly mediator was involved but then a human interpreter was needed, either the dreamer or someone else, in order to turn the message into a meaningful one. Conversely, no human intervention was required in the second case, since the message was delivered explicitly and clearly from the mouth of the heavenly mediator who appeared in the dream. As we can see, R. Hai Gaon admitted that a dream revelation without a figure was a source of true knowledge; but he was very skeptical about the one with a "figure." Even though he was personally familiar with the theoretical aspect of "the master of Dream" praxis, he found no reason to believe in its efficacy.

About two centuries later, in the time and place from which the Cairo Genizah emerged, Maimonides raised his own voice against practices of dream inquiry. Nevertheless, it was not inquiry through an angelic mediator that upset him, but one made through the deceased, as one can see from his discussion on Laws of Idolatry in his *Mishne Torah*:

> What is a necromancer?—One who starves himself and goes and sleeps in a cemetery in order that a deceased will come to him in a dream and will tell him about matters inquired by him. And there are still others who put on certain clothes and utter [certain] words and offer a certain incense and sleep alone so that a particular dead person will come and converse with them[46] in a dream.[47]

The revelation of an angel in a dream is discussed at length in *The Guide of the Perplexed*, where in and of itself it raises no problem. On the contrary, given the fulfillment of certain preconditions, Maimonides perceives this to be a high stage of prophecy. To be sure, this is the sole case of true prophetic revelation of an angel. Any other

[46] Lit. with him.

[47] Moses Maimonides, *Mishne Torah—The Book of Knowledge,* ed. and trans. by M. Haymson (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 79b–80a.

kind of angelic vision, whether in wakefulness or in a dream, is simply impossible.[48]

Even though Maimonides did not relate explicitly to the practice of dream inquiry, his denouncement and ridicule of magic in general and the belief in the performative power of words in particular, together with his view of angelic revelation, apparently left no room for even the slightest tolerance toward the idea or the practice of inducing an angel to appear in one's dream and speak to him.[49]

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[48] Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, translated with an Introduction and notes by Shlomo Pines (Chicago, 1963), II, 42 (pp. 388–90). Cf. Maimonides' discussion on dreams and prophecy, ibid., II 41–46 (pp. 385–407).

[49] On Maimonides' attitude toward magic, see Harari, "The Debate," pp. 90–101 and bibliography. A totally different approach towards the efficacy of dream inquiries and the authority of their outcome was adopted at almost the same time by R. Jacob of Mervege. His unique response, widely referred to in later halakhic literature, was compiled at the very beginning of the 13th century on the basis of a long series of dream inquiries posed by him. See Margalioth, *She'elot u-teshuvot.* Cf. I. Ta-Shma, "*She'elot u-teshuvot min ha-shamayim*," *Tarbiz* 57 (1987), pp. 51–66 (Heb.); N. Danzig, "Geonic Responsa *Sha'arei Teshuvah* and *She'elot U-Teshuvot Min Ha-Shamayim*," *Tarbiz* 58 (1988): 21–48 (Heb.). For more general perspectives on the subject, see Heschel, *Prophetic Inspiration*, pp. 1–67; E. E. Urbach, "Halakha and Prophecy," *Tarbiz* 18 (1946): 1–27 (Heb.); Idel, *Nocturnal Kabbalists*. Medieval Europe is outside the scope of this paper, as are also "eastern" famous dreamers such as R. Yosef Taitazak, R. Yosef Karo, or R. Hayim Vital. See G. Scholem, "The *Magid* of R. Yosef Taitazak and the revelations attributed to him," *Sefunot* 11 (1971): 69–112 (Heb.); R. J. C. Werblowsky, *R. Joseph Karo, Lawyer and Mystic* (Philadelphia, 1977); M. M. Faierstein, *Jewish Mystical Autobiographies: Book of Visions and Book of Secrets* (New York, 1999). However, two brief comments concerning R. Jacob's praxis are feasible: (a) He always addresses God and asks Him to order the angels to appear in his dream and give him the desired answer (for example, Margalioth, *She'elot u-teshuvot*, §§ 3, 5, 47, pp. 47, 52, 72). God is perceived as the unique source of both the heavenly knowledge and the uncovering of it. The angels—and not a specific one of them!—are nothing but informants (§§ 5, 12, pp. 51, 57). Textual characteristics of adjuration (Harari, "Magical Text," pp. 116–21) are absolutely missing. This fits well with the answer R. Jacob receives upon inquiring about the use of the 42-letter Name for the adjuring of angels: "Holy holy holy is the Lord of hosts [Is. 6:3] and he alone will take care of all your needs" (§ 7, pp. 53–54). (b) R. Jacob was not a blind follower of his dreams. He was familiar with the talmudic concern about the possible demonic origin of dreams and in certain matters he requested a repeat answer in order to be sure. In one case he turned to God a third time with an explicit inquiry concerning the reliability of the messages of the previous nights: "Whether [the dreamed words] came into my mouth from God or not […] whether the words were inspired by the holy spirit and thus are useful […] or they came onto my mouth from another spirit and they are not useful and it is better for me to hide and conceal them." (§ 5, p. 52). The answer to these questions was expected in yet another dream revelation and thus what we are actually dealing with here is a kind of (contextually absurd) ars poetica of dream inquiry in which the practice is applied in order to inquire about its own reliability. Cf. the closely similar but different matter in § 22, pp. 61–62). On later, Kabbalistic developments of the practice of dream inquiry and their theological meaning, see M. Idel, *Nocturnal Kabbalists*.

As always, highly intellectual views make little impression on the common man. The very hagiography of Maimonides, where he is celebrated as nothing less than a powerful magician, is surely one of the most brilliant and amusing confirmations supplied by history.[50] The testimony of the Genizah is a more modest one.

Ṣedaqah, Metatron and the Gold Coins: A Dream Inquiry Adjuration from the Cairo Genizah

The magical evidence in the Cairo Genizah is not extensive in comparison to its entire body of texts. Nevertheless, more than two thousand fragments relating to magic have already been identified by Shaul Shaked. Some dozens of them have been published over the last twenty years by him and others.[51] In the past few years, a few hundred more fragments have undergone examination by Gideon Bohak and await further publication.

The magical testimony from the Cairo Genizah is of extreme importance for the study of common life of (at least one Mediterranean community of) Jews in the Middle Ages.[52] Constituting practical, professional evidence, the magical texts from the Genizah reflect a sphere of day-to-day reality that until recently could only be approached, if at all, through the lens of a usually hostile "outsider" mediator. With these texts at hand, we now have thousands of pieces of "insider" evidence that attest to the vast and deep penetration of the use of adju-

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Cf. the contemporary discussion on the authority of dreams in determining halakha in R. Ovadia Yosef, *Sefer she'elot u-teshuvot yabi'a omer* (Jerusalem, 1963–2001), 1, pp. 140–47 (*Orakh Hayim* §§ 41, 42) (Heb.).

[50] Y. Avishur, *In Praise of Maimonides* (Jerusalem, 1998) (Heb.).

[51] See Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte* (the fourth volume in this series, authored also by R. Leicht, is about to be published); J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1987); idem, *Magic Spells and Formulae* (Jerusalem, 1993); L. Schiffman and M. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Sheffield, 1992). Magical fragments from the Cairo Genizah, including the one presented below, were published before this wave of research and publication in the last two decades. See the detailed survey on research in the field in Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*, pp. 103–119.

[52] The most celebrated example of such a study is still S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (vols. 1–6) (Berkeley, 1967–93). However, this comprehensive and highly detailed study lacks any discussion of magic, as noted by S. M. Wasserstrom, "The Unwritten Chapter: Notes Towards a Social and Religious History of Geniza Magic," in *Officina Magica*, ed. S. Shaked (Leiden, 2005), pp. 269–93.

ration practices into almost every aspect of life of the Mediterranean Jews in the Middle Ages.[53] The more texts we look at the clearer it becomes that magic was actually put into operation for almost any conceivable objective. From expelling crickets out of the house to exorcising demons out of the body, from support of labor to release from jail, from kindling love to the destruction of a rival, from the cure of hemorrhoids to the study of the Torah—magic had to do with everything.[54] Economic success was not exceptional.[55] Ancient books of magic recipes like *Sefer Harazim* (the Book of the Mysteries) or *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (the Sword of Moses)[56] provide relatively early evidence of economically oriented practices of magic, whereas a rare example among the huge corpus of Aramaic incantation bowls written in Babylonia in the fifth to the seventh centuries CE,[57] attests to

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[53] The earliest magical fragments in the Cairo Genizah are from the 10th century and a large amount of them stem from the following three decades. However, there also exist fragments of a much later origin in the Genizah and one should not automatically assign antiquity to every Genizah text.

[54] For detailed studies of realms in which magic was employed, see Y. Harari, "If You Wish to Kill a Person: Harmful Magic and Protection from It in Early Jewish Magic," *Jewish Studies* 37 (1997), pp. 111–42 (Heb.); idem, "Love Charms in Early Jewish Magic," *Kabbalah* 5 (2000), pp. 247–264 (Heb.); idem, "The Opening of the Heart: Magical Practices for Gaining Knowledge, Understanding and Good Memory in Judaism of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages," in *Shefa Tal: Studies in Jewish Thought and Culture*, ed. Z. Gries, H. Kreisel and B. Huss (Beer-Sheva, 2004), pp. 303–47 (Heb.); O.-P. Saar, *Jewish Love Magic from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 2008) (Heb.). In all this research the Genizah material is studied together with earlier magical evidence deriving from Palestine and its environs. On the corpus of Jewish writings and artifacts from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 143–226; Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*, pp. 159–228.

[55] See Y. Harari, "Economic Aspects of the Use of Magic by Jews in Ancient Times and the Early Middle Ages," *Peamim* 85 (2001): 14–42 (Heb.).

[56] Y. Harari, *The Sword of Moses—A New Edition and Study* (Jerusalem, 1997) (Heb.); M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Jerusalem, 1966) (Heb.). For an English translation see M. A. Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim, The Book of the Mysteries* (Chico, 1983).

[57] The history of publication of the Babylonian incantation bowls goes back to the mid-19th century. The main published corpuses are J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1913); Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets*; idem, *Magic Spells*; J. B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London, 2000); D. Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* (London, 2003); and C. Müller-Kessler, *Die Zauberschalentexte in der Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena, und weitere Nippur-Texte anderer Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 2005). Dozens of Aramaic, Mandaic and Syriac incantation bowls were published elsewhere. For a detailed survey of the study of the bowls, see Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*, pp. 104–109. For a concise survey of the bowls and their magic, see D. Levene, "Curse or Blessing, What's in the Magic Bowl?" *Parkes*

the practical manifestation of the idea as early as that period.[58] In the Cairo Genizah we find both types of evidence—professional recipes for economic success and amulets prepared for that end—which in some cases prove to be dependent upon one another.[59]

Multiple options for economic success provided multiple needs for magical aid. Thus, ritual practices based on the reciting of adjurations are recommended in the magical books of recipes for various aspects of the agricultural, artisanal, and commercial activities. Beside these somewhat trivial yet realistic goals, a few other opportunities can be detected: to "turn the heart of a prominent or rich woman towards you"; to "make horses run with all their power [so] they will not fail in their run and will be light as wind and no animal will precede them […] and no [evil] sorcery or witchcraft will harm them" and thus win a chariot race; to turn "simple, worthless stones" into silver and gold; or simply "to become rich."[60] However, we take special interest in yet another type of option—the discovery of a treasure.[61]

Institute Pamphlet 2 (University of Southampton, 2002); Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 183–93; Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*, pp. 182–96.

[58] See D. Levene and S. Bhayro, "'Bring to the Gates…upon a Good Smell and upon Good Fragrances': An Aramaic Incantation Bowl for Success in Business," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51 (2005–6): 242–46. Almost all the incantation bowls were produced with the aim of protecting client(s) from demonic or sorcerers' attacks or of expelling evil sorceries and spirits from a client's body or house that they had already invaded.

[59] These cases show, on the one hand, that the writing of amulets actually relied upon the professional literature, and on the other, that it left the writer some space for personal improvisation. See M. D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah," *HTR* 83 (1990): 160–80; Harari, "Economic Aspects," pp. 32–33.

[60] See Harari, "Economic Aspects."

[61] The idea appears in the famous legend of Solomon and Asmodeus in the Babylonian Talmud (Git 68b). It is told that on his way to Jerusalem, Asmodeus laughed when he saw a magician performing his magic. When he was asked why he laughed, he replied: "[It was] because he was sitting above the king's treasure [buried in the ground]. Let him bewitch (לקסום) that which is beneath him [and gain it]." One possible interpretation is that Asmodeus mocks the magician for being busy with all kinds of (effective) magical acts instead of turning his power toward something really big. This reading suggests that it is the blindness of the magician which is at stake. This motif is in line with the one that characterizes the whole story. See H. Schwarzbaum, "The Shortsightedness of the Angel of Death," in *Roots and Landscapes,* ed. E. Yassif (Beer Sheva, 1993), pp. 56–73 (Heb.). I prefer this over the other possible reading, according to which the magician was performing a hocus-pocus show in order to obtain some money from his spectators and Asmodeus laughed at his very capability to perform anything real.

Only very few of the prescriptions in the Genizah material known to me were designated for that purpose.[62] A relatively early one of them (eleventh century), which relates to the case of a known hidden treasure, suggests the practice of divination through a drunk cock:

> A section [i.e., recipe] for buried money whose place of concealment is known to no one. He [i.e., the client] should take a white cock and you [i.e., the magician] should let it drink old wine for seven days and then write [the following] on a plate and hang it on its right wing. And at the place it goes [to] he should dig, [for] there it is buried. And this is what you should write: In the name of MYK'L GBRY'L RF'L ZWRY'L ḤMRY'L QDWŠY'L MDBNY'L MDNY'L and KMŠY'L[63] BRQY'L MWG'L MR'WT YH YH '"S [Amen Amen Amen Selah].[64]

Two other options are proposed in another, much later fragment.[65] One is based on divination through a child.[66] The other, "tested and efficient,"[67] requires the use of a candle made of "virgin wax," sulfur, a finger bone from a human corpse, another uncertain ingredient, and a thread taken out of a rope that was used for an execution.

In times where no secured cellars for safes were available, people had to hide their money somewhere. Thus, concealed treasures were apparently known to exist. But where? Relatives of a deceased person, who died without telling them the secret, greedy neighbors and mere

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[62] That is not surprising in light of the realistic, pragmatic character of the professional literature of magic. In contrast to the imaginary potency of magic in folk narratives and fantastic literature, most of the magical recipes suggest assistance in achieving goals that in principle can be attained without that aid. The main exception is the demonical sphere, which kept the sorcerers very busy and could not be approached except through magical means.

[63] The word וכמשיאל can also be read as a name—WKMŠY'L.

[64] Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, p. 56 (20a:2–10).

[65] Ibid., pp. 92–93 (2a:9–3a:4)—a 16th-century manuscript.

[66] On child divination in the Babylonian Talmud, see Harari, "The Sages," p. 546. On the use of this practice in the Greco-Roman world, see S. I. Johnston, "Charming Children: The Use of the Child in Ancient Divination," *Arethusa* 34 (2001): 97–117. For a psychological perspective on the practice in medieval Judaism, see Y. Bilu, "Pondering 'the Princes of the Oil'—A New Light on an Old Phenomenon," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 37 (1981): 269–78.

[67] In this context the Hebrew בחון ומנוסה should be understood as "tested and efficient" rather then "tested and examined." This is clear from prescriptions where מנוסה appears in a way that excludes the meaning "examined." For example, MS New York Public Library 190 pp. 82–83, §§ 33, 36: "and this name if efficient for every good thing"; "the power of this name is efficient for everything" (וזה השם מנוסה לכל טובה; זה השם כוחו לכל דבר מנוסה). Idioms testifying to the empirically proven efficiency of a recipe are widespread in the magical literature. See Harari, "Economic aspects," p. 31, n. 104, and below, n. 70.

adventurers were all anxious to look for them and find them.[68] And magic was there to support them in a variety of ways. Ṣedaqah, son of Sitt al-Ahl, used the one of dream inquiry.

If Ṣedaqah himself was not a practitioner of magic, he probably turned to someone who was in order to be directed toward his desired aim—the uncovering of a treasure of gold coins. As we have seen above, the professional knowledge possessed by such a person comprised various options for the exploring of treasures. However, there was always the old familiar way of summoning an angel and directly asking him about it. The preparations required for the revelation were usually a combination of certain ritual behavior with the recitation of an incantation. In some cases, such as the following recipe from the Cairo Genizah (eleventh century), the writing of the incantation was required, too:[69]

> Dream inquiry, tested and efficient.[70] Purify yourself three days and fast every day [during these] three days and wear pure, clean, washed clothes. And write on the left hand: For the name of NN [i.e. the adjurer] QQQQQ[71] this is My name forever and this is My[72] ŠDY ŠDY I am who I am[73] ḤSYN YH[74] ’ḤD[75] let His name be YY ṢB’WT YY ṢB’WT YY ’LHYM YY ’LHYM who seats upon the wheels of the chariot. I call you Michael the great prince to come to me and show me everything I ask you this night truly. And fast and do not eat and do not drink two days

[68] Regarding the first category see the stories in the Babylonian Talmud (Ber 18b) about Ze’iri and Shemu’el who went to the cemetery (on different occasions), called certain deceased persons and asked them about some money they had hidden which could not be found. In both cases the deceased told them where the money was and indeed they found it. See also the story about the man who was informed in a riddle dream of the place where his father’s money had been hidden (bBer 56b; yMS 4:12; *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* 68:12 [Theodor-Albeck, II, pp. 784–5]; *Midrash Eicha Rabba* 1 [Buber, pp. 27b–28a]) and the discussion in G. Hasan-Rokem, “An Almost Invisible Presence: Multilingual Puns in Rabbinic Literature,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*, eds. C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 222–39.

[69] Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, I, p. 136 (1a:11–1b:7).

[70] This idiom and parallels are used abundantly by the author of the book of recipes quoted here. See Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, I, p. 146, note on line 2.

[71] These are the initials of 5 times *kadosh*—holy.

[72] Ex. 3:15.

[73] Ex. 3:14.

[74] Ps. 89:9.

[75] Deut. 6:4.

> and one night[76] and you should sleep in a pure place[77] and he (will) tell you everything you wish.

In any case, whether recited or even written on the dreamer's body, no traces of the incantation could have survived to attest to the performance of the practice. It is only in cases like the one described below, also found in the Genizah (in a relatively late manuscript—sixteenth century), that material evidence could have survived to our day:[78]

> To uncover a finding. Write on deer hide: I adjure you Sandalphon Gabriel Hadatiel in the name of YHVY ŠDY N' holy I am who I am to come to me this night and show me a great finding that I shall be very happy with and tell me where is that finding truly. And put the writing under your head and lie down and sleep and they will tell you. End.

This was indeed the case of Ṣedaqah, son of Sitt al-Ahl, who probably lived in Cairo during the eleventh century.[79] And because of the certain practice he carried out that required the writing of the adjuration on a durable material (and some luck), we have at hand this unique example of an actual implementation of dream inquiry.

It seems that Ṣedaqah knew about a certain treasure of gold coins that was hidden somewhere in his vicinity, but he had no idea where it was. He decided to pose a dream inquiry and to induce Metatron, the most notable angel in the heavenly hierarchy, to disclose this secret to him. In line with our type of testimony—the very written adjuration used by Ṣedaqah—nothing is known about the enveloping ritual. However, we can quite confidently speculate about what happened before that special night, relying on other instructive literature we have encountered.

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[76] Heb. מב ימים ולילה אחד. Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked read it literally: forty-two days and one night (ibid., p. 140, 1b:6), but this is quite uncertain. They referred to other cases of such a long fast but also suggested the option of a corruption of ב ימים—two days. Perceiving the text as practical I believe that this indeed is the case and that the recipe suggests a realistic fast for the two days and the night in between, which anticipate the night of the dream inquiry.

[77] In an adjacent prescription also aimed at a dream revelation, it is also demanded to "keep away from a house in which a woman stays." See ibid., p. 136 (1b:8–16). No specific angel is adjured in this case, but some unnamed ones. The result however is the same: "And you will see a wonder for they will come and speak to you [concerning] your desire and request."

[78] Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, III, p. 369 (2a:9–13).

[79] The amulet prepared for Ṣedaqah (or by himself) is written in a non professional semi-cursive eastern (*mizrahi*) script, which is typical of that period. I would like to thank Dr. Edna Angel from the Department of Manuscripts and the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the Jewish National and University Library for this information.

Ṣedaqah probably fasted during the whole day, maybe even the day before, and might even have abstained from drinking water. He most likely went through some kind of purification, avoiding dirt and apparently also close contact with women. He almost certainly washed himself and put on clean clothing. Concentrating on his desire, he possibly prayed throughout the day and recited incantations before he went to sleep. However, one thing is quite sure: upon getting into bed he took with him a small sheet of paper on which an adjuration was written (by him? for him?) and most likely placed it below his head. Then he closed his eyes and waited for sleep to overtake him.

It would take a great deal of luck to find any evidence for the results of that night. Maybe nothing happened. Maybe he did converse with Metatron in his dream but in the morning he forgot his words. Maybe he tried it more than once. Maybe he even found the treasure—who knows? However, when everything was over he had to take care of that small sheet of paper. Throwing it away did not even occur to him as it bore holy names of God. So he went to the synagogue and put it there among all kinds of old documents and torn and worn-out writings that no one needed any more.[80]

And this is what was written on it:[81]

Recto

1	In the name of YHVH we shall do and succeed[82]	בשם יהוה נעשה ונצלח
2	by (the word of) YHVH[83] may the prince	עלפי יהוה יבא אלי שר

[80] This is, of course, just one possible, imagined illustration.

[81] The suggested reading is based on an examination of new photographs of the manuscript. I would like to express my gratitude to the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, for both supplying the reproduction and granting permission to publish it in this article. Both my reading and understanding of the text diverge from those of Gottheil and Worell who misread the entire text. I would like to thank Shaul Shaked, Gidi Bohak, Reimund Leicht, Edna Angel, and especially Uri Melammed for their remarks, which improved my reading.

[82] The left-hand stroke of the ח in ונצלח is missing due to the cutting of the paper strip after the spell had been written. The (expected) letter י might have been added between the letters ל and ח (resulting in the broad right-hand stroke of the ח), after the word had been written. The phrase בשם יהוה נעשה ונצליח opens many incantations. It is also known to appear in Jewish spells in its initials form—בינו. The earliest occurrence known to me is an amulet found in the ruin of an ancient synagogue in Ḥorvat Marish (in a layer dated to the first half of the 7th century). See Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells*, pp. 43–50 (and note on line 1).

[83] The idiom על פי יהוה (by the word/command of God) is frequent in the Bible (e.g., Ex. 17:1; Num. 3:16, 39, 51; Deut. 34:5).

3	of princes come to me, Oh[84] Metatron[85]	השרים אך מיטטרון
4	Oh, he is beloved and dear	אך הוא אהוב וחביב
5	over all the dwellers of height,[86] a faithful servant	מכל פני מרומו עבד נאמן
6	of God of Israel, high[87] priest,	לאלהי ישראל כהן גודל
7	head of the priests.[88] You have[89]	ראש הכוהנים שיש לך
8	seventy names, you are[90]	שבעים שימות שאתה
9	appointed over the great princes	הממונה על השרים הגדולים
10	and you are the head of the (heavenly) camps	ואתה ראש המחנות
11	I adjure you[91] in the name of YHVH	משביע אני עוליך בשם יהוה
12	Sabaoth, God of Israel who is enthroned among	צבאות אלוהי ישראל יושב

[84] I read the two אך as a kind of vocative. אך appears (rarely) in sequences of *nomina barbara*, e.g., Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte* II, pp. 140, 172; P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen 1981), § 566, but this does not seem to be the case here.

[85] Metatron is directly addressed in other adjurations from the Cairo Genizah. Parallels to the formula recited here are found in three other amulets from the Genizah: TS K1.168, lines 39–45 (Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, pp. 145–47); TS Or. 1080.15.81, lines 104–11, TS 8.275, lines 1a/19–1b/8 (Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte* I, pp. 164, 173). See below. See also Metatron's adjuration to cut down all enemies—Schäfer and Shaked, ibid., p. 129 (an amulet), and for "opening of the heart," i.e. improvement of learning and good memory—Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells*, p. 162. For other occurrences of Metatron in Genizah adjurations see, for example, Schiffman and Swartz, ibid., p. 99; Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte*, II, pp. 33, 88, 192, 219–20, 259; III, p. 121.

[86] פני מרומו is a corruption of בני מרומו (dwellers of height), as evident from the three parallels to our text mentioned in the previous note. The Hebrew מרומו (*meromo*) is apparently a pronunciation spelling of the Aramaic מרומא (*meroma)*. For בני מרומא see the parallel quoted below from TS Or. 1080.15.81. Cf. TS K1.168, line 40 (above n. 85). See also the discussion below on the linguistic characteristics of this amulet. Like other occurrences of the replacement of *kamatz* (long *a*) with *holam* (*o*)—e.g., גודל (recto 6, 14, 25, verso 9, 19), עוליך (recto 11, 24, verso 8. But see verso 18—עליך), שושן (recto 18), פעומים (verso 6, 12)—the spelling מרומו (*meromo*) probably represents a Babylonian pronunciation characteristic to the writer of the amulet. Thus, even though the words בני מרומו appear in the third parallel of our text (TS 8.275 line 1a/20—above n. 85), I prefer the reading "dwellers of height" over the translation of the written words—"dwellers of His height."

[87] For the spelling גודל (cf. recto 14, 25, verso 9, 19), see the discussion below. The word גודל is highlighted by a line above it.

[88] The ו is attached to the right-hand stroke of the ה and looks like part of it. Notice the untypical thickness of the right-hand stroke of the ה.

[89] Lit., that you have (שיש לך).

[90] Lit., that you are (שאתה).

[91] Cf. the spelling עוליך on recto 24 (but see verso 18—עליך). And see the discussion below.

13	the cherubim,[92] and in the Ineffable Name	הכרובים ובשם המפורש
14	and in the great, mighty and awesome,	ובשם הגודל הגבר והנרא
15	powerful, brave, exalted, magnificent[93] name,	החזק האמיץ המסגב הנפלא
16	and in the name of ’SSYṬSS ’L, who is[94]	ובשם אססיטסס אל שהוא
17	to come [to me][95] and to my mother[96] in joy,	שתאבא [לי] ולאמי בשושן
18	in happiness, with good message,	בשמחה בבשרה טובה
19	and show me, me and my mother[97]	ותראיני לי וליה אמי
20	this night[98] quickly where	בזה הלילה מהירה אי
21	is the place of the gold coins here.	זה מקם אלזהובים פה
22	Toward here[99] [with] our eyes we shall see this	אלפה עינינו נראה זה
23	place fully fully.	המקם תמים תמים
24	In the Name[100] I adjure you, you	בשם השבעתי עוליך אתה
25	the great prince, act quickly,	השר הגודל עשה במהירה

[92] Isa. 37:16

[93] The reading of the Hebrew המסגב is uncertain. The ה is possible, however not typical, and the ס is not clear. מסגב is apparently a corruption of נשגב (magnificent). Though it can also be read as a mistaken spelling of the word משגב (fortress, shelter), which occurs in the Bible in relation to God—God is my/our/a poor man’s shelter (e.g., 2Sam. 22:3; Ps. 9:10, 46:8, 59:18)—the Bible never uses משגב in the adjectival manner in which it functions in the amulet according to this (problematic and thus improbable) reading. All the attributes mentioned here are widespread in the Hekhalot and Merkavah literature in various combinations. For a close parallel to our text, in which all the attributes (including נשגב) appear, see Schäfer, *Synopse*, § 582.

[94] The reading of the Hebrew שהוא is uncertain. If it is correct then the rest of the sentence is missing. The whole line is highlighted by a line above it.

[95] The next word, ולאמי (and to my mother), which starts with a conjunctive vav, elucidates the absence of a word before it. Ṣedaqah is denoted throughout the text by singular demonstrative pronouns, one of which was no doubt omitted here by mistake. Cf. the phrase ותראיני לי וליה אמי (and show me and my mother. Recto 19 with note 95), which probably follows the intended phrasing of this line.

[96] Interestingly, Metatron is adjured to appear in the dreams of both Ṣedaqah and his mother. His mother is denoted again as אמי (my mother) two lines below (recto 19) and in her own right on recto 28—verso 1.

[97] The words וליה אמי are probably a (peculiar) corruption of the correct spelling ולאמי. Even though it is hard to explain such a spelling mistake two lines below a correct occurrence of the word (recto 17), I see no better explanation of the word וליה in this context.

[98] On the demonstrative pronoun preceding the subject (בזה הלילה) in Hebrew syntax under Arabic influence, see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Syntax and Vocabulary of Medieval Hebrew as Influenced by Arabic,* revised by S. Assif and U. Melammed, (Jerusalem, 2006), pp. 155–59 (Heb.). More examples of this kind of syntax can be found below (recto 22–23, verso 7–8 and n. 106).

[99] The Hebrew אלפה is probably a conjunction of אל פה—toward here. The syntax of the whole sentence is very problematic.

[100] The writer does not indicate the precise name in which he adjures. He either dropped part of the text or wrote the definite form—in the Name.

26	in wholesome manner act and do not tarry[101]	ברפואה עשה ואל תאחר
27	and your greatness, which is the Ineffable[102] Name.	וכבודך של שם המפורש
28	May there be good grace in the presence of YHVH	יהי רצון מלפני יהוה
29	for Ṣedaqah son of Sitt al-Ahl[103]	לצדקה בן שת אלאהל

Verso

1	and for Sitt al-Ahl and may He reveal	ולשת אלאהל ויודיע
2	thoughts.[104] Amen Amen	מחשובת אמן אמן
3	Selah. Let us[105] know which one	סלה הודיעינו איזה
4	is the place, in which place,[106]	מזה מקם אשר במקם
5	and I shall see and shall not forget it[107]	ואראה ולא אשכח אתה
6	and I shall recognize it seven times.	ואכירה שבע פעומים
7	And my soul will be saved from this death.[108]	ותנצל נפשי מן זה המות

[101] See Dan. 9:19: ועשה אל תאחר (and act, do not tarry), where the words are addressed to God. Cf. Ps. 40:18, 70:6. This phrase was embedded in early medieval *piyyutim* (A. M. Habermann, *Liturgical Poems of R. Shimon bar Yitzhak* [Berlin/Jerusalem 1938], p. 155 [Heb.]; D. Goldschmidt, *Mahzor la-Yamim ha-Nora'im*, vol. 2—*Yom Kippur* [Jerusalem 1970], p. 753, apparatus [Heb.]), and also in *Mahzor Vitry* (S. Hurwitz, *Machsor Vitry nach der Handschrift im British Museum* [Bulka 1923], section 93, p. 69). It is possible that our scribe was familiar with its use in the local liturgy.

[102] The word המפורש is highlighted by a line above it.

[103] Women named Sitt al-Ahl ("Mistress of the Family") are mentioned in three other amulets from the Genizah, in none of them, however, as the mother of Ṣedaqah. See Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells*, pp. 209–11, 238–40; Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte* I, p. 173. For this name in the Genizah documents see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 6 (coauthored with P. Sanders, Berkeley 1993), p. 108.

[104] For the spelling according to pronunciation of מחשובת (thought), see above, n. 86 and the discussion below. Lines recto 28—verso 2 indicate that the information was disclosed by God and sent to the dreamer through Metatron.

[105] The plural seems to result from the reference to both Ṣedaqah and Sitt al-Ahl in the plea starting in recto 28.

[106] The syntax of the Hebrew איזה מזה מקם אשר במקם is very problematic. The translation makes the phrase much more legible than the original.

[107] I.e. the place of the gold coins shown in the dream.

[108] Either זה or הזה is superfluous. Death may refer here to the danger of death resulting from the very adjuration of Metatron and his revelation in the dream, or to the sleep itself. The words "and my soul will be saved" (ותנצל נפשי), taken from the words of Jacob after his night struggle with the angel: "And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: 'for I have seen God face to face, and my soul was saved'" (Gen. 32:31), may tip the scale toward the first option. On the fear of death during night sleep, see bBer. 60b, where it is stated that the words "lighten my eyes lest I sleep the sleep of death" (Ps. 13:4) are to be recited as part of the bedtime recitation of the *Shema* prayer. The words to be recited on waking in the morning, which relate to God's control over the soul (especially: "Blessed are You, God, who restores souls to dead corpses" [ibid.]), indicate the same fear. Both the formulae were incorporated into the daily liturgy and are still part of it today. On sleep as an "inferior variety"

8	I adjure you	הזה השבעתי עוליך
9	the great prince who is appointed over the princes	השר הגודל הממונה על השרים
10	in the name of YHVH God of Israel who is enthroned	בשם יהוה אלהי ישראל יושב
11	among the cherubim that you will show me the dream	הכרובים שתראיני אלחלם
12	seven times and I shall not forget	שבעה פעומים ולא אשכח
13	it. Blessed be His glorious	אתה ברוך שם כבוד
14	sovereign Name for ever and ever[109] Amen	מלכותו לעולם ועד אמן
15	Amen Selah TT TT TTTT	אמן סלה תת תת תתתת
16	TT TT TT X[110] TT WTT	תת תת תת X תת ותת
17	Amen Selah. Blessed be His glorious [sovereign] Name for ever and ever.[111]	אמן סלה ברך שם כבוד [מלכותו] לעולם ועד
	vacat	
18	I adjure you[112] the great prince	השבעתי עליך השר
19	who is appointed	הגודל הממונה
20	over the great princes	על השרים הגדלים
21	in the Ineffable Name[113]	בשם המפורש
22	that you will show me the place of	שתראיני מקם
23	the gold coins and I shall not	אלזהובים ולא
24	forget it completely	אשכח אתה בצדק
25	truly,[114] and reveal it to me,	תמים ותגלה לי

of death see *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* 17:5 (Theodor-Albeck I, p. 157). Cf. *Midrash Devarim Rabba*, Shoftim 15 (Liebermann, p. 101); *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* 33 (Higger, *Horev* 10 [1948], pp. 202–3).

[109] This liturgical formula, mentioned already in the Mishnah and the Tosefta, was integrated into magical spells at least as early as the fifth to seventh century CE. It appears on two Aramaic magic bowls from Babylon. See D. Levene, "Heal O' Israel: A Pair of Duplicate Magic Bowls from the Pergamon Museum in Berlin," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 54 (2003): 104–121. It is a common element of Jewish spells, mainly in the form of the initials—בשכמלו.

[110] A magical sign—X.

[111] The words לעולם ועד (for ever and ever) are written in the margin. The ד of ועד is strange and untypical but there is no reason to suspect it for another letter. The word מלכותו (His sovereign) was probably dropped by the author by mistake, while moving to the margin. The entire phrase appears correctly a few lines above (verso 13–14).

[112] The spelling עליך is inconsistent with the usual spelling of the word in the amulet—עוליך (recto 11, 24, verso 8). See further below on the traces of Babylonian vocalization in the text.

[113] The words בשם המפורש are highlighted by lines above them.

[114] The word בצדק should be read as an Arabism, meaning truly.

26	to me. Please help[115] quickly.[116]	לי אנא עזרה[?] במהירה
27	Amen Amen Selah.	אמן אמן סלה

We do not know much about the writer of this adjuration. He could have been Ṣedaqah himself or a professional charm writer whose help Ṣedaqah had sought. His spelling and punctuation (of the first two lines) indicate that his pronunciation was Babylonian.[117] This is manifested foremost from the spelling of words like גודל (*godel*—big), פעומים (*peomim*—times), שושן (*sosen*—joy), עוליך (*olekha*—upon you), מחשובת (*mahshovet*—thoughts), that follow the vocalization of the long *a* (*kamatz*) as *o*. One can also discern in some of these words (גודל, שושן, מחשובת) probable traces of the pronunciation of *o* (*holam*) as *e*—the writer dropped the *holam* of the last syllable (but did not mark the *tzerei*). This, as well as the punctuation of the word על (recto 2) with *segol*, following the vocalization *el*, are also written expressions of Babylonian pronunciation. Two communities existed in Cairo in the eleventh century which maintained this vocalization of Hebrew: the Babylonians and the Karaites. The angelology of the amulet (parallel to another amulet from the Genizah; see below) and the fact that Ṣedaqah belonged to a Rabbanite community (his amulet made its way to the Genizah at Ben Ezra Synagogue) tip the scale toward the option that also the writer of the amulet belonged to that community.[118]

Anyway, he composed a very cryptic text. His handwriting is unclear, his grammar is bad, and his syntax is meager. In one case he seems to mistake a word for a similar one, contextually meaningless.[119] If one

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[115] The first two letters of the word עזרה are dubious and so is the meaning of the word. The first letter seems more like ס than like ע, and the ז is not typical. One might be tempted to read here סורה—come (from the root סור. See Judges 4:18; Ruth 4:1). This kind of Hebrew, however, is very far from the vulgar style in the entire amulet (and the second letter is also not a typical ו). Thus, I tend to accept Uri Melammed's proposal that the author started a word and then changed his mind and corrected the first two letters in order to write עזרה (help).

[116] The word במהירה is highlighted by a line above it.

[117] For the following linguistic remarks I am deeply indebted to Uri Melammed. See also the discussion on "phonetic pronunciation" in the Babylonian magic bowls in M. Morgenstern, "On Some Non-Standard Spellings in the Aramaic Magic Bowls and Their Linguistic Significance", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 52 (2007), pp. 245–77.

[118] The Yemenites also held this pronunciation. Theoretically it is thus possible that the amulet was written by a Yemenite who dwelled in or arrived at Cairo at that time.

[119] See recto 5, where פני appears instead of בני (*pnei—bnei*). See also the word מסגב (recto 15 and note 91).

does not assume all these to be deliberate difficulties and miswritings (which I see no reason to do), then one might suspect the degree of his literacy. In comparison to other scribes known from the Genizah his literary style is quite poor. He does not use biblical verses, let alone *historiolae*,[120] neither does he employ a variety of *nomina barbara* or magical signs in the adjuration. The only hegemonic tradition represented in his text is the liturgical one. Thus, one can also hardly tell whether he had a professional scribal tradition to rely on. However, he was familiar with at least some aspects of Jewish angelology including the supreme status of Metatron.

This archangel, who seems to be summoned to the dream as a messenger of "God's thoughts" rather than as an autonomous source of knowledge,[121] is depicted not only as "the prince of princes…appointed over the great princes…head of the (heavenly) camps," but also as "high priest, head of the priests."[122] All these epithets (except for "prince of princes") are also embedded in three other invocations of Metatron in amulets found in the Cairo Genizah. Two of them (TS Or. 1080.15.81, TS K1.168) are long and relatively beautifully written amulets, prepared by the same scribe[123] more or less at the same time of our amulet (mid-eleventh century).[124] In the former, Metatron is

[120] On this magical genre, see D. Frankfurter, "Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, eds. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (Leiden, 1995), pp. 457–76; G. Bohak, "A Jewish Myth in Pagan Magic in Antiquity," in *Myths in Judaism: History, Thought, Literature*, ed. I. Gruenwald and M. Idel (Jerusalem, 2004), pp. 97–122 (Heb.).

[121] Cf. above, note 49.

[122] As far as I am aware, this and the parallel text in TS K1.168 (below) are the only places where Metatron is referred to as a high priest or head of the priests. These epithets derive from earlier traditions about the heavenly altar and sacrifices headed by Michael "the Great Prince" (bZev 62a, bHag 12b, bMen 110a). In *The Story of the Ten Martyrs*, it is Metatron who is asked by R. Isma'el concerning a certain object in heaven and he explains to him that it is an altar upon which souls of the righteous are sacrificed (G. Reeg [ed.], *Die Geschichte von den Zehn Martyren* [Tübingen, 1985], pp. 40–41, §§ 20.1–5). Metatron does not mention himself as the one who is particularly in charge of heavenly sacrifice, but one might suspect that this status was also part of the features "transmitted" to him from the image of Michael. See R. Boustan, *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism* (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 165–73.

[123] This is evident from the handwriting, the organization of text and magical signs (*characteres*) on the long strips of paper, and the typical sign ⊙ at the ends of the phrases. On the publications of these amulets, see above, n. 85).

[124] See Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte* I, p. 160.

invoked to inflame love, and in the latter—to protect and to restore love. In the third amulet (TS 8.275), written some two centuries later,[125] he is invoked to make the client graced and honored. Here is one of the texts side by side with ours:[126]

F1908.440, recto, lines 2–10	TS Or. 1080.15.81, lines 104–111
עלפי יהוה יבא אלי שר השרים	אשבעית עליך
אך מיטטרון אך הוא אהוב וחביב מכל פני מרומו עבד נאמן לאלהי יש־ראל כהן גודל ראש הכהנים שיש לך שבעים שימות	מיטטרון אהוב וחביב מכל בני מרומא עבד נא[מן] לאלהי ישראל כהן גדול ראש לכהנים שיש לך שבעים שמות
	ושמך הגדול ביקרתא תאגא מן חץ שת
שאתה הממונה על השרים הגדולים ואתה ראש המחנות משביע אני עוליך בשם יהוה צבאות אלוהי ישראל יושב הכרובים ...	שר הגדול הממונה על השרים הגדולים והוא ראש המחנות משביע אני עליך בשם יי' צבאות יושב הכרובים ...

Translation

F1908.440, recto, lines 2–10	TS Or. 1080.15.81, lines 104–111
By (the word of) YHVH may the prince of princes come to me	I adjure you
Oh Metatron Oh, he is beloved and dear over all the dwellers of height, a faithful servant of God of Israel, high priest, head of the priests. You have seventy names,	Metatron beloved and dear over all dwellers of height, a faith[ful] servant of God of Israel, high priest, head of the priests. You have[127] seventy names

[125] Ibid., p. 171.

[126] The Metatron paragraph in TS Or. 1080.15.81 is almost identical to the one in TS K1.168 (both written by the same hand). The lacunae in the latter should be restored according to the former. The similarities of the Metatron paragraphs in TS K1.168 and in our amulet have already been depicted in Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 143.

[127] Lit. That you have. Surprisingly, this is the same difficult syntax found in our amulet and also in TS K1.168, line 42 (above, n. 85).

	and your name, which is great in honor[128] (is) T'G' MN ḤṢ[129] ŠT
you are appointed over the great princes and you are the head of the (heavenly) camps I adjure you in the name of YHVH Sabaoth, God of Israel who is enthroned among the cherubim…	great prince, who is appointed over the great princes and he is the head of the (heavenly) camps[130] I adjure you in the name of YHVH Sabaoth who is enthroned among the cherubim…

Scholars have argued in the past for the significance of such parallels as evidence of the transmission of written magical literature and mainly of its use by charm writers.[131] Nevertheless, I doubt whether this case can indeed teach us that our writer used a guide book from which he copied parts of the spell. Actually, it seems to me that the differences in the spelling of the two parallels (מרומו—מרומא, גודל—גדול, עוליך—עליך), deriving from the typical vocalization of our writer, demonstrate that he did not copy a written formula but on the contrary, wrote the text out of his memory. While doing that he was thinking in his day-to-day language, which was Arabic, hence the Arabisms like the definite forms אלחלם (the dream), or אלזהובים (the gold coins), or the linguistic structures such as מן זה המות הזה (from this death) that recur in the spell.

All of these investigations and speculations, of course, were of no importance to Ṣedaqah, as the amulet was not written to be read and understood but to be put into action. It is not a descriptive text that we are dealing with but a performative one, a text whose "success" is

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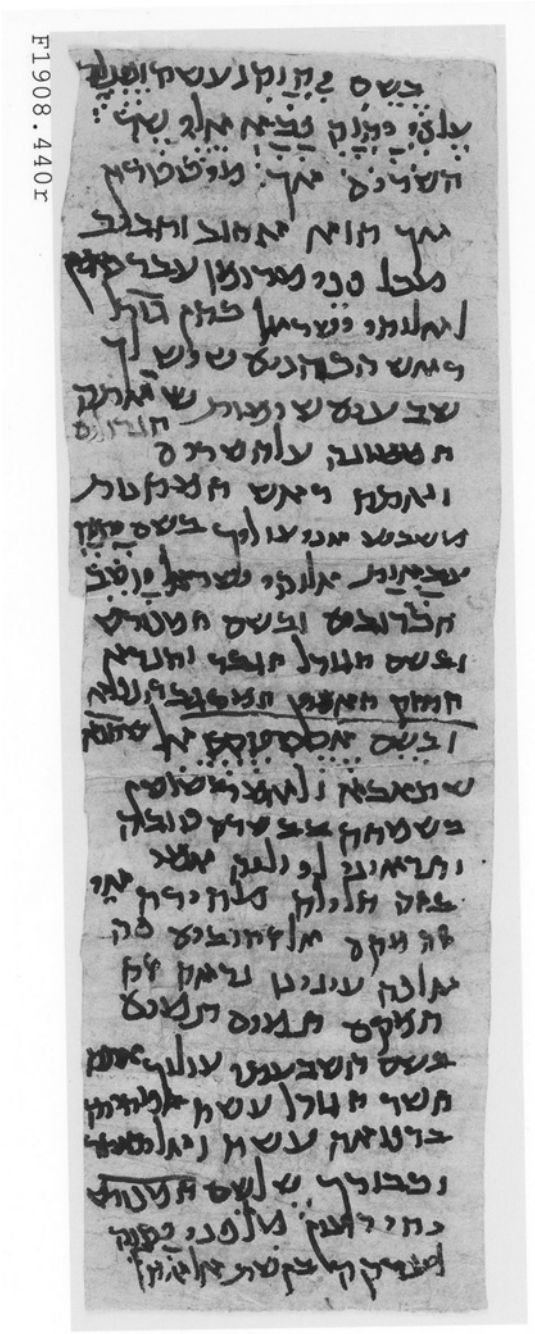
[128] Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked read the letters ביקרתא as the first of the *nomina barbara* that constitute Metatron's name. I cautiously propose that it derives from the root יקר—honor, dignity. The normative and recurrent form is the masculine יקרא or יקארא (Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, p. 541), but see also *Midrash Bereshit Rabba* 17:3 (Theodor-Albeck I, p. 153, apparatus), where the word ליק־רתך derives from the feminine יקרתא. Cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London, 1903), p. 593.

[129] Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte* I, p. 164, read רוץ, but see the plate on p. 290 and cf. Schiffman and Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts*, p. 147 and the plate on p. 146.

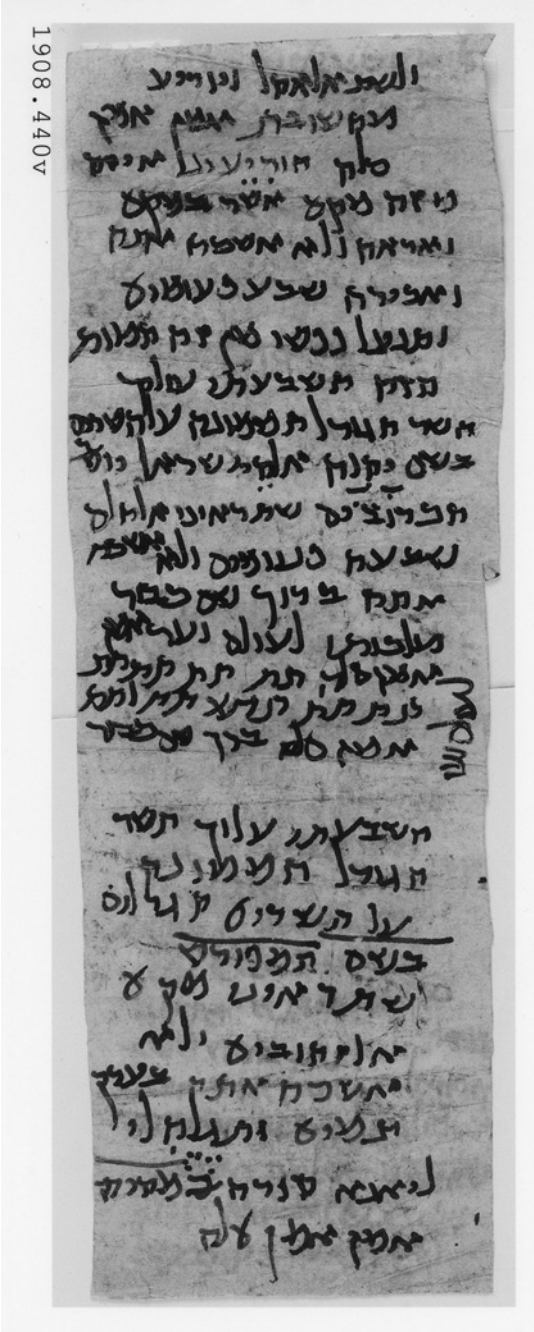
[130] In TS K1.168, line 45 (above, n. 85): "and he is the head of all the (heavenly) camps."

[131] On the significance of parallel amuletic texts for detecting the professional context of the manufacture of amulets, see M. D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic." On earlier examples of parallel texts of incantation (in the magical bowls) and their significance, see Levene, *A Corpus*, pp. 24–30, and Shaked's article in this volume.

measured in terms of efficacy rather than legibility. Thus, the questions that bothered Ṣedaqah concerning the charm writer and his results were probably quite different from those raised here. For him, I believe, what really mattered was the treasure of the gold coins, for which he was striving so hard. The whole issue was reduced to the pragmatic matter of whether Metatron indeed appeared in his dream and disclosed to him the place of the treasure and whether this information remained retrievable and vivid upon awaking. For what is the benefit of all these rites and writing and sleeping and dreaming, if at the end of the night all that one is left with is a harking back to a past shadow of an impression of a possible revelation in one's dream, though nothing real; a dream inquiry with no answer; frustrating knowledge of a treasure of gold still hidden somewhere nearby. Well, maybe tomorrow night.



MS F1908.440, recto. Freer Gallery of Art and
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
The Smithsonian Institute, Washington



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THE MAGICAL ROTULI FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

Gideon Bohak

Introduction

In spite of much progress in recent decades, the magical texts found in the Cairo Genizah have yet to receive the attention they deserve.[1] In the present paper, I shall focus on a previously unnoted type of Genizah magical fragments—namely those written on vertical parchment scrolls (*rotuli*).[2] Such scrolls are extremely interesting not only because of their format, but because of their contents as well, and especially the aggressive magical recipes they contain, some of which clearly stem from late-antique Palestine. But as these fragments are quite long, and the task of reconstructing them is in no way finished, no attempt will be made here to offer a full edition of any single rotulus; instead, I shall limit myself to a description of their codicological and scribal features, a brief analysis of their contents, and a selective edition of some of their magical recipes. In the future, I hope to provide a full edition of

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[1] The present paper forms a part of a wider research project on the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, which is based on a preliminary list of Genizah magical fragments compiled by Professor Shaul Shaked, and is funded by the Israel Science Foundation (Grant no. 725/03). I am grateful to my research assistants—Shani Levy, Karina Shalem and Irena Lerman—and to Ortal-Paz Saar, for their assistance throughout this research project. The final version of the present paper was written during my year-long stay in Cambridge, partly funded by the Genizah Unit of the Cambridge University Library (for which I am especially grateful to Stefan Reif and Ben Outhwaite, the former and current heads of the Unit), and by the Friedberg Genizah Project. I am also grateful to Judith Olszowy-Schlanger for her illuminating codicological and paleographical advice.

[2] For previous publications of Genizah magical texts, see especially Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) (henceforth AMB); id., *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993) (henceforth MSF); L. H. Schiffman and M. D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1*, [Semitic Texts and Studies 1] (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) (henceforth HAITCG); Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, [Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)), vol. 1 (1994), vol. 2 (1997), vol. 3 (1999), vol. 4 (forthcoming) (henceforth MTKG).

these fragments, as of many other Genizah magical recipes and recipe-collections which deserve a more detailed analysis.[3]

The Magical Rotuli—A Broad Survey

The presence of rotuli—that is, vertical scrolls made of relatively narrow pieces of parchment sewn together one below the other—in the Cairo Genizah has occasionally been noted, and a few such rotuli have already been published.[4] However, the number of unpublished Genizah rotuli known to me already amounts to many dozens, and as these fragments seem to belong to the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah, and some of them clearly were in use even before Genizah times, they certainly deserve a close codicological analysis of their different forms and contents and of their place within the history of the Jewish book.[5] My own interest in these fragments began when, during a short visit to Cambridge to study some magical fragments, I noticed that one or two fragments had a row of tiny holes at their top or at their bottom. This surprised me, as I could not see why anyone would bother to pin-prick his or her magical texts in this manner, but a few days later I was checking some of the Genizah fragments in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and discovered a most unusual magic scroll (Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31), which is made up of four unequal pieces of parchment stitched together vertically and then inscribed horizontally. I then realized that the pin-pricked fragments I had seen in Cambridge had once been parts of such vertical rotuli, but the threads of the stitches that

[3] For a broad survey of the magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, and much further bibliography, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 215–221.

[4] For the place of rotuli in the history of the Jewish book, see the brief remarks of Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West* [The Panizzi Lectures, 1992], (London: The British Library, 1993), pp. 10–11, and of Colette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (ed. and tr. by N. de Lange) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 102. For published Genizah rotuli see, for example, Neḥemiah Allony, "RASAG's Version of *Sefer Yezira* in Scroll Form from the Cairo Genizah," in I. Weinstock (ed.), *Temirin*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Kook, 1981), pp. 9–29 (Heb.); Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, [TSAJ 51] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1996), No. 15 (pp. 165–294); Yosef Tobi, *Poetry, Judeo-Arabic Literature, and the Geniza*, [Jewish Culture in Muslim Lands and Cairo Geniza Studies, IV] (Tel Aviv University, 2006), pp. 51–55 (Heb.). See also n. 6 below.

[5] Judith Olszowy-Schlanger and I have recently begun to map out the Genizah rotuli, but the results of this survey will have to be published elsewhere.

once held them together had crumbled long ago, leaving only narrow sheets of parchment with stitching-holes at their tops, or bottoms, or both. I have since continued looking for such fragments, and gradually came to realize that in some cases the rotuli disintegrated to such a degree that not only the stitches disappeared, but even the stitched pieces of parchment broke into much smaller pieces, without any pin-prick holes to set them apart from other small parchment fragments. I therefore try to keep track not only of all the Genizah magical fragments I can find, but also of all the parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments, even those which have nothing to do with magic. At present, I am aware of two rotuli with magical recipes and one astrological rotulus re-used for magical recipes, of possible fragments of other magical rotuli, and of many parchment rotuli and rotuli-fragments whose contents are non-magical.[6] The magical rotuli are as follows:

1) Bodleian MS Heb. a3.31: A vertical parchment scroll, 92 cm long and 12 cm wide, made up of four pieces sewn together, measuring (from top to bottom) 38.5, 22.5, 17.2 and 13.8 cm, respectively. The first piece is of darkish brown color, the second is even darker, the third is a much lighter yellowish brown, and the fourth is even lighter in color. The scroll's right margin is preserved throughout, but the left margin is fully preserved only for small parts of the lower sections of the scroll, while for the rest of the scroll it has been damaged (by fire?) in differing quantities. From the "wavy" pattern created by the missing parts when the scroll is stretched out, it seems clear that the scroll's left margin was damaged while it was all rolled up, from bottom to top, which also explains why the bottom part of the scroll is much better preserved than its topmost section. It must be stressed, however, that the scroll begins and ends *in medias res*, and there is no telling how long the original scroll was or how much is missing on

[6] For another magical fragment which may have come from a rotulus, see Westminster College Misc. 59, published as MTKG III, 74, with the editors' note on p. 179. In what follows, I focus only on parchment rotuli, whose pieces were stitched to each other, and ignore those cases in which loose pieces of paper—including used paper—were glued one below the other and used for writing different texts (including amulets and magical recipes), a phenomenon which seems to have occurred quite often, and not only in the earlier strata of the Cairo Genizah. For published paper rotuli see, for example, MTKG II, 24 (= Bodleian Heb. a3.25); MTKG III, 66 (= T-S AS 142.15 + NS 246.14).

either end.[7] Moreover, it is quite possible that more fragments of this scroll would be identified in the future, either in Oxford or in other Genizah collections.

On the recto, the 145 lines of text are written in a well-trained hand, entirely uniform throughout, and clearly belonging to the earliest stratum of the Cairo Genizah (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) tenth century).[8] The layout of the text also is remarkably uniform—each two recipes are separated by a few centimeters of blank space, many of the words in different recipes are deliberately written backward, abbreviations are marked by the same supralinear dots, and the abbreviation for "Name son of Name," appears both as the standard *p(eloni) b(en) p(elonit)* and as the hitherto unattested ŠWŠ, a sequence whose exact meaning still eludes me.[9] Even the magical recipes themselves display a remarkable degree of internal consistency, both in their aims and in the magical practices they enjoin. In light of all this, it is quite certain that the scroll was produced by a single copyist, who was quite an experienced scribe and quite a sophisticated magician. On the verso, the scroll is sporadically covered by different magical texts, in several different hands, all of which seem to be later, and much less professional, than that on the recto. It thus seems quite clear that the rotulus was originally written on one side only (a common procedure on such rotuli), but later users decided to utilize the blank side too, and added their own magical recipes on the verso.[10] This apparently means that the scroll remained in circulation and use over several generations of Jewish magicians.

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[7] Note that one of the two rotuli published by de Lange is estimated by him to have been about 3 meters long (*Greek Jewish Texts*, p. 165).

[8] Both the hand and the style of writing closely resemble those of T-S Misc. 24.1 (see Neil Danzig, "Two Insights from a Ninth-Century Liturgical Handbook: The Origins of *Yequm Purqan* and *Qaddish de-Ḥadata*," in Stefan C. Reif (ed.), *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 74–122 and Plate 10), which was dated by Danzig to the final quarter of the ninth century.

[9] The most likely explanation seems to be that this is an abbreviation of שם ושם, "a name and a name" (i.e., the name of the victim and the name of his or her mother); as a partial parallel, one could adduce MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190, p. 117, ll.7–8: ונקמת את נקמתי מאת המקולל הארור האכזרי פלו׳ ש׳ בן פלוני׳ ש׳ וכו׳ ("And you shall exact my revenge from the accursed, the damned, the cruel *pel(oni)* Š *son of peloni(t)* Š, etc."). It has also been suggested to me that שוש is four letters removed from פבפ, but this might be a mere coincidence.

[10] For Genizah rotuli whose verso is blank, see the next item. For Genizah rotuli with different texts on both sides, clearly inscribed by different hands and in different

Looking at the recto of our rotulus, we find eighteen different recipes (including two of which only a few words are preserved), of which one is for gaining knowledge, one whose aim is not entirely clear (see recipe a in the next section), and all the rest are for aggressive purposes, and especially for "binding" the sexual potencies of male victims. Such uniformity of purpose is not unparalleled in some of the Greek magical papyri—I note, especially, PGM XXXVI, whose 19 recipes focus almost entirely on issues of interpersonal relations. These single-minded collections always make one wonder whether the practitioners behind them specialized in just one type of magical practices, or had their recipes arranged thematically, and only one of their collections (or a small part thereof) happened to be preserved. But be that as it may, the recipes found on the Bodleian rotulus are of the greatest interest: They are written in a mixture of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic and Hebrew, and contain virtually no Arabisms, a sure sign of their relative antiquity. They also display many Greek loanwords, including what seems like a whole Greek sentence in transliteration, as we shall see below. Moreover, some of the rituals enjoined by these recipes seem quite different, and often far more "daring," than those found in other Genizah magical texts, and this too might be a sign of their relative antiquity, as in the later recipe collections the potentially offensive features tended to be filtered out of the textual transmission.[11] Finally, the extant recipes contain a few apparent references to extra-biblical myths, which also are quite rare in the more typical Genizah magical recipe books. Below, we shall edit and analyze some of the recipes on the recto of this intriguing rotulus.

2) T-S K 1.120 + T-S NS 258.153–154 + T-S K 1.154: The largest fragment of this rotulus is T-S K 1.154, a vertical parchment scroll 31.2 cm long and 8.8 cm wide, which is made up of three pieces sewn together,

periods, see the rotulus edited by Tobi (above, n. 4). Some Genizah rotuli seem to have been written on both sides by their original scribes, including the two rotuli edited by de Lange (above, n. 4), and the one analyzed by Danzig (above, n. 8). Having seen numerous Genizah rotuli, my own impression is that most of them were written on the recto only, and that some retained a blank verso while in others the verso was re-used by later scribes, often for different types of texts than those on the recto.

[11] For such processes of self-censorship, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 183 and 344.

measuring (from top to bottom) 7.4, 13.5, and 10.5 cm, respectively.[12] All three pieces are of a yellowish-brown color, and all three have their right margin intact, but are damaged on their left margin. Moreover, a stain caused by water runs vertically through all three pieces, and is the likely cause of the damage to the left margin, and certainly caused the effacement of many letters on the scroll's left half. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this one too begins and ends *in medias res*, but in this case I can already point to three more fragments which clearly belong with the same rotulus. Two parchment fragments—T-S NS 258.153 and 154—are quite small, measuring 5.5 by 7 cm and 3.2 by 6.5 cm respectively, and neither fragment displays the telltale prick-holes characteristic of broken rotuli. But the fact that these parchment fragments are quite narrow, and inscribed on one side only, suggests that they may have come from such a rotulus (and not from a codex, in which both sides should be inscribed), and a comparison of the parchment and the handwriting with that of T-S K 1.154 demonstrates their great similarity. The identification is made secure by the pattern created by the stain which runs vertically through both fragments, and matches perfectly the stain running through the top part of T-S K 1.154, thus proving that all three fragments once belonged together, and that the damage caused by water preceded the disintegration of the original rotulus. Moreover, T-S K 1.120 (13.2 by 9.8 cm), which was published as MTKG III, 60 but not identified as forming part of a rotulus, displays the same hand and the same stain, and ends with the first half of Num 21.28, whose continuation may be found on T-S NS 258.153. Thus, it is entirely certain that all four fragments once belonged in a single rotulus, and the original order was (from top to bottom) T-S K 1.120, T-S NS 258.153, T-S NS 258.154 and T-S K 1.154. Throughout the reconstructed rotulus, the right margin is well preserved, but the left margin is preserved only at the top section (T-S K 1.120) and parts of the bottom one (T-S K 1.154). On all four fragments the verso is blank, which means that this rotulus was not re-used by later scribes, perhaps because it was damaged by water at a relatively early stage. It must be stressed, however, that the reconstructed rotulus still begins and ends *in medias res*, so there is no doubt that more pieces are still

[12] This fragment was briefly mentioned by Peter Schäfer, "New Magical Fragments from the Cairo Genizah," in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Section C/1 (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 245–252, on p. 248 (Heb.).

missing both at the top and at the bottom of this scroll. If and when more pieces are found, they may allow a more precise reconstruction of this rotulus and of its codicological history.

On the recto of the reconstructed scroll, 89 lines of text are written in a uniform hand, clearly later than that of the Bodleian rotulus (the hand was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the (early) eleventh century).[13] The text is written in a mixture of Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic, and some of the recipes use many biblical verses, which are cited in Hebrew. As this rotulus is not well preserved, it is not entirely clear how many recipes were written in the extant section, but one can detect the remains of at least ten different recipes and—as in the Bodleian rotulus—all of them are aggressive in nature. But unlike the Bodleian rotulus, the recipes found here seem much less unusual, and involve many magical practices which are quite standard in Genizah magical recipes. And while some of these recipes display signs of an early origin (including the use of the title קיבלוה for aggressive recipes, for which see Dan Levene's paper in the present volume), others probably stem from the Genizah period itself, or are watered-down versions of older recipes. Thus they are of considerably less historical interest than those of the Bodleian rotulus.

3) T-S K 1.50 + T-S K 1.133: Unlike the two previous items, this rotulus was first inscribed not with magical recipes but with an astrological text, best known as the *Treatise of Shem* in its Judeo-Arabic version (and in a phonetic transliteration which is characteristic of the earlier Judeo-Arabic Genizah fragments).[14] T-S K 1.50 (6.9 cm long and 8.4 cm wide) preserves the section on Gemini, while T-S K 1.133 (25.1 by 8.8 cm) preserves the sections on Cancer, Leo, Virgo and Libra, so there is no doubt that the former once belonged directly above the latter, and that the original scroll was at least twice as long as these two fragments combined. The parchment is, once again, of a yellowish-brown color, and the margins of this rotulus are well preserved, but T-S K 1.50 is missing small pieces of both margins. The hand on the

[13] And note that T-S K 1.120 = MTKG III, 60 was dated by its editors to the tenth century.

[14] For the *Treatise of Shem*, see Reimund Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Astrologischen Literatur der Juden*, [Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism, 21] (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), pp. 45–55 (who mentions both fragments on p. 46). For another rotulus with an astrological text see British Library 5557A 64, published by Tobi (above, n. 4).

recto was dated by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger to the late-tenth or early-eleventh century. Like the Bodleian rotulus, this rotulus too was re-used by a later scribe, whose hand may be dated to the later eleventh century, but this writer used the stitched up pieces of parchment not as a rotulus but as an horizontal scroll, on which magical recipes were written in columns, each some 6–7 cm wide. T-S K 1.50 preserves one full column of text and the end of another, while T-S K 1.133 preserves three columns of text and the beginning of a fourth one. Thus, the verso of both fragments presents the appearance of a parchment scroll—a very unusual occurrence in Genizah magical texts and in non-biblical Genizah fragments in general—but this is due solely to the re-use of an old rotulus.[15] And in this case, the magical recipes are both aggressive and apotropaic (including a recipe for making an amulet), are written mostly in Judeo-Arabic, and display clear signs of a Muslim influence (including a reference to the lost tribes of ʿAd and Thamud, mentioned in the Qurʾan). We may therefore conclude that both in format and in contents this scroll differs greatly from the two magical rotuli discussed above.

Select Recipes from Bodleian Heb. a3.31

These, then, are the Genizah magical rotuli currently known to me, and it is hoped that more fragments of these rotuli, and more Genizah magical rotuli, will be identified in the future. But as my own interests lie less in codicology and more in the magical texts themselves, the rest of the present paper will be devoted to a closer analysis of some of the magical recipes found on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus. Being one of the oldest Genizah magical texts identified thus far, and displaying a long set of magical recipes which are characterized by their purely Palestinian Jewish Aramaic idiom and many Greek loanwords, this collection offers an excellent point of entry into the world of Jewish magic in late-antique Palestine. And as it is devoted almost exclusively to aggressive magic, it allows us a closer look at a set of practices

[15] For non-biblical Genizah scrolls, which are quite rare, see T-S AS 74.324, published by Marc Bregman, "An Early Fragment of *Avot de Rabbi Natan* from a Scroll," *Tarbiz* 52 (1983): 201–222 (Heb.); T-S K 21.95.S, published by Peter Schäfer, *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* [TSAJ, 6] (Tübingen: Mohr, 1984), G1 (Hekhalot Rabbati).

which are not as well documented as the apotropaic and medicinal magical practices of late antique Jews.[16] To see this, we may focus on five different recipes, of varying length and sophistication, and analyze the magical technologies utilized in each of them. To facilitate future references to each recipe, I have included the line-numbers from my transcription of the entire rotulus; and in the transcription itself, I have used the following conventions:

() Uncertain reading of one or more letters.
= A letter which I could not read.
[ ] A lacuna in the text, and my reconstruction thereof.
א (bold type) Words which the scribe wrote "in reverse"—i.e., from left to right.[17]

a) The second (but first more or less complete) recipe on the recto of Bodleian Heb. a 3.31 is very short and quite obscure, but its great interest lies in its use of a whole Greek phrase, transliterated in Hebrew characters. The recipe itself runs as follows:

1 (סוף מרשם קודם) אין הווה[לך?
2 קופד אמור על קדרה אלין מלייא והדא [אמור?
3 תיאון פ(נ)יומה קטיגורוס (תחילת המרשם הבא)

1 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) If [you?] have
2 meat?, say over a pot these words and [say] this
3 TY'WN PN?YWMH QṬYGWRWS (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unfortunately, the aim of this short recipe—which is found at the very top of the rotulus, where much of the left margin was eaten away—is not very clear. If QWPD means "a piece of meat" (from the Greek

[16] For the dearth of aggressive magic in the Jewish literature of Late Antiquity, apart from *Sefer Ha-Razim*, see Philip S. Alexander, "*Sefer ha-Razim* and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in Todd Klutz (ed.), *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* [JSNT Suppl. 245] (London: T&T Clark, 2003), pp. 170–190, whose conclusions will have to be revised in light of the Bodleian rotulus. See also Yuval Harari, "If You Wish to Kill A Man: Aggressive Magic and the Defense Against It in Ancient Jewish Magic," *Jewish Studies* 37 (1997): 111–142 (Heb.), and Dan Levene's paper in the present volume.

[17] For this magical practice, common especially in aggressive magic, see Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939) (repr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, with an Introduction by Moshe Idel), pp. 116, 126 and 129; Joseph Naveh, "Lamp Inscriptions and Inverted Writing," *IEJ* 38 (1988): 36–43.

kopadion), as in rabbinic literature, then we might have here a spell to be uttered over a pot with meat, to make it cook faster, and such recipes are well attested in ancient magical texts.[18] If, on the other hand, QWPD is derived from the Aramaic root QPD, "to be angry," then we might have another aggressive magical recipe (which would fit the nature of almost all the other recipes in this rotulus), with an aggressive spell uttered over a pot (full of water, which is then poured near the victim's home?). But be this as it may, the spell to be uttered is extremely interesting, for it consists of three Greek words, and may originally have consisted of four words, with one word now lost at the end of line 2. Of these Greek words, TY'WN is almost certainly Greek, *theos*, "god," either in the accusative singular (*theon*) or in the genitive plural (*theôn*).[19] The third word, QṬYGWRWS, certainly is the Greek *katêgoros*, which is quite common in rabbinic literature (but note how here it preserves the nominative ending, whereas in rabbinic literature it often loses it and becomes קטיגור), and means "accuser, prosecutor."[20] The second word, on the other hand, is less certain—it may be the Greek *phainomai*, "I appear, I come," but is more likely to be *pneuma*, "spirit." In the first case, the phrase might mean something like "I come as an opponent of the gods," whereas in the second case we might either assume a missing preposition at the end of line 2 and translate the whole sequence as "among the gods, the spirit is an accuser," or assume a missing noun (or nothing missing) and translate "(X,) a spirit of gods, an accuser."[21] But be this as it may, it seems quite clear that we are dealing here with a short, but complete, Greek sentence, which would be quite like the famous transliterated Greek prayer in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, or the shorter Greek dismissal for-

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[18] For קופד, see Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1898–99) (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), vol. 2, p. 516; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Bar-Ilan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990), 2nd ed., 2002, p. 483. For such magical practices, see Hippolytus, *Ref.* 4.33.2, and R. Ganschinietz, *Hippolytos' Capitel gegen die Magier (Refut. Haer. IV 28–42)* [Texte und Untersuchungen 39/2], (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), p. 49, and note a similar practice attributed to Rav Naḥman's daughters in bt Gitt 45a.

[19] And note the sequence *theon ha-gadol amona* in MSF, A22, briefly discussed in Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 257.

[20] See Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 524; Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 485.

[21] A search for similar expressions in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM (version E, which also includes the Greek Magical Papyri), came up with nothing that seemed relevant for the present context, although *pneuma theôn* indeed is attested, for example in Philostratus, *VAT* 7.34.

mula found in the same text, or the Greek formulae which are found (together with their Aramaic translations), in the "sword" section of the *Sword of Moses*.[22] In all these cases, the reconstruction of the original Greek sequences is hampered by the difficulty of reconstructing Greek formulae transliterated in an alphabet which was utterly unsuitable for this task. In the present instance, the difficulty is further exacerbated by the damaged state of our text and by the uncertainty about the nature of the recipe as a whole (although the presence of *katêgoros* certainly argues in favor of an aggressive context), which makes it less clear what kind of Greek phrase we might expect here. But in all these cases, the very presence of Greek sentences and phrases attests to the extensive Greek influences on the Jewish magical texts of Late Antiquity, including those written in Hebrew and in Aramaic.

b) The second recipe to be analyzed here, which is the fourth recipe on the recto of the Bodleian rotulus, involves an interesting example of a much debated issue in the study of late-antique Judaism, namely, the worship of angels, in this case on a *do ut des* basis, whereby the user of this recipe offers a specific angel various gifts, and explains what he or she would like to receive in return:

11 (סוף מרשם קודם) לח[
12 דאיבר וז' פרתותין וז' בולין דמלח וא(ד)[
13 ואמור עליהון ז'ב ז' לך אנה קרי פוסיס[
14 מלאכה רבה הכמה דאנה יהיב לך לחם מן[לחמי]
15 ומלח מן מלחי וממון מן ממוני כן תתן ל(ש')[ו'ש'
16 ריוי מן ריוך וכיוב מן כיובך ושיקוץ מן (ש)[יקוצך]
17 וניאוף מן ניאופך וניצוץ מן ניצוצך בשם [
18 כלקיטס ובשם סמאל סטנה רבה בפריע [
19 הדן בויכל (תחילת המרשם הבא)

11 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) For [...take...
12 of lead and 7 chunks[23] of bread and 7 lumps of salt and [
13 and say over them 7 times,[24] to you I call, PWSYS[

[22] For these, see M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 1966), pp. 12–13 (Heb.); Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, "From Sense to Nonsense, From Incantation Prayer to Magical Spell," *JSQ* 3 (1996): 24–46; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 179, n. 92.

[23] For פרתותין, see Syriac *prtwt'*, "broken bits of bread, crumbs, fragments," in R. and J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 466.

[24] For זבנין, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 171.

14 the great angel, just as I give you bread from my [bread]
15 and salt from my salt and money from my money, so shall you give N[N
16 a dispute?[25] from your dispute? and a pain from your pain and an abomination from your ab[omination]
17 and a fornication from your fornication and a spark from your spark; in the name of [
18 KLQYṬS, and in the name of Samael the great satan, quickly [
19 this, for pain(?) (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Unlike the first recipe we analyzed, here there are few problems of interpretation, in spite of the absence of a few letters at the end of each line.[26] Here the practitioner is instructed to take lead, bread and salt, all in groups of seven (a common typological number in such recipes), to offer these to an angel, and to ask that angel to dispense some of his special qualities in return and send his dispute, pain, abomination, fornication and spark upon the person's opponent. Such a ritual must be seen in the light of the recurrent claims in ancient Christian literature concerning the Jewish worship of angels, and the recurrent rabbinic condemnations of such practices, which also are attested in *Sepher Ha-Razim*.[27] In the present recipe, there is no doubt that the practitioner is appealing to a powerful evil angel, and is offering that angel monetary and alimentary offerings in return for his services. There also is no doubt that the angel is adjured by (the hitherto unattested KLQYṬS and by) "Samael the great satan," who certainly is seen here as supervising the powers of evil.[28] In their search for aggressive powers, some

[25] For ריו, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 523, for the meaning "appearance, form." Such a meaning is not impossible here, but a meaning influenced by the Hebrew ריב, "strife, contest, dispute," seems more likely. Another possibility would be that the original text read דיוי, or דוי, "sorrow."

[26] There are, however, some obscure points, such as the meaning of the last word of our recipe, "for pain." This might be a specification of the recipe's aim, "for (causing) pain," and placing a recipe's aim at the very end is paralleled both in this rotulus (in line 64), and in other Genizah magical texts. But in such a case, what should we make of the word]לח with which the recipe opens, and which seems to state its aim, "For X"?

[27] See Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, pp. 10–16; Michel-Yves Perrin, "'Rendre un culte aux anges à la manière des Juifs': Quelques observations nouvelles d'ordre historiographique et historique," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 114 (2002): 669–700.

[28] For Samael, see Gershom Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), pp. 385–388; Günter Stemberger, "Samael und Uzza: Zur Rolle der Dämonen im späten Midrasch," in Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and K. F. Diethard Römheld (eds.), *Die Dämonen—Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen*

Jewish magicians clearly were willing to cross the line separating the worship of the One True God from angelolatry, and even from the worship of the powers of darkness. This does not necessarily mean that our recipes assume a dualistic theology, with Samael as God's opponent, but it does imply that they assume that it is to Samael and his ilk that one should turn when one seeks to harm a fellow human being.

c) Another interesting recipe in the Bodleian rotulus (the eleventh in the extant portion) makes use of a myth which seems to be unattested elsewhere, at least in Jewish sources. This recipe runs as follows:

64 (סוף מרשם קודם) אסר לרוחה [
65 ואסר אנה ל'ש'ו'ש' כמה דאסירין [
66 לעלם כן אסיר פ' לעלם וחתים לדרי[דרין? ו...לא
67 יהווי לה מן ברנש בשם אפס פפא נ(ט)[
68 עולמים ובשמה דקטריאל מלאכה דנ(ח)[ת ל...
69 ענה ולבקרת תורייה ואסר תורין דכרין [
70 כן אסור זרעה ד'ש'ו'ש' וסילוניה דלא ימר[...ו...
71 דלא תהלך עד זמן דנבעי ונשרי יתה בש[ם
72 פצציאל ובשם חצציאל ובשם קטריאל מלא[כה
73 כן אסור לעלם וחתום לדרי דרין וסב מחט דפרזל
74 ואמור עליה זמ' ז' ובזמנה שביעייה הב ראשה
75 דמחטה בעוקצה וכרכה בכתן דלא עלת ל(א)[
76 וטמור בזווי צניעה שרייה אפק מחט[ה לשימשה?
77 ואשווי מחטה (תחילת המרשם הבא)

64 (end of prev. recipe) (vac). A binding for a spirit [
65 and I bind ŠWŠ just as [ ] are bound [
66 forever, so is N bound forever and sealed for all gene[rations?
67 shall have from no one. In the name of 'PS PP' NṬ[
68 forever, and in the name of Qaṭriel the angel who came do[wn for
69 small cattle and for the herding of bulls, and he bound male bulls [
70 so shall you bind the sperm of ŠWŠ and his sperm canal,[29] that it / he shall not [
71 that she / it shall not walk until the time that we shall ask (for it) and loosen him, in the na[me of
72 Paẓaẓiel and in the name of Ḥaẓaẓiel and in the name of Qaṭriel the ang[el
73 so bind forever and seal for all generations. And take an iron needle

Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt. The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 636–661.

[29] For סילון (Greek *sôlên*, "tube") used for the sperm canal of the male organ, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 383.

74 and say (it) over it 7 times, and in the seventh time put the head
75 of the needle in its tip (sic) and wrap it in linen that did not go into [
76 and bury (it) in a hidden place. (Its) loosening:[30] Take the needle out [to the sun?
77 and straighten the needle out. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

Like several other recipes in the Bodleian rotulus, this one too seeks to "bind" the male organ of its victim, a common magical practice in Late Antiquity, and one that also was known to, and discussed by, the rabbis of late-antique Palestine.[31] It does this by way of an adjuration, accompanied by an interesting *historiola* (a mythical event used as a precedent or an analogy for the desired outcome of the magical procedure) and an intriguing ritual whose symbolic meaning is quite manifest. On the ritualistic-symbolical level, we see the practice (attested in other cultures as well) of "binding" a male victim by twisting a needle (whose phallic connotations are quite obvious) and turning it into a closed circle, with its tip inside its own eye (and thus unable to penetrate any other object).[32] In this recipe, as in several other recipes in this rotulus and in other Genizah recipe books, and in the *Sword of Moses* as well, we also find instructions on how to loosen this piece of aggressive witchcraft once it is no longer deemed necessary—in this case, by taking the needle out of the dark spot in which it was buried and straightening it up, in the assumption that the same would now happen to the victim's virile organ. On the mythical side, we have here a reference to the angel Qaṭriel (whose name is derived from the Aramaic root קטר, "to bind" + the standard ending -el, and who appears quite frequently in ancient Jewish magical texts), who came down from heaven to herd small cattle and bulls and "bound" (i.e., castrated?) the male bulls (a well known symbol of virility in many cultures, ancient and modern); just as this had happened *in illo tempore*, so shall the hapless victim be "bound" and rendered impotent as the practitioner wishes. The use of such *historiolae* is extremely common in ancient and medieval magical texts, including the Jewish ones, but whereas most Genizah magical recipes utilize well worn biblical stories as precedents—and especially the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, to

[30] For שרייה, see the use of שריא, and שריא דגברא in MTKG III, 61 (= T-S K 1.162), 1c/25–1d/4.
[31] For the "binding" of bridegrooms, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 396.
[32] For a possible medieval Latin parallel, see Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 145.

which we shall return below—the composer of this recipe made use of a non-biblical, and perhaps even non-Jewish, myth.[33] Further research might shed more light on the possible origins of this myth, which does not seem to be an ad hoc invention but a casual reference to a myth which was circulating in the magician's own world.

d) The last two recipes in the extant part of our rotulus, and therefore also the best preserved, are also the most interesting. The first of these is described as intended to make peace between a man and a woman, but in fact is an aggressive / erotic magical recipe, involving the adjuration and slaughtering of a white cock:

117 (סוף מרשם קודם) למרמי שלם [בין]
118 גבר לבין איתה בס כל לוגנרת רווח עבשאו (יול)[ע?
119 דע אוהד נייחב רומאו אנה פ'ב'פ' משבענה
120 לך תרנגלה בשמה דמלכה עלייא דיתיב על
121 כורסייה דדינה: המך תאד שיבך ינבל השנא
122 הריעבלו נך שבכתי ש'ו'ש' במאתין מ'ח' אברין
123 דאית בה ונעמתה תהווי מכיכה קודם פ'ב'פ'
124 בשמה דכבשיאל דכבש ארעה בחיי(ל)ה ותהומ(ה)
125 בתוקפיה מלין אמרית עובדין יתעבדון וכ(ל)[אשר?
126 דיברתי יצליח: בסו נולטיף דכסיט וכת' א[לין מלייה
127 בגווה: בסו דדוג נם יונאם הרבגד [בהו היתי
128 הלטיפב עוזבו הלגנרת הבו (!) הבתך הויג[ב בהו
129 (ה)פושן דפיל לגו מעוי וכוף ראשה: הלגנר(ת)[ד]
130 יועמל רומטו תשרפב התחרוא (ו)[הב?] עלוי כיף
131 דלא יפק יתה חיווה ואשבע עלוי אלין מלייה

117 (end of prev. recipe) (vac) To make peace [between?
118 a man and a woman, take a white cock and adjure over it
119 while it is still alive and say, I, NN, adjure
120 you, cock, in the name of the exulted king who sits upon
121 the throne of judgment. Just as you are subdued by men
122 and by cattle, so shall ŠWŠ be subdued by the two hundred 48 limbs

[33] By way of comparison, I note Mousaieff bowl M163 (edited by Dan Levene, *A Corpus of Magic Bowls: Incantation Texts in Jewish Aramaic from Late Antiquity* [The Kegan Paul Library of Jewish Studies] (London: Kegan Paul, 2003), p. 123): והיכדין דאיתכביש רימון תורא קדמאה, "…and just as RYMWN, the primordial bull, was subdued." I also note the traditions about the eschatological punishment of the Sun and the Moon "like castrated bulls," as cited and discussed by David J. Halperin and Gordon D. Newby, "Two Castrated Bulls: A Study in the Haggadah of Kaʿb al Aḥbâr," *JAOS* 102 (1982): 631–638. One may also go further afield, and cite the stories about Hercules and the bull or the Mithraic motif of the scorpion attacking the bull's genitals, but such parallels do not seem to elucidate our recipe.

123 that are in her, and her tune?[34] shall be humbled before NN
124 in the name of Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss
125 by his might. Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?
126 I have spoken shall succeed. And take a tin lamella,[35] and write th[ese words
127 upon it. And take a thread from the clothes of the man [and place it
128 in the lamella and tear the cock apart and place the writing inside it [and place
129 fine flour[36] of ??? inside its intestines and twist the head of the cock
130 to its intestines and bury it at a crossroads. And [place?] upon it a rock
131 so that no animal shall dig it out, and adjure upon it these words.

Once again, we are faced with an aggressive magical recipe, this time intended to subdue a person and make him amorously or sexually submissive to another person of the opposite sex; and once again, the recipe involves both a ritual and an adjuration. On the ritual level, the user is instructed to take a white cock, utter an adjuration over it, tear it apart, and place inside its intestines a tin lamella with the adjuration, a thread from the victim's clothes (what James Frazer would call "magic of contagion"), and fine flour. The cock is then twisted into a kind of a knot (an action which certainly is intended as analogous to what would happen to the victim should s/he fail to comply), and buried at the crossroads, a common location for the practice of magic rituals in many ancient cultures, and perhaps also symbolizing here the desired meeting of the man and the woman.[37] The use of white cocks in aggressive magical recipes seems to have been quite common, and one may cite parallels from other Genizah magical texts, from *Sepher Ha-Razim* (for which see Ithamar Gruenwald's paper in the present

[34] For נעמה, see Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 354.

[35] For פיטלון, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 374, n. 64; for כסיט = כסיטרון = Greek *kassiteros*, see Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, p. 556 (where the word is consistently spelled with a *qof*, not a *kaf*).

[36] For נשופה, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone and Ester Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* [Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, 19] (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 82 (= ALD 8:6): נישפא בליל במשחא, "fine meal (Gr. *semidalin*) mixed with oil," with the editors' note on p. 176 (I am grateful to Matthew Morgenstern for this reference); I am still puzzled by the word פיל, but cf. Sokoloff, *Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 431. Note also the appearance of פילון as an ingredient in several Jewish magical texts, including Bodleian Heb. a 2.2.

[37] For Greco-Roman examples, see S. I. Johnston, "Crossroads," *ZPE* 88 (1991): 217–224, esp. 223–224; for rabbinic examples, see bt Yoma 84a; Pess 111a.

volume), from the Babylonian incantation bowls, and even from the Babylonian Talmud.[38] Most intriguing is the almost exact parallel in the *Sword of Moses*, in a recipe for sending dreams upon someone, which involves placing an inscribed silver lamella in the mouth of a cock, slaughtering it, twisting its body so that its mouth will be between its thighs and burying it at the foot of a wall.[39] But with such parallels in mind it is also interesting to note the practical mindset displayed by the author of our recipe, who is worried lest the smelly carcass might be dug out and eaten by some animal, thus dissolving the spell (or, at least, exposing it for all to see, and perhaps compromising both the client and the magician), and therefore instructs the user to place a rock over the burial place of the mutilated rooster. On the mythical level, we find in the adjuration itself a reference to "Kabshiel who subdued the earth by his strength and the abyss by his might." This angel, whose name is derived from the root כבש, "to subdue" + the standard ending -el, was extremely popular in ancient Jewish aggressive magic, and even the entire formula found here is closely paralleled in other Genizah magical texts and clearly was quite common in late antique Jewish magical texts.[40] Embedded in the adjuration we also find an interesting expression, "Words have I spoken, deeds shall be done, and all [that?] I have spoken shall succeed," which provides an interesting summary of the magician's mindset and which—judging

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[38] See, for example, Bodleian MS Heb. a2.2; *Sepher Ha-Razim* I/160–169 (pp. 75–76 Margalioth); Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 122: תחות הנא תרנולא חיורא דמזמ[ן ל]יך: ("under this white cock that is appoin[ted on your beh]alf"); bt AZ 4a–b // Ber 7a // San 105b, with Gideon Bohak, "Magical Means for Dealing with *Minim* in Rabbinic Literature," in Peter J. Tomson and Doris Lambers-Petry (eds.), *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 267–279.

[39] See Yuval Harari, *Harba de-Moshe (The Sword of Moses): A New Edition and a Study* (Jerusalem: Academon, 1997), p. 42: ואחית בפום תרנגלא ושחוט יתיה...ואהדר פיו ואחית ביני ירכתיה, וקבר בעקבא דשורא ("and place (the lamella) in the mouth of a cock and slaughter it…and turn back its mouth and place it between its thighs, and bury (it) at the foot of a wall"). For such sacrificial acts in late-antique Jewish magic see also Michael D. Swartz, "Sacrificial Themes in Jewish Magic," in Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 141] (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 303–315.

[40] And cf. MTKG II, 45 (= T-S K 1.26), 1b/7–8: כבשיאל דכבש ארעה קודם שמייה ובתוקפה [ ]ם [תהו?] וכביש ("Kabshiel, who subdued the earth under heaven and subdued (the) [abys]s, [by] and by his power"). The formula is echoed in Levene, *A Corpus*, M163, p. 124: ובשמיה דאישו דכבש רומא ועומקא בזקיפה ("And in the name of Jesus, who subdued the height and the depth by his cross").

from the shift from Aramaic to Hebrew in mid-sentence—might be based on some very old Jewish magical formula.

e) The last recipe on our rotulus is in many ways the most interesting of them all. It is yet another aggressive recipe, and involves some exotic ingredients and a well known *historiola*, but this time with a special twist:

132 אשקיו לרוחה בדיקה סב מיין
133 חטיפין פראהורון מן מבוע ומי של(ק)ה ד(חט)י[א]
134 ומי טלופחין שלוקן ועקר צברה ותונין דח(מ)[ר
135 ותונין דתורה אכומה ותונין מן דידך ואמו[ר
136 עליהון זמ' ז' אתון הנון דינאמיס דאלהא רב[ה
137 אתון הנון רוחתה דעלמה דהפך אלהא ב[ ] סדום
138 ועמורה אדמה וצבויים כן תהפכון ותע[ק]רון
139 ותגלון לש'ו'ש' נם התיב נמו הרתא וכל ר[וחי]ן
140 ושדין וכל מזיקין דעבידין על סרחונה וע(ל)[
141 ועל ערבובה ייתון על פ'ב'פ' ויצערון יתיה וי[
142 יתה ויגלון יתה מן בייתה בשמה דנוריאל והפ[כיאל?
143 סור(י)אל אלין ד(מ)שמשין מלאך מותה ˙ צ(י)ברו מד[וק?]
144 [ה]תייב (תחילת המרשם הבא)

132 (vac) A watering for a spirit. Tested?, take fast-flowing?[41] water
133 PRʾHWRWN[42] from a spring, and water of cooked wh[eat?]
134 and water of boiled lentils and the root of aloe[43] and the urine[44] of a don[key
135 and the urine of a black bull and your own urine, and sa[y
136 over them 7 times, You are the power of the great God,
137 you are the spirit of the world [by which?] God has overturned Sodom
138 and Gomorrah Adama and Zeboim, so shall you overturn and uproot
139 and exile ŠWŠ from his house and from his place and all the sp[irits
140 and demons and harmers who are in charge of sin and of [
141 and of turbulence shall come upon NN and shall cause him grief and [...
142 him and exile him from his home, in the name of Nuriel and Hap[khiel?

[41] I am not sure what מיין חטיפין really means, but the instruction to use מים חטופים appears in other Jewish magical texts as well, including, for example, the *Shimmush Tehillim* instructions in MTKG III, 81 (= T-S NS 216.23) 1a/12 (and see the editors' note on p. 322); T-S NS 322.95, and several different recipes in MS Sassoon 56 = NYPL 190.

[42] פראהורון clearly is a Greek word, but I am not yet sure which one, and the transliteration may be somewhat faulty.

[43] For צברה, see Syriac *ṣbr'*, "the aloe," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 473.

[44] For תונין, see Syriac *twn'*, "urine," in Payne Smith, *Syriac Dictionary*, p. 608.

143 Suri'el, those who serve the angel of death. And sprinkle bef[ore
144 his home. (vac) (beg. of next recipe)

As in the previous examples, this aggressive magical recipe—intended to harm a person and exile him or her from their home—involves both a ritual and a mythical component. On the ritual side, a smelly concoction is prepared from six liquids and a root (the inclusion of which may be due in part to the similarity between "root" (עקר) and "uproot" (here תעקרון), and perhaps also to the similarity between צברה, "aloe, " and רבץ, "to sprinkle"), and once the adjuration is uttered over it, it is sprinkled in front of the house of the intended victim. On the mythical side, we get an elaborate oral adjuration in which the unsavory concoction is equated with the *dynamis* of the great God, and with the spirit of the world by/with which God rained sulfur on Sodom, Gomorrah, Adama and Zeboim and brought about their utter destruction (see Genesis 19). In a similar manner, the magician insists, shall the liquids manipulated here overturn and uproot and exile the victim from his or her home. And as if this was not enough, the spell adds the wish that all kinds of harmful spirits would descend upon the victim and harm him and exile him from his house, and all this in the name of Nuriel (whose name is made of "fire" + -el ending) and probably Hapkhiel (whose name is derived from the root HPK, "to overturn" + -el ending), who are here identified as part of the entourage of the angel of death. The use of Sodom and Gomorrah as a *historiola* in Jewish magical recipes—in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, and later in Judeo-Arabic as well—is extremely common in Jewish magical texts, as is the identification of a substance used by the magician with substances used *in illo tempore* to destroy the troublesome cities.[45] Similarly, the appeal to the powers of evil should no longer surprise us, as we have found it in other recipes on this rotulus. But the use of the urine of several animals, and of the magician's own urine, is—as far as I know—quite unattested in the Jewish magical tradition, and proves once again the relatively "daring" nature of the recipes found in the Bodleian rotulus. Finally, the sprinkling of the "adjured" substance in front of the victim's home, yet another example of "contagious magic," is well attested in other sources too; whether

[45] For a fuller discussion of this point, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 312–314.

the stench would have made the victim leave his or her home is quite doubtful, but I suspect it could have made them aware that some foul act was being perpetrated against them.

Summary

To sum up: While rotuli and rotuli fragments are relatively rare in the Cairo Genizah, and magical rotuli extremely rare, those magical rotuli which happened to survive turn out to be of great historical importance. This is especially true of Bodleian Heb. a3.31, which is one of the oldest available Genizah magical texts, is entirely based on much earlier Palestinian Jewish recipes which seem to have been neither "updated" nor censored in any significant manner, and provides important evidence on the aggressive magical practices of the Jews of late-antique Palestine and early medieval Cairo. The significance of this evidence may be highlighted by noting that among many hundreds of Genizah magical texts transcribed within the framework of my research project, not a single one provided as many early Jewish magical recipes in such a good state of preservation and with such a high concentration of very "daring" aggressive magical recipes. Moreover, my search for parallels for the recipes contained in this rotulus did not come up with much, neither inside the Genizah nor outside it, which seems to imply that most of these magical recipes were not re-copied by later Jewish practitioners (perhaps because they were deemed too offensive in their blatant transgressions of some biblical and rabbinic injunctions and in their frequent appeals to the forces of darkness), and would have been utterly lost were it not for the chance preservation of this rotulus. In the future, more fragments of the above-listed rotuli, and of other magical rotuli, might be identified, and further enhance our knowledge of an important stage in the textual transmission of the Jewish magical tradition from Late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages.

AN ARABIC VERSION OF "THE SWORD OF MOSES"

Alexander Fodor

In a recent article, I dealt with an Arabic version of *Sefer ha-Razim*, the manuscript of which I discovered in Egypt in 1973.[1] As I have shown, this Christian Arabic manuscript which bears the title *Sifr Ādam* "The Book of Adam") actually contained the translation of three different Jewish magical works. One of these proved to be a version of *Sefer ha-Razim* disclosing striking similarities with the work reconstructed by Margalioth.[2] This offered the general framework for the whole treatise which included two other magical works. One of these was a version of *Ḥarba de Moshe* ("The Sword of Moses") which, however, did not even mention Moses as the recipient of the *Ḥarba*. The other piece contained many astro-magical elements and revealed a definite relationship to the *Sefer ha-Yashar* ("The Book of Righteousness"). A Jewish manuscript from Yemen which comprises versions of both *Sefer ha-Razim* and *Sefer ha-Yashar* was particularly illuminative in identifying the original source for the astro-magical section in the Arabic text.[3] This Arabic *Sifr Ādam* in its ultimate form might have been the result of the redactional activity of a Coptic priest. In addition to the Christianization of the work, some Islamic influence can also be detected in the text.

Recently, scholarly interest in *Ḥarba de Moshe* has manifestly grown. After a long period of silence, Gaster's pioneering edition[4] was followed by the publication of another version of the *Ḥarba* by Schäfer together with other pieces of the Hekhalot literature. In his edition of the Hekhalot texts, §§ 640–650 are related to what he calls Gaster's Recension A, while §§ 598–622 can be connected to Gaster's Recension B.[5] Yuval Harari's new edition of the treatise with a comprehensive study on the whole subject may give a new impetus to research

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[1] See Fodor 2006.
[2] See Margalioth 1966.
[3] MS New York 40. I am grateful to Reimund Leicht for this reference. For the edition of the *Sefer ha-Yashar*, see Wandrey 2004.
[4] Gaster 1925–28a (transl.), and Gaster 1925–28b (text).
[5] SHL (text), *ÜdHL* IV. (transl.), 1–17, 42–50.

on the subject.[6] Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker's article on deciphering an intelligible Greek text hidden behind a group of seemingly unintelligible *nomina barbara* or *voces magicae* in the *Ḥarba* must also be mentioned in this connection.[7] Although not related directly to the *Ḥarba*, several of Gideon Bohak's articles have relevance for this subject because they deal with the interpretation of the *voces magicae* in the Hekhalot literature.[8] Finally, Klaus Herrmann's paper[9] on the *Tefillat Rav Hamnuna Sava* can be cited, because this magical prayer and its background help to understand better the Arabic "Sword" and its supposed Jewish source.

In the following, I wish to examine this newly discovered Arabic version of the *Ḥarba de Moshe* which could shed light on the birth of the Arabic translation, on the work which might have served as a basis for the Arabic version and on the milieu of their composition. As a matter of fact, the questions raised by the study of the *Ḥarba* are closely related to one of the main concerns of research on the relationship between Jewish liturgy, Hekhalot literature and magical ritual,[10] so it will also be of relevance to show whether the Arabic text offers any clue for the elucidation of some problems in this respect. Since I do not wish to deal with the manuscript tradition of the *Ḥarba* in detail and since the occasional deficiencies of Gaster's edition do not affect my way of research or conclusions, I usually refer to the latter when I quote the *Ḥarba*.

Sefer ha-Razim in Margalioth's reconstruction described the seven firmaments with their ministering angels and recorded their names together with the magical recipes which were selected on the basis of the competences of each angelic group. Assessing the importance of the magical element in *Sefer ha-Razim*, it is worthwhile to quote Joseph Dan's opinion literally:[11]

> In spite of the fact that this is one of the most methodical and extreme magical works in the history of Jewish literature, it is clear that the

[6] Harari 1997.
[7] Rohrbacher-Sticker 1996.
[8] See *e.g.* Bohak 1995 and Bohak 2001.
[9] Herrmann 2005.
[10] For the state of research on this subject, see *e.g.* Naveh and Shaked 1993. 17–31; Shaked 1995, MTKG II, 1–25; Herrmann 2005. 177–179.
[11] Dan 1993, 19.

> author regards magic as belonging to an inferior realm. In describing the forces which rule the first and second heavens—the lowest levels—the author goes into great detail about the magical use of the mixtures and incantations that must be used in order for one to accomplish what he seeks. However, as the descriptions ascend to the higher realms of the heavens, the magical element decreases, and for the seventh heaven there is no magical information at all. The message is evidently that the person is able to enlist the aid of the relatively inferior angels, those which are close to our world and in contact with it, whereas the superior forces which are linked to the divine *Merkavah* are above such matters.

In contrast to this pattern, the Arabic version in *Sifr Ādam* separated the cosmological part of the original work from the practical section. Accordingly, at first it presented the description of the seven firmaments enumerating the angelic hosts which were on duty in them, and after that, an independent section of magical recipes revealed the goals for which the angels could be used. Adhering to this general structure, when the first redactor or compiler reached the subject of the seventh firmament he gave a description along the lines of the related section in *Sefer ha-Razim*. However, when he was expected to present the magical recipes using the angels of the seventh firmament he was confronted by the fact that there were no angelic names in connection with the uppermost firmament since it was characterized by the presence of the angelic hosts singing hymns in praise of the Lord. Because of this, he could have suddenly felt himself compelled to include a version of *Ḥarba de Moshe* to repair this deficiency. Evidently, he did not feel himself restrained by the considerations exposed by Dan and ended up by presenting the most detailed magical material of the whole *Sifr Ādam* in connection with the seventh firmament. This surprising procedure could have been perfectly logical from his point of view—namely, in the same way as each of the preceding six firmaments was connected to a certain group of angels, it must have seemed only natural for him that this arrangement must also apply to the seventh. So, at least from the pure dramaturgical aspect the redactor was perfectly correct when he sensed a kind of rupture in the course of the cosmological description that refrained from mentioning any angelic name in this section.

The Arabic "Sword" as the last section of the manuscript starts on page 162 and ends on page 223. The number of lines to the page is invariably 12 in agreement with the former pages. The introductory part reads like this in Arabic:

ص٢ ١٦
صفة السماء السابعه
وهى لسيف الله ويده وهذه الأسماء
العظيمه المقدسه التي لها التأثيرات
والقوه المعروفه سيف الله طوبي للرجل
الذي تكون في صدره ويحفظها بقلب نقي
وجسم طاهر فانه يرتفع درجه عن
اجناسه الأدمين ويصل الى مطلوباته
وينال الدنيا الحسنه والآخره الصالحه
وهوهذا السيف المذكور

In translation:

> p. 162
>
> DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVENTH FIRMAMENT
>
> And it concerns the Sword of God and His Hand. And these are the Holy, Great Names which have the influences and the power and are known as the Sword of God. Happy is the man in whose breast they can be found and who preserves them with pure heart and pure body because he will be elevated by one grade over his fellow human beings. He will reach his aims and will gain this good world and the other pious world. And this is the afore-mentioned Sword:

This is followed by a long list of *nomina barbara* comprising 215 names, which can be more or less divided into different groups according to certain organizing principles. A number of them reveal the permutations of the Tetragrammaton, others end in *a, ay* or *il*, and a third group has the word Ṣ'B'WWT (from the Hebrew *ṣeva'ot*, "hosts," repeated 8 times) as a dividing component between the different names. Among the recognizable elements we can identify Michael, Gabriel, Rafael, Israel and such familiar expressions as *Adonai, Adon, El, Hu El* ("He is God"), *Ze Hu* ("This is He"), *Gibbor* ("Powerful"). Interestingly, the name S'M SYL'M also occurs in the list which most probably conceals "Semiselam," a well-known name from Jewish magic and the Greek Magical Papyri, and which can be interpreted as *shemi shalom* ("My name is Peace") or as *shemesh ʿolam* ("The Sun of the World").[12] The

[12] For its occurrence in a Jewish magical text and for its interpretation, see *e.g.* SHL § 336, *ÜdHL* III. 3, n.8, MTKG I, 162, (Or. 1080.15.81, 1a/38.), 169; Swartz 1996, 116f; Leicht 1999, 159, n. 57.

last names contain the group M'RY QDŠ'Y' R'Š'NY ML'ḪY' which must be equivalent to *Mari qadshayya rishon malkhayya* ("Lord of the Holy Ones, Chief of the Angels").

The closing section of this introduction specifies the benefits which the names offer for the person who knows them and wears them—mentioning, among other things, that "he will have /arouse/ dread in the the eyes of the creatures" (*wa-yakūnu lahu hayba fi ʾaʿyun al-maḫlūqīn*). It also prescribes the conditions which must be observed before using the names. First of all, the practitioner must be in a state of purity because the noble names conceal the "Greatest Name" (*al-ism al-ʾaʿẓam*). Interestingly, in addition to such well-known prohibitions concerning the consumption of wine and fish it mentions that anything *ṭabīḫ* ("cooked") or *ḥarīq* ("burnt") is also among the forbidden meals.[13] The reason for this might be looked for in the direct connnection that may exist between the "cooked" or "burnt" food and the use of fire for their preparation. This prohibition may imply the reference to a day when labor was forbidden.

It is evident at first sight that this introduction is completely different from the relevant section in Gaster's edition which starts with the description of the four angels appointed over the "Sword." We can, however, find a passage of very similar content and tone in the Talmud Bavli which is preoccupied with the transmission of secret lore—namely, the forty-two-letter Divine Name—and stipulates the necessary preconditions for the operation in the following way:[14]

> אמר רב יהודה אמר רב: שם בן ארבעים ושתים אותיות אין מוסרין אותו אלא למי שצנוע ועניו ועומד בחצי ימיו ואינו כועס ואינו משתכר ואינו מעמיד על מדותיו וכל היודעו והזהיר בו והמשמרו בטהרה אהוב למעלה ונחמד למטה ואימתו מוטלת על הבריות ונוחל שני עולמים העולם הזה והעולם הבא

In translation:

> Rav Yehuda said: Rav said: As for the forty-two-letter Name, it must not be revealed except to him who is humble and modest, and stands in the

[13] For the ban on the "cooked," see a similar case in "The Apocalypse of Abraham" cited by Gruenwald 1980. 100. Contrary to this, a Hekhalot text (SHL §§ 571–578) prescribes the baking of bread, the eating of cooked cake and the drinking of wine: Swartz 1996. 110, 161.

[14] b Qid 71a. For the translation of the text, see Gaster 1925–28a. 295, who treats the text from the aspect of the Name, and understandably does not pay attention to the subject of the "two worlds," since it does not occur in the *Ḥarba*.

> middle of his days /life/, and is not (inclined to get) angry and is not (inclined to get) drunk, and does not insist on his rights. And everybody who knows it and keeps it and guards it in purity will be beloved above and desirable below and dread of him will be imposed on the creatures and he will gain two worlds, this world and the coming world.

Although this passage does not mention the elements of the dietary regime, the reference to the ethical requirements, to the dread felt by fellow human beings toward the chosen person and to the possibility of gaining this world and the future world suffice to disclose a Talmudic provenance for the source of the Arabic text. The idea that the world to come is promised for the pious as a reward for the fulfillment of certain conditions including the knowledge of the secret name must have been a popular idea, since the very same motif occurs in different sources. So, although there is no trace of the phrase in the *Ḥarba* itself, it occurs regularly in the Hekhalot literature.[15]

The importance of the subject can be understood in the light of the efforts to prove that God created two worlds, as shown by a passage in the Babylonian Talmud. At first, it claims that for him who places his trust in God, He will be a shelter in this world and the world to come. Then, to support the existence of these two worlds it says that God created them by using the letter *yud* and the letter *hei* from the name YH.[16]

In connection with the importance attributed to the ethical requirements raised against the recipient of the "Sword," it is worth mentioning that the influence of the Psalms can also be detected in this respect as shown in another passage.[17] Here, the Arabic version follows almost literally the text of the *Ḥarba*[18] which describes the recipients as men "whose heart is not divided and in whose mouth is no duplicity, who do not lie with their tongues and do not deceive with their lips, who do not grasp with their hand etc." This wording and the reference to the purity of the heart, the mouth and the hands can be compared to a verse of a similar content in Ps 24:4 which presents the person who deserves to ascend to God in the following way:

---

[15] See e.g. SHL §§ 377, 500, 705, 712, 940, 952, 953. See also Dan 1993, 68. The idea of the "two worlds" is also present in 3 Enoch x. Cf. also Halperin 1988, 423.

[16] b Men 29b. See also *ÜdHL* III. 266, n. 24.

[17] *Sifr Ādam* 192f.

[18] Gaster 1925–28b, 71/34–72/3, and Gaster 1925–28a, 315f.

> He that hath clean hands (*naqi kappayim*), and a pure heart (*bar levav*), who hath not taken My name in vain, and hath not sworn deceitfully.

This introduction is followed by the description of 12 magical recipes which usually start with the formula *iḏā aradta* or *in aradta* ("if you wish") as a literal translation of its Jewish equivalent, *im biqqashta*. The arrangement of the recipes does not seem to disclose a thematically conscious structuring, but the first one is logically placed at the beginning since it wishes to show the practitioner how to decide the success or the failure of a would-be act:

ص ١٦٨–١٦٩

فاذا أردت أن تعلم الشيء ينجح أم لا
وطريقك مستقيمه ام لا ومهما أردت
خذ المغليط وهو الحيوان السائب اذبحه
قدام الشمس وانت تذكر السيف فان
جاء ذبحه مقلوب الوردين فانت تنجح

وان لم ينقلب وجاء القطع مستقيماً ايئس
من ذلك الأمر

In translation:

> pp. 168–169
>
> If you wish to know whether the thing will succeed or not
> and your way is right or not and whatever you wish,
> take the MĠLYṬ and it is the animal which is gliding along, slaughter it
> in front of the sun while you recite the "Sword" and if
> its slaughtering comes with the turning out of the two veins /?/ then you will succeed
>
> but if it does not turn out /?/ and/while the cutting is straight /right/, be in despair because of this thing.

Commentary

The peculiar character of this recipe is enhanced by the fact that none of the prescriptions in Gaster's versions of the *Ḥarba de Moshe* deals either with this subject or with the sacrifice of an animal for divinatory purposes. Although the description of the slaughter seems to be a literal translation of the original Jewish text, the technical details are not

clear enough to fully understand the whole procedure. Evidently, the position of the two veins (arteries?) after the ritual cutting of the neck plays a decisive role in recognizing the success of the future act or its failure. The scene of the ritual in front of the sun is unique among the recipes of this collection but it is quite familiar in other sources.[19]

The Arabic text also deserves a few remarks. The word *ward* evidently stands for *warīd*, the Arabic equivalent for the Hebrew *varid* ("vein"). The expression *al-warīdayn* refers to the two veins which can be seen after the cutting of the neck. The identification of the animal called MĠLYṬ is more complicated. As we can see, the Arabic text tries to interpret it as "the animal which is gliding along." This would suggest that the translator might have thought of a "mole" (?) but there are a number of animals which could suit this description. In my view, however, the choice of a bird would have been more evident and familiar for the purpose of a divinatory procedure. It seems to be conceivable, and the presence of the consonants *ġ*, *l*, and *ṭ* may also suggest that the word could have originally stood for the Hebrew *ʿayiṭ* "bird of prey" which has been corrupted to become MĠLYṬ in the course of transcriptions by taking the *yud* for *lamed*.

This recipe is immediately followed by another divination text which reveals a case of necromancy:

واذا وقفت على ميت
اذكر اسم هذا السيف في اذنه اليسرى
ولا تنظر إلى وجهه فهو يكلمك وتكون
عيناك إلى الارض وفمك عند اذنه

In translation:

> p. 169
>
> If you stumble upon a dead person
> recite this "Sword" in his left ear
> but do not look into his face and he will talk to you while
> your eyes should be /directed/ to the earth and your mouth should be at his ear.

[19] See *e.g.* SHL §§ 621, 646–648, *ÜdHL* IV. 48, n. 4.

Commentary

Necromancy was well-known in Jewish magic as not only the *locus classicus* from the Bible (1 Sam 28:7–9) but other examples also attest to its frequent occurrences.[20] There is, however, a basic difference between the biblical description of the practice and the procedure in our text. In the Bible, Saul, defying the prohibition of necromancy (among other pagan practices enumerated by Deut 18:11) asked the witch of Endor to bring up Samuel from the netherworld to hear his advice about the coming battle with the Philistines. Upon Saul's request the witch adjured her familiar spirit who emerged from beneath the earth impersonating Samuel and answered Saul's questions.

In the Arabic recipe the practitioner acts in a more "real-life way" since he deals directly with a corpse from whom he expects to get the required answers by simply whispering the "Sword," the secret Divine Name, into his left ear. On the other hand, the instruction to turn his eyes to the earth may indicate that he was supposed to communicate with the netherworld.[21]

Gaster's version of the *Ḥarba* offers a recipe which could have served as a prototype for the Arabic prescription, as No. 78 shows:[22]

> 78 ואם בעית למללא עם מיתא אמר על אזנו דשמאל מן קהוהיהוט עד אהישוני ואד נגזריקי ורמי בחורתיהון.

In Gaster's translation:[23]

> To speak with the dead, whisper /the *nomina barbara* of/ No. 78 into his left ear and throw into their holes (?).

The first part of the prescription is identical with the one in the Arabic version but the second instruction is completely meaningless. The reference to the "holes" may refer to the orifices of the body (of course, it is not "their" holes but "his" hole that is meant in the text). The context may also suggest that the "Sword" should somehow be allowed to get into the body. In contrast to this rather ambiguous wording, what distinguishes our text is its clear instructions for the practitioner

[20] See *e.g. EJ, s.v.* "Divination."

[21] In a magical rite (SHL § 424) the practitioner is instructed to whisper the names towards the earth, which means that he was supposed to get into contact with the demons (*ÜdHL* III. 182, n. 6).

[22] Gaster 1925–28b, 85.

[23] Gaster 1925–28a, 326.

concerning his position during the performance which are in perfect agreement with the necromantic character of the act.

The third type of divinatory recipe is represented by the following:

ص٧ ١٧–١٧٩

وهذا استرتاد لاستحضار
من شئت من الأرواح ومخاطبته شفاهياً
أقف في الماء إلى عنقك واذكر هذه الأسماء
قود نخو نهوا فطنطمير سع هطير
هلسيه ففعيس فسينغطقس ظهفيد
ليه تنهتمس نفع اتنقيق قفقعهتنهق
ينتسوفص سهيمسن عقيق فلمسطي
قبرنسوس اتعيضياه يا هيرزياه يسفر
صفنيا انتم أيضاً الملائكه الجليله اقسمت
بهذه الأسماء عليكم باسم القدوس الذي
ليس له بدل عفوفياه بصفياه جرفيسس
رشرهنش بسمعيه هنونياه اسونفطياه
هيشتا غشياه يا روخ شيم كبور ملحوترا
لغولام اهاهين واضاذ ان تفهموني

وتكشفوا الى ما ارشد به وافهم وانظر
واحدا منكم ولا يؤذيني في جسمي ولا في
عقلي وتعرفوني كيف اصل واحضر من اريد
منكم فان كنت طاهر وإلا احذر أن تتقرب
إليهم ولا تلتفت وإن ارشدك الله ورغبت
أن تستحضر شيئاً منهم وتصاحبه فلا
تميل إلا لصاحب كوكبك فهو أجود لك
واذا أردت أن تصرفه اذكر اسم السيف
وهو ينصرف

In translation:

pp. 177–179

And this is the preparation for adjuring
whomever you wish from the spirits and for talking to him mouth to mouth:

Stand in the water up to your neck and recite these names:
QWDNḪW NHW FṬNṬMYR Sʿ HṬYR
HLSYH FFʿYS FSYNĠṬQS ẒHFYD
LYH TNHTMS NFʿ ʾTNQYQ QFQʿHTNHQ
YNTSWFṢ SHYMSN ʿQYQ FLMSṬY
QBRNSWS ʾT ʿYḎYʾH Yʾ HYRZYʾH YSFR
ṢFNYʾ, you, too, the sublime angels I conjured
you by these names, by the name of the Holy One that
has no substitute ʿFWFYʾH BṢFYʾH ĞRFSYS
RŠRHNŠ BSMʿYH HNWNYʾH ʾSWNF ṬYʾH
HYŠTʾ ĠŠYʾH YʾRWḪ ŠYM KBWR MLḤWTRʾ
LĠWLʾM ʾHʾHYN WʾḎʾḎ to make me understand

and to reveal for me what I will be guided by and what I will understand and /let me/ see
one of you and do not let him hurt me either in my body or in
my mind and let me know how I can reach and adjure whom I wish
among you. And if you are pure /it is all right/ but if not, beware to approach
them and do not turn /to them/. And if God guides you and you desire
to adjure something from them and to accompany him then do not
turn except to your planet because it is more propitious for you.
And if you wish to dismiss him, recite the name of the 'Sword'
and he will depart.

Commentary

The structural analysis of this adjuration presents the following elements:

1. The indication of the aim of the procedure: the request of a personal encounter with an angel.
2. The practitioner is instructed to stand in water up to his neck as a precondition to receiving the angelic being.
3. The recitation of an incantation text which is made up mainly of unintelligible *nomina barbara*.
4. The dismissal of the angel.

Starting from the basic instruction of the prescription, this type of recipe in the Jewish sources can particularly be associated with the adjuration of the *Sar ha-Panim*, the "Prince of the Presence," describing the method by which he can be forced to appear to the practitioner.[24]

[24] For the adjuration of the *Sar ha-Panim*, see Gaster 1925–28b, 91–93; Gaster 1925–28a, 332–336; SHL §§ 623–639. For the interpretation of the adjuration, see Schäfer 1988, 118–153; Lesses 1995; Swartz 1996, 135–147.

The instruction for the practitioner to bathe as a preparation for the magical act occurs also in other Jewish magical recipes.[25] It is worth mentioning that the Arabic text uses the words *istiḥḍār* ("wishing someone's appearance"), *istaḥḍara* ("to wish that someone appears") and *aḥḍara* ("to make someone appear") to express the idea of bringing about the coming of the angel. These terms are of a rather general character, so do not specify the mode of the angel's arrival which in the Jewish sources is conceived of as a descent. The use of the Arabic word *istinzāl* ("wishing someone's descent"), a customary technical term in Arabic magical recipes, would have expressed this notion in a more adequate way if this was originally meant.

In the gibberish of the *nomina barbara* only those ending in Y'H for *yah*, as a variant of the Tetragrammaton, can be clearly discerned. The last names, however, composed of Y'RWḪ ŠYM KBWR MLḪWTR' LĠWL'M 'H'HYN W' Ḍ'Ḏ evidently conceal the well-known blessing *Barukh shem kevod malkhuto le-ʿolam va-ʿed* ("Blessed be the Name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever") which also closes the adjuration of the *Sar ha-Panim*.[26] These distorted words in the Arabic text appear as organic parts of the magical names but their original function as a blessing was, of course, totally different. It evokes the ritual on the Day of Atonement when in the imitation of Aaron's act, the High Priest was supposed to lay his hands over the goat, confess the sins of the people and then send the goat to the wilderness (Lev 16, 21). The High Priest had the privilege of pronouncing the Ineffable Name during the ritual and upon hearing the Name, the congregation responded to it by prostrating themselves and reciting the *Barukh Shem* formula.[27] This also is the blessing which should be recited in a low voice after the first sentence of the Shema.[28] So the occurrence of this expression in a magical text after the recitation of a group of magical names which stand for the Ineffable Name, might be interpreted as a conscious imitation of the Yom Kippur ritual.[29] As a matter of fact, the command for the practitioner to stand in water up to the neck

[25] See *e.g.* SHL §§ 489, 495, 544, 572, 663. Cf. Swartz 1996, 165f.

[26] Gaster 1925–28b, 93/24; Gaster 1925–28a, 336; SHL § 638. See also *e.g.* §§ 394, 957, 961, 970.

[27] Yoma 3,8, 4,1–2, 6,2.

[28] *EJ s.v.* "Shema."

[29] For the occurrence of the *Barukh Shem* formula after the Divine Name or a group of *nomina barbara* (as its replacement) in 3 Enoch, see xxxix 2, xlviii B 1–2, and in other magical texts, see SHL §§ 393, 394, 571, 696, 939, 957, 961; Swartz 1996,

reminds us of another ritual on Yom Kippur when the High Priest was supposed to bathe five times.[30] To emphasize the parallel elements in the magical adjuration and the Yom Kippur ritual, we may also refer to the above mentioned dietary prescription which forbade the consumption of anything "cooked" or "burnt,"—that is, prepared by using fire. Accordingly, this may point to the general prohibition of activities on the Day of Atonement.

Apart from the divinatory texts, there are a number of recipes with a wide variety of contents. The following one, concerning the prescription of a method to shorten the way, represents a favorite subject of both Jewish and Arabic magic termed as *qefiṣat ha-derekh* ("path jumping") and *ṭayy al-arḍ* ("rolling the earth") in Arabic.[31] The instruction runs like this:

ص ١٧٣–٧ ١٧

وإذا أردت أن تطوي الأرض لك
وتمشي في ساعه مسيره أيام اذكر أسماء
السيف أولا ثم تقول بعده مصهووال
ثلثمائه دفعه وتستحلفه باسم
مصهوشهيوان نيبقوه قرهويهوه
هعريهوه ونقموا يهوه يهوه
ثم تقول اقسمت عليك يا سبعون
رئيسا المقدمين الخدام قدام العرش وانت
هو ميططرون الملك الرئيس الكبير

قطفنفا قادوش منفيغيها تشاه قادوش
نناشطرعين قادوش ادزنفيسيه قادوش
سعيا صيطس قادوش نهو عمساهط قادوش
صتارغيناه قادوش فرانشففين قادوش
فيسبعشان قادوش يقحضيا قادوش

118–121; MTKG I, 31 (T.-S. K 1.56, 1a/1–8); MTKG II, 171 (No. 33, 1a/15), 172 (No. 33, 1b/8,13), 248f (No. 42, 1a/41,71–72), 329 (No. 53, 1a/22–24).

[30] Yoma 3,3.

[31] For the *qefiṣat ha-derekh*, see *e.g.* Verman and Adler 1993/94; Nigal 1994, 33–49; MTKG II, 127 (No. 28, 7b/1–8), 131, 155 (No. 31, 1b/6–18), 159–161; MTKG III, 137 (No. 68, 2b/1–6), 142, 155 (No. 70, 2b/9–13), 159. For the *ṭayy al-arḍ*, see Doutté 1908, 277–279.

فرتباه ماليا قادوش اوحطا قادوش
هنبصا ههما فباه قادوش برنهيغيا حرافياه

قادوش دغنفعمصيا قادوش درغفغسن
قادوش قعطفرحياه قادوش
اعدوهيصيا قادوش سقر ويلفيا
قادوش طسفو سيقناش قادوش
قلفيافاط قادوش اتهامارياه قادوش
وعشطفطيال قادوش توتعمياه قادوش
نلفانهاع قادوش قطقيصياه قادوش
فيها ينطقاف قادوش كبر عازقياه قادوش
مذهو هياه قادوش برهوترعياه قادوش
نغميسياه قادوش قينشيتغاه قادوش
نفطنيشيناه قادوش اتفهو هياه قادوش
نعراسفني قادوش هنيد فغساني قادوش

هورراهياه قادوش قطاتهتا طفطاس
قادوش غفر وشعضاميا قادوش
شقعيغيشهاش قادوش نطرنانايانين
قادوش بوفافطفيناشيا قادوش
اندرشقاع قادوش فلا تعظفيشنى
قادوش بانيغايه قادوش هليميغيغياه
قادوش يتفسيتيقاه قادوش مرنياقطقا قادوش
افنغا سوماس قادوش ههيهنا قفاش
قادوش نعقارناه هواه قادوش
قطاطها رابع قادوش بيافيتماس
قادوش هواطرا هنيسياه قادوش
اققاش قادوش قنشقسقاه قادوش

طهاطياه قادوش فيهما شعاع قادوش انفيعافيق
قادوش قفاقعها يهتوا قادوش سيتيرمفاص
قادوش فهما هفو حسبناق قادوش قلمسطا
قادوش قفاقيقا قادوش هتا قادوش
طتمار قطليوا بوغيا قادوش قياقياطاس

قادوش هاجوعا يقطور قادوش
قنا نقشوه قادوش ثم تقول اقسمت
عليكم ايتها الملائكه الذين اسمائهم ذكرت
عليكم ان تحملوني بسرعه الى البلد الفلانيه
ثم تمشي نحو البلد التي تقصدها فتوصل اليها
في ساعه واحده

In translation:

pp. 173–177

If you wish to roll the earth for you
and to walk the distance of days in an hour, recite the names
of the "Sword" at first then say after it MṢHWW'L
three hundred times and you should adjure him by the name of
MṢHWŠHYW'N NYBQWH QRHWYHWH
HʿRYHWH WNQMW' YHWH YHWH.
Then you should say: I adjured you, O Seventy
Chiefs, the Forerunners, the Servants in front of the Throne and you
who are Meṭaṭron, the King, the Chief, the Great
QṬFNF' Q'DWŠ MNFYĠYH' TŠ'H Q'DWŠ
NN'ŠTRʿYN Q'DWŠ 'DZNFYSYH Q'DWŠ
SʿY' ṢYṬS Q'DWŠ NHW ʿMS'HṬ Q'DWŠ
ṢT'RĠYN'H Q'DWŠ FR'NŠFFYN Q'DWŠ
FYSBʿŠ'N Q'DWŠ YQHḌY' Q'DWŠ
FRTB'H M'LY' Q'DWŠ 'WḤṬ' Q'DWŠ
HNBṢ' HHM' FB'H Q'DWŠ BRNHYĠY' ḤR'FY'H

Q'DWŠ DĠNFʿMṢY' Q'DWŠ DRĠFĠSN
Q'DWŠ QʿṬFR ḤY'H Q'DWŠ
' ʿDWHY'ṢY' Q'DWŠ SQR WYLFY'
Q'DWŠ ṬSFW SYQN'Š Q'DWŠ
QLFY'F'Ṭ Q'DWŠ 'TH'M'RY'H Q'DWŠ
WʿŠṬFṬY'L Q'DWŠ TWTʿMY'H Q'DWŠ
NLF'NHʿ Q'DWŠ QṬQYṢY'H Q'DWŠ
FYH' YNṬQ'F Q'DWŠ KBRʿZQY'H Q'DWŠ
MḌHWHY'H Q'DWŠ BRHWTRʿY'H Q'DWŠ
NĠMYSY'H Q'DWŠ QYNŠYTĠ'H Q'DWŠ
NFṬNYŠYN'H Q'DWŠ 'TFHW HY'H Q'DWŠ
NʿR'SFNY Q'DWŠ HNYDFĠS'NY Q'DWŠ

HWRR'HY'H Q'DWŠ QṬ'THT' ṬFṬ'S
Q'DWŠ ĠFR WŠʿḌ'MY' Q'DWŠ
ŠQʿYĠYŠH'Š Q'DWŠ NṬRN'N'Y'NYN
Q'DWŠ BWF'FṬFYN'ŠY' Q'DWŠ
'NDRŠQʿ Q'DWŠ FL'TʿẒFYŠNY
Q'DWŠ B'NYĠ'YH Q'DWŠ HLYMYĠYĠY'H

Q'DWŠ YTFSYTYQ'H Q'DWŠ MRNY'QṬQ' Q'DWŠ
'FNĠ'SWM'S Q'DWŠ HHYHN' QF'Š
Q'DWŠ Nʿ'Q'RN'H HW'H Q'DWŠ
QṬ''ṬH' R'Bʿ Q'DWŠ BY'FYTM'S
Q'DWŠ HW'ṬR' HNYSY'H Q'DWŠ
'QQ'Š Q'DWŠ QNŠQSQ'H Q'DWŠ

ṬH'ṬY'H Q'DWŠ FYHM' Šʿʾʿ Q'DWŠ 'NFY ʾFYQ
Q'DWŠ QF'Qʿ'H'YHTW' Q'DWŠ SYTYR MF'Ṣ
Q'DWŠ FHM'HFWḤSBN'Q Q'DWŠ QLMSṬ'
Q'DWŠ QQ'QYQ' Q'DWŠ HT' Q'DWŠ
ṬTM'R QṬLYW' BWĠY' Q'DWŠ QY'QY'Ṭ'S
Q'DWŠ H'ĞWʾ YQṬWR Q'DWŠ
QN'NQŠWH Q'DWŠ. Then you should say: I have adjured
you, O Angels whose names I have recited
upon you that you take me speedily to this and this city,
then you should go toward the city which you desire and you will reach it
in one hour."

Commentary

Gaster's text also includes a recipe (No. 93) of this kind, but it says only that a certain group of *nomina barbara* should be recited over a lotus reed for the sake of shortening the way.[32]

Similar prescriptions in the Genizah material refer mainly to Jacob's case as it is related in the Talmud, which presents the biblical story about his return from Haran to Beer Sheba in the following form:[33]

> As to Jacob, our father as it is written, 'And Jacob went out from Beer Sheba and went to Haran' (Gen. 28:10) and it is said, 'And he lighted upon a certain place and tarried there all night, because the sun had set' (Gen. 28:11). When he got to Haran, he said: 'Is it possible that I have passed through a place in which my ancestors have prayed, and I did not say a prayer there?' He wanted to go back. As soon as the thought of going back had entered his mind, the earth folded up (*qafaṣ*) for him. Forthwith: 'He lighted upon a place.' (Gen. 28:11)

In the Genizah recipes Jacob's story served as a case of reference, and as a kind of *historiola* was thought to be enough to guarantee the repetition of the same occurrence for the practitioner.

Seemingly, our Arabic recipe is more elaborate in the details and its main elements present a well-defined structure:

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[32] Gaster 1925–28b, 85; Gaster 1925–28a, 326.
[33] b San 95a–95b, Talmud 1985, 121 (transl.).

1. The announcement of the aim to be reached.
2. The adjuration proper composed of
   a. the 'Sword'
   b. a single magical name recited 300 times
   c. a group of other *nomina barbara*
   d. another group of 70 magical names
3. The declaration of the success of the procedure.

This success is technically assured if one knows the appropriate names.

The text, however, is not completely unequivocal as to the addressee of the adjuration. At the beginning, the presence of a masculine 3rd person singular pronominal suffix (*tastaḥlifuhu*) would imply only one angelic being, but at the end the whole group of angels is adjured (*aqsamtu ʿalaykum*). The main protagonist in this angelic community is definitely Meṭaṭron who appears as the head of the angels ministering in front of the Throne. It is thus possible that the adjuration was directed to him disguised behind the singular personal pronominal suffix and then all the angels serving under him were called upon to ensure the efficacy of the invocation.

The word Q'DWŠ separating 70 names is a clear reference to the main element in the heavenly liturgy, the *qadosh* of the *Qedusha*, the Trisagion as described in Is 6:3. The number 70 has multiple importance and can also be connected to Meṭaṭron himself. The redactor of the Arabic "Sword" might have felt himself absolutely justified by giving an eminent place to Meṭaṭron when he wanted to populate the Seventh Firmament with the angelic hosts performing the *qedusha*. According to 3 Enoch, God gave a throne to Meṭaṭron and seated him on it at the gate of the Seventh Hekhal; when Rabbi Yishmaʿel met him there Meṭaṭron disclosed to him that he had 70 names in conformity with the 70 languages of the earth.[34] In addition, the number of angels who represented the different nations in the heavenly community and who were put under Meṭaṭron's authority was again 70.[35] They might

[34] 3 Enoch x 2. Meṭaṭron's seventy names are enumerated in xlviii D. For Meṭaṭron's privileged place in the heavenly hierarchy, see 3 Enoch, Intr. 79–90. For his praise in the Hekhalot literature, see *e.g.* SHL § 389. For a reference to his seventy names in magical texts, see *e.g.* SHL § 387; MTKG I, 164 (Or. 1080.15.81, 1a/107), 173 (T.-S. 8.275, 1b/1–2).

[35] 3 Enoch iii 2, xlviii C 9, SHL §§ 295, 405. For Meṭaṭron's importance, see also Halperin 1988, 417–421.

have been concealed behind the figures of the angels who served at the Throne under the guidance of Meṭaṭron in our Arabic text. The importance of the number 70 is further enhanced by the fact that God Himself had 70 names.[36] The word *ra'īs* among the epithets of Meṭaṭron in the Arabic text: *al-malik al-ra'īs al-kabīr* ("the King, the Chief, the Great") properly reflects its Jewish equivalent in his titles as *rosh le-kohanim* ("Chief of the Priests," High Priest) or *rosh ha-mahanot* ("Chief of the Encampments") which appear in magical texts.[37]

The following spell about the crossing of the sea is remarkable because it seems to be a version of a similar prescription in Gaster's text labelled as No. 76. The Arabic text runs like this:

ص ١٦٩–١٧٠

وإن أردت أن يهرب الماء من
قدامك ويصير موضعه كالبر وتمشي فيه
اكتب هذه الأسماء مع السيف وأطرحها في
أربع جهات الماء وأنت تقول وقت
تكتبها وتطرحها هذه الأسماء أفيسند

دادود اقرسطا طبيون ايش رستود
وقرسيا ولافحوزاهد
وهذه الأسما التي تكتبها وتطرحها في
الماء هادوناي نب غميض اودنيا
وسيطار فخضص فإن الماء يهرب إلى
داخل البحر فاذا عبرت فيه تقول أنت
عابر ولا تلتفت إلى ورائك فإن الماء يرجع
خلفك إلى موضعه بسرعه يوليه ايغراسر
يهيه هيهي

In translation:

pp. 169–170

And if you wish that the water run away in
front of you and its place become as the dry ground and you walk on it,

[36] 3 Enoch xlviii D 5, SHL § 948.
[37] MTKG I, 164 (Or. 1080.15.81, 1a/106,110), 170, 173 (T.-S. 8.275, 1a/22, 1b/3). See also Orlov 2005, 113–115.

write these names with the 'Sword' and throw them in
the four directions of the water while you should say at the moment when you write them and throw them these names: 'FYSND

D'DWD 'QRSṬ'ṬBYWN 'YŠ RSTWD
WQRSY' WL'FḤWZ'HD.
And these are the names which you should write and throw them into
the water: H'DWN'Y NB ĠMYḌ 'WDNY'
WSYṬ'RFḤDṢ. Then the water will run away to
the innermost of the sea. And when you cross it you should say /the names/ while you are
crossing and you should not turn behind you, and the water will return
behind you to its place speedily YWLYH 'Y ĠR'SR
YHYH HYHY.

The original Jewish-Aramaic version is formulated like this:[38]

76 אם בעית למעבד בימא כביבשתא אמ׳ על ד׳ קרנואי דסודרא בכר כסא חד קרנוהי נקוט בידך וחד קרנוהי ייזיל קדמך ואמ׳ מן גסמס ועד אפסומת.

In Gaster's translation:[39]

76. If thou wishest to pass dryshod through the sea, say upon the four corners of the head-dress (turban) No. 76, and take one corner in thy hand and the other is (?) to precede thee.

Commentary

It is evident that the Arabic version is simpler but definitely much clearer in its instructions although it does not say how the names should be written. The Jewish-Aramaic recipe appears to be more elaborate, but the prescription to take a corner of the head-dress in the hand and then to follow it seems to be a bit enigmatic. First of all, if it is really about the practitioner's head-dress, in the given situation it would be technically too difficult to take it off and then follow the instructions. Another interpretation, however, is also possible if we suppose that not the head-dress but the traditional prayer shawl, the *tallit*, was meant by the *sudra* and the client was instructed to grasp one of the four fringes, the *ṣiṣit*-s attached to it. The magical importance of the *ṣiṣit* is

[38] Gaster 1925–28b, 84.
[39] Gaster 1925–28b, 325.

well-known,[40] so it is quite acceptable to think that one of the fringes played the role of the practitioner's guide through the sea.

It would be too misleading to compare this procedure to the description of Jesus's walking on the Sea of Galilee (Mt 14:25–26). Apart from the similarity of the aims concerning the crossing of water, the realization is totally different. Jesus was represented as walking effectively on the sea while the magical recipe helped the practitioner to part the waters in front of him (literally he pushes the waters back). So the prototype of the act must be sought in the story of the Exodus when the waters of the Red Sea were divided and Moses and his people could cross the sea on dry ground (Ex 14:21–22). What is worth mentioning in this respect is the fact that the Arabic text does not contain the slightest hint of this event.

On page 180 of the Arabic manuscript starts the version of the *Ḥarba de Moshe* proper which seems to correspond more or less to Gaster's text. The transition from the preceding section to this is solved in a very clever way, and again the "dramaturgically" conscious redaction must be emphasized. As a matter of fact, there is no real introduction in the well-known version of the *Ḥarba* because it starts rather abruptly with the announcement that four angels are appointed over the "Sword." The redactor of the Arabic recension simply presents another magical prescription in the list of recipes, which says that he who wishes to be elevated to a higher position among people should know the names of the four angels appointed over the "Sword." As for the preconditions to use the 'Sword', in addition to the general ethical and dietary requirements mentioned already in Gaster's Recension A, our text also requests the eating of *ḥalāl* ("permitted") food with salt as the sign of a covenant.[41] This peculiar instruction must be an echo of such biblical prescriptions which order that all food offerings should be made with salt (Lev 2:13).

Similarities occur particularly in the historical introductory parts preceding the recipes which, however, reveal significant differences both in their number and in their content. In spite of the parallel passages which describe how the "Sword" will be revealed to the perfor-

[40] For the *ṣiṣit* as amulet, see *EJ s.v.* "zizit."

[41] *Sifr Ādam*, 183. For an instruction to eat one's bread with salt in SHL § 560, see Swartz 1996, 161.

mer of the adjuration, the structure of the Arabic version appears to be composed in a more coherent form. The revelation of the "Sword" comes as the result of a threefold adjuration (called *Ṣalāt Yad Allāh*, "The Prayer of the Hand of God"), one form of which is represented by this passage:

ص ٤ ١٩–١٩٦
ثم ارجع واذكر القسم
دفعه ثانيه باسمه تقسم وبالله تنجح ما
تطلب فطوبي لمن يهديه الله تعالى الى ذلك
ويوفقه فيه وهذه اسمأ الملائكه
الذين يخدمون بني آدام عن امر يهوه خالق
الكل سبحانه ثم يسلم له سر السيف وهذه
اسمأ الملائكه المذكوره الجليله وهم اجلال
السمأ السابعه ميططرون سفر ريضيبه
ميططرون سبحو نيفثايل ونصيقخاايل
ويغوا يستقايل وانقسايل وانشيشفايل
وهفقتغصايل وميخاايل وجبرايل وسقصيست
وهد قرونتايل واتهاسجا اليهوايل

وتيزر تشصيايل وتقيسهايل وغيغي
وبغوققضيايل ونهر جطحعميايل ويحفيانهايل
واقتغلوايل قهنيففتيايل وهذه القسم
تقوله بعد صلاة السيف وتذكر اسمائهم
وتقول استحلفكم بمن تخدمونه هو هديزيرون
بهوهوهديزيرون هو هى هده هد
نيريرون هوان تقبلوا مني تجيبوني
ولا اصلي الا هذه الدفعه الواحده
وتقضوا حاجتي بهذا السيف وتذكر
ما اردت كما تصنعون مع كل من يقرب
اليكم ويشرف ذكره باسم العزيز القوي
فاعل العجائب. ثم تذكر الأربعة الملائكة

وهم شفد وهورين مرجوايل مططروس
وهرزعيون وتقول أقسمت عليكم

باسم يه هو هديزيرون أن تقبلوا
مني ولا أصلي غير هذه الدفعه الواحده
وتقضوا حاجتي بهذا السيف وتذكر ما أردت
باسم المتعال هذا هوه هوه سفر هو
هيه يه.

In translation:

pp. 194–196

Then return and recite the adjuration
a second time, by his name you should adjure and by God you will succeed in whatever
you request. And happy is he whom God—May He be exalted—guides to this
and makes him succeed in it. And these are the names of the angels
who serve the sons of Adam on the order of YHWH, the Creator
of Everything—May He be praised. Then he should transmit the secret of the 'Sword' to him and these are
the names of the afore-mentioned, glorious angels. And they are the glorious ones
of the seventh firmament: Meṭaṭron SFR RYḌYYH
Meṭaṭron SBḤW NYFṮ'YL WNṢYQḤ''YL
WYĠW' YSTQ'YL W'NQS'YL W'NŠYŠF'YL
WHFQTĠṢ'YL WMYḤ''YL WĞBR'YL WSQṢYST
WHDQRWNT'YL W'THSĞ' 'LYHW'YL

WTYZR TŠṢY'YL WTQYSH'YL WĠYĠY
WBĠWQQḌY'YL WNHR ĞṬḤʿMY'YL WYḤFY'NH'YL
W'QTĠLW'YL QHNYFFTY'YL. And this is the adjuration,
you should say it after the prayer of the 'Sword' and you should recite their names
and you should say: I adjure you by Him whom you serve, He is HDYZY-RWN
BHW He is HDYZYRWN, He is HY HDH HD
NYRYRWN, that you accept (from) me and answer me
and I shall not pray except this one and only time
and fulfil my request by this "Sword"—and you should mention
whatever you wish—as you do with everybody who comes near
to you and honours His mentioning /?/ by the name of the Powerful, the Strong.
the Maker of Miracles. Then you should mention the four angels

and they are ŠFDWHWRYN MRĞW'YL MṬṬRWS
and HRZʿYWN and you should say: I have adjured you
by the name YH, He is HDYZYRWN that you accept
(from) me and I shall not pray except this one and only time

and fulfill my request by this 'Sword'—and you should mention whatever you wish—
by the name of the Most High, this is HWH HWH SFR, He is HYH YH."

Commentary

If we examine the different elements of this multiple adjuration it becomes clear that basically it resembles the components of the adjuration of the *Sar ha-Panim*, the "Prince of the Presence." It reflects the structure of the relevant passages in Recension A and Recension B of the *Ḥarba*, but these relate the revelation of the "Sword" in a somewhat different form and they do not give the impression of the same logical structure that can be found in the Arabic "Sword." The Arabic redaction gives a distinguished place to the threefold division of the heavenly hierarchy represented by the three angelic groups. Following the arrangement of the *Ḥarba*, the first group consists of four angels, then comes a group of five and finally a group of three which occupies the lowest position in the Arabic version.[42] Seemingly, the adjuration repeated three times wishes to correspond to these three groups.

The main elements of the Arabic text can be summed up in two basic points: at first, the practitioner applies for the revelation of the "Sword"; then, having received it, he can ask for the fulfilment of his request with its help. Again, it is not quite clear who is addressed at the beginning to reveal the secret; we can only suppose that Meṭaṭron is called upon and referred to by the 3rd masculine singular pronominal suffix. The fact, however, that the adjuration must be repeated three times and the practitioner even menaces the heavenly hosts that he will stop his supplication if he does not get a hearing, indicates that there is an enmity on the part of the angels toward the human being. Finally, he has to make recourse to the use of the Divine Name by the force of which the angels cannot refuse his request any more—because in this case they must take it as if God Himself had asked them.

This scene may recall a similar event in 3 Enoch when God has to declare that whatever Meṭaṭron says in His name the angels have to obey. The text relates that when Moses reached the 7th Hekhal during

[42] *Sifr Ādam*, 193–198.

his heavenly ascent, Meṭaṭron wanted to disclose secrets to him but the angels opposed this and at first were inimical toward the human being whom they considered impure. In the end, under the pressure of God's interference they had to give their consent and Moses received the secret of memorizing the Torah.[43]

The next passage which cannot be found in Gaster's versions is particularly interesting because elements of a Jewish liturgical song of praise can be pieced together on the basis of the corrupted Arabic text:

ص ٢٠٢–٢٠٣

١ لي شيم يهوه
٢ افراها بوعودل ليالا هيوال فاعلولي
٣ حل دراغوا مشقطال امونا اين عول
٤ صديق دياشسارهو يا يهيميي جنود
٥ يهوه لقولام بشماخ يهوه بماعسا
٦ وويياروخ بيشنم كبودى ولقولام
٧ وبمالام جنود واق كل ها ارض اني
٨ من ياروخ شنيم كبذر ملخوال
٩ بتوال بقولام دهاديهيي سموخاي

١٠ وقيام لقولام ياروخ هوهاخ مالاجيم
١١ وقادوش قدشيم تنوعوز تموفثمت
١٢ مهدوه وعفواوخابور هويه اوهه
١٣ جاد عليوان ياوايه يهي هلين ملخا
١٤ مابه باخش به متالا ياروخ
١٥ صوري حدوب وغوش شينم

In transliteration:

pp. 202–203

1. *LY ŠYM YHYH*
2. *'FR'H' BWʿWDL LY'L' HYW'L FʿLWLY*
3. *ḤL DR'ĠW' MŠQṬ'L 'MWN' 'YN ʿWL*

[43] 3 Enoch xlviii D 7–10. This "secret" is also interpreted as the secret knowledge of letters and Names (3 Enoch, Intr. 177).

4. *ṢDYQ DY'ŠS'R HW Y'YHYMYY ĞNWD*
5. *YHWH LQWL'M BŠM'Ḫ YHWH BM''S'*
6. *WWY'RWḪ BYŠNM KBWDY WLQWL'M*
7. *WBM'L'M ĞNWD W'Q KL H' 'RḎ 'NY*
8. *MN Y'RWḪ ŠNYM KBḎR MLḪW'L*
9. *BTW'L BQWL'M DH'D YHYY SMW Ḫ'Y*

10. *WQY'M LQWL'M Y'RWḪ HW H'Ḫ ML'ĞYM*
11. *WQ'DWŠ QDŠYM* TNWʿWZ TMWFṮMT
12. MHDWH WʿFW'W *Ḫ'BWR HWYH 'WHH*
13. *G'D ʿLYW'N Y'W'YH YHY HLYN MLḪ'*
14. *M'*BH B'ḪŠ BH MT'L' *Y'RWḪ*
15. *ṢWRY ḤDWB* WĠWŠ ŠYNM

The reconstructed Jewish liturgical song might have looked like this:[44]

1 כי שם יהוה
2 אקרא הבו גודל לאלוהינו אל גדול
3 כל דרכיו משפט אל אמונה ואין עול
4 צדיק וישר הוא יה יהי מיי כבוד
5 יהוה לעולם ישמח יהוה במעשיו
6 וברוך שם כבודו לעולם
7 וימלא כבודו את כל הארץ אמן
8 ואמן ברוך שם כבוד מלכו
9 תו לעולם ועד יהיי שמו חי

10 וקיים לעולם ברוך הוא מלך מלכים
11 וקדוש קדשים חנון חנונים
12 מהדוה ועפואו גבור הוא יה אוהה
13 חד עליון יאו איה יהי הוא איש מלח
14 מה ברוך
15 צורי וירום ועוש שינם

In translation:

1. "For the name of the Lord
2. I will proclaim, Ascribe ye greatness unto our Lord,"[45] "Great God,"[46]
3. "for all his ways are justice, a God of faithfulness and without iniquity,
4. just and right is He,"[47] YH YHY from God. "May the glory
5. of the Lord endure for ever, let the Lord rejoice in His works."[48]

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[44] I am grateful to Dora Zsom for her help in identifying the Jewish sources.
[45] Deut 32:3
[46] This compound occcurs also in the first benediction of the *Shemone Esre*, the "Eighteen Benedictions."
[47] Deut 32:4
[48] Ps 104:31

6. "And blessed be His glorious name for ever
7. and let the whole earth be filled with His glory. Amen,
8. and Amen."[49] "Blessed be the name of the glory of his king-
9. dom for ever and ever."[50] "YHYY is his name, Living
10. and Eternal forever."[51] Blessed be He, king of kings,
11. saint of saints,[52] compassionate of the compassionate ones,
12. MHDWH W'FW'W Almighty, he is YH 'WHH
13. One, "Most High"[53] Y'W 'YH YHY, He is "man of
14. war"[54] BH B'ḪŠ BH MT'L' "blessed be
15. my Rock; and exalted be"[55] WĠWŠ ŠYNM

Commentary

In theory, this passage should have been found in the published versions of *Ḥarba de Moshe* (Recension A and SHL §§ 640f) since both the preceding lines and the following part run parallel with the original and present more or less the same unintelligible *nomina barbara*. Its exact place should have been among the names of the "Sword" between HDRS' and HYDRSṬ' but none of the texts of the three edited versions contains it.

As we see, the components of the text can be traced back to the Bible, Midrash, Mishnah and the *Shemone Esre*, and they represent the permanent formulae in the magical adjurations. Some elements deserve particular attention. The blessing in lines 6–8 is identical with Ps 72:19 ("And blessed be his glorious name: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory; Amen and Amen"). It also has a close parallel in the heavenly liturgy of Is 6:3 ("Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory").[56] Following this, lines 8–9

[49] Ps 72:19

[50] See above, nn. 27, 29.

[51] Tanḥuma, Parashat Ve-ethanen, No. 6, dibbur ha-mathil: *al-tosef*. For their occurrences in magical texts, see *e.g.* MTKG II. 133 (No. 29, 1b/2).

[52] These kinds of epithets structured in the form of a *status constructus* are frequent in Hekhalot literature in the form of double construct states like *melekh malkhei ha-melakhim* or *qedosh qedoshei ha-qedoshim* (for the latter see also *ÜdHL* IV. 29, n. 4) like in SHL § 631. The constructions *el elohim*, "god of gods" and *adon ha-adonim*, "lord of the lords" in a slightly corrupted form can also be found in the Arabic "Sword" 180.

[53] This epithet occurs also in the first benediction of the *Shemone Esre*. See also Gen 14:18–20, 22; MTKG II, 219 (No. 38, 1b/8).

[54] Ex 15:3; MTKG II, 219 (No. 38, 1b/7).

[55] Ps 18:47, cp. also 2 Sam 22:47.

[56] For its occurrences in Hekhalot literature, see *e.g.* SHL §§ 183, 951, 966.

present the *Barukh Shem* formula, the standard element of the magical adjurations.

The epithets *ḥay ve-qayyam* ("living and eternal") frequently appear as a pair but apart from their occurrence in the Midrash, the expression *shmo ḥay ve-qayyam* ("His name, living and eternal") is the closing phrase of one of the blessings, the *maʿariv ʿaravim* to be recited after the Shema: מעביר יום ומביא לילה יהוה צבאות שמו. חי וקיים תמיד ימלוך עלינו לעולם ועד ("He makes the day pass and he brings the night, Lord of hosts is *His name. Living and Eternal*, may He rule upon us for ever and ever").[57]

Doubtless, the most questionable expression in this tentative reconstruction is the interpretation of TNWʿWZ TMWFṮMT as ḤNWN ḤNWNYM in Line 11. In theory, only its context—preceded by two similarly formed *status constructus*—and the rhythm of the letters would suggest such a highly hypothetical solution. It is a fact, however, that the name *ḥanun* ('compassionate') is another frequent epithet of God[58] and the combination of the consonants themselves with the presence of similar letters like the *t* (which could have easily been copied from a Hebrew quadrate *ḥ*), the *w* and the *m* may also indicate the plausibility of this identification. At any rate, even if this is not the case, we still have another pair of two magical names which can perhaps be related to TFṢMT and TFSNRNY in Gaster's edition (listed under Nos. 33 and 44).[59]

The Arabic text of the "Sword" ends with these lines:

ص ٢٢١–٢٢٣
والسلام على ملائكتك

المؤيدين المنصورين سلام على خدامك
المرشدين المبتهجين سلام على خدامك
المباركين وعلى خدامك العظماء الطاهرين
المقدسين المخوفين الأقوياء المعظمه
النيره الكاروبيم المسرعين في الرسائل

[57] For the popularity of this double epithet, see also 3 Enoch xv B 3; SHL §§ 558, 592, 976. For its occurrences in magic, see MTKG I, 153 (Or.1080.5.4, 1a/13); MTKG II. 133 (No. 29, 1b/2), 177 (No. 34, 1a/17).

[58] See *e.g.* Ex 34:6, SHL § 362 and particularly § 572, MTKG II. 97 (No. 25, 1b/2), 100, 219 (No. 38, 1b/10).

[59] Gaster 1925–28b, 77 (1/12, 9/1, 9/12).

والمخوفين الذين هم في صورة الوحش
والأسد والثور وفي صورة آدم وسلام
على ملائكه النهار والليل والساعات
والأزمنه والشهور والسنين والأدوار
والأكوان. والفصول سلام على ملائكه
السبع سموات والسبع العساكر
والأثنى عشر برجاً سلام على سائر

سائر الأرواح الذين لأربع جهات
العالم المشرق والمغرب والشمال
واليمين سلام على كل الأرواح الذين
يشكرون ويخدمون القادر خالق الكل
ورحمته على الكل سلام على ايرفيوقس
وخدامه سلام على ملائكه السبعه
أيام وكل ملائكة القادر أمين
تم سفر الخفايا والحمد اللّه على الدوام
ما دام الليل والنهار بسلام
من اللّه
آمين

In translation:

pp. 221–223

And peace be upon Your angels,

who are giving support, the victorious. Peace be upon Your servants,
the guides /to the right way/, the happy. Peace be upon Your servants,
the blessed, and upon Your servants, the great, the pure
the saint, the frightening, the strong, the glorified
the shining, the Cherubs, hurrying with messages,
and frightening, who are in the figure/s/ of the beast,
the lion and the bull and in the figure of man and peace be
upon the angels of the daytime and the night and the hours
and the times and the months and the years and the cycles
and the events and the seasons. Peace be upon the angels of
the seven firmaments and the seven encampments
and the twelve zodiacal signs. Peace be upon

the rest of the spirits who belong to the four directions of
the world, the East and the West and the North
and the South. Peace be upon each of the angels who

thank and serve the Almighty, the Creator of Everything
and His mercy be upon everything. Peace be upon ʿYRFYWQS
and his servants. Peace be upon the angels of the seven
days and each of the angels of the Almighty. Amen.
'The Book of the Secrets' ended. And glory be to God permanently
as long as there is night and day in peace
from God.
Amen.

Commentary

This closing passage is totally different from the end of the edited versions of the *Ḥarba*. First of all, as can be expected from a work which describes the Seventh Firmament and is deeply influenced by the description of the heavenly scene in Is 6:3, it blesses the host of angels who minister in front of the Throne. In this context, when it speaks about the Cherubs which appear as "beast, lion, bull and man" and which have not been mentioned earlier, it refers evidently to the four faces of the Cherubs in Ez 10:14 or of the *ḥayyot*, the four "living creatures" in Ez 1:10.[60] Naturally, the lists of the four figures are not completely identical and the change of the original "eagle" for *waḥš*, "beast" in the Arabic text is hard to explain. In addition to this, the four Cherubs here are represented as independent figures; in this respect they resemble more the four living creatures in Rev 4:7.

Another new element appears with ʿYRFYWQS who was not mentioned until this last section, and it is not clear who is hidden behind this undeciphered name. What seems to be evident is his leading position in the heavenly community. On this basis, even Meṭaṭron could be concealed behind the name since his importance was manifest in the quoted passages. The name ʿYRFYWQS could have been the result of a multiple mis-transliteration of Meṭaṭron's name written in quadrate characters.

Apart from these blessings on the protagonists of the liturgical scene in the Seventh Firmament, the redactor greeted all the angels who served in the other firmaments and also those who appeared in the astromagical section. On the one hand, this was in conformity with his redactional technique on the basis of which he considered each of the

[60] For the occurrence of the *ḥayyot* with the different faces in the Hekhalot literature, see *e.g.* SHL § 954.

originally independent three works as organic parts of what he called *Sifr Ādam*, ("The Book of Adam"). On the other hand, however, this time he referred only to the *Sifr al-Ḫafāyā* ("The Book of Secrets"), the Arabic equivalent for *Sefer ha-Razim*, saying that it was finished. By this statement he seemingly reconfirmed his own claim that the description of the Seventh Firmament with all the angels and the *nomina barbara* must represent the closing chapter of one and the same work, let it be called *Sifr Ādam* or *Sifr al-Ḫafāyā*.

Conclusions

From all that has been said above, some basic points can be put together to form a general idea about the Arabic version of the *Ḥarba de Moshe*. We can also arrive at some remarks which may help us to better understand the background of the original magical treatise and the governing principle that motivated its composition.

The most striking characteristic of the Arabic text is that the name of Moses as the receiver of the revelation of the "Sword" is totally missing. In the Arabic version the whole section comes under the headline *Sayf Allāh* ("The Sword of God") but the name *Yad Allāh* ("The Hand of God") is also mentioned as its equivalent. In spite of this, however, the appearance of Meṭaṭron in the text several times and the evident importance attributed to his figure might suggest that he could have been considered as the revealer of the "Sword." A kind of special relationship between the "Hand of God" and Meṭaṭron is signalled by the text which says that God placed His Hand on Meṭaṭron's head.[61] The connection between Meṭaṭron and a special group of magical names called *ḥarba* (literally "lance" in Arabic) must have been a well-known idea in the Arabic milieu. A chapter in the famous magical encyclopaedia, the *Šams al-Maʿārif* written by al-Būnī (d. 1226 CE), speaks about different *ḥarba*-s attributed to Meṭaṭron, ʿAzrāʾīl, Yūšaʿ (Joshua, whose *ḥarba* was identical with Meṭaṭron's) and a certain ʿAbd al-Qayyūm (referred to as *falaku l-šams*, "sphere of the Sun," perhaps a mistake for *malaku l-šams*, 'the angel of the Sun').[62] The text makes it clear that these *ḥarba*-s are composed of the names of angels who are appointed over the different firmaments. So, Meṭaṭron's *ḥarba* contains the

[61] SHL § 957
[62] al-Būnī, *Šams* III, 93. Cited by Vajda 1948, 389; and Harari 2005, 298, n. 25.

names of the angels of the 3rd firmament because the *Šams* assigns him this firmament. This magical cosmology must have been influenced by the *Sefer ha-Razim* since this section of the *Šams* also alludes to the *Sifr Ādam*, "The Book of Adam," as one of its sources.[63]

The word *Sayf* in itself as the name of a large group of *nomina barbara* is understandable because it reflects the original meaning of the word *ḥarba* in the sense that Moses used the divine names in the form of a powerful adjuration as a real sword.[64] The Jewish equivalent of the other expression, "the Hand of God," which occurs also in the *Ḥarba*[65] on several occasions is in perfect harmony with this idea since it symbolizes God's power as attested by a number of biblical verses.[66] The appearance of God's hand on different synagogal representations indicates that this symbol was generally known and accepted in this sense in spite of its possible anthropomorphic connotations.[67] As a matter of fact, judged by the frequent occurrences of the expression *Yad Allāh* in the Qurʾān,[68] the image of the 'Hand of God' might have been among the ideas that could have been easily acceptable in an Islamic milieu.

Not only was Moses ignored, but any other hint that could be directly connected to a definite Jewish background disappeared. Accordingly, such elements of the Jewish-Aramaic version of the *Ḥarba* as the emphasis placed on the role of Moses, the mentioning of the names of Rabbi ʿAqiva or Rabbi Yishmaʿel, the explicit reference to the *Sar Torah* or *Sar ha-Panim* complex or to the Israelites, or even to the God of the Israelites came to be simply "censored out."[69] The reason for this can most probably be explained by the person of the editor.

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[63] al-Būnī, *Šams* III, 94. A *Sifr Ḏī l-Qarnayn*, "The Book of Alexander the Great," is also mentioned here among the sources.

[64] Harari 2005, 298, 301; Herrmann 2005, 198.

[65] Gaster 1925–28b, 70/31, 72/7,9, and especially 93/18 which says *Mashbiaʿ ani alekha be-yamin qadosh*, ("I conjure thee with the right hand of sanctity," Gaster 1925–28a, 336). See also *Sifr Ādam* 221.

[66] Ex 15,6. The "hand" as a symbol is particularly popular in the Psalms: Ps 17:7, 20:6; 44:3; 60:5; 63:8; 91:7.

[67] For the "Hand of God," see Bar Ilan 1993. For an amulet with the "Hand of God" from the 3rd–5th centuries CE, see Goodenough 1953. 219, Fig.1024. For the symbolism of the "hand" in general, see *Jewish Symbols* 70f.

[68] See *e.g.* Q 3:73; 5:64; 9:29; 48:10; 57:29.

[69] For the procedure of "censoring in" and "censoring out" certain elements of a text, see Hoffman 1981.

In this respect, the question of the date of the work must also be raised here. Without going into details, I think the data offered by Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*[70] when it mentions a *Sifr Ādam* claimed by the Jews, can be accepted as *terminus ad quem*. As for the *terminus post quem*—we have a much wider range of time. Regarding Gaster's Jewish-Aramaic recensions, I think he might have been right when he advocated the idea that quite a number of the components could be traced back to the first centuries CE, notably to the world of the Greek Magical Papyri.[71] He also rightly emphasized the parallels in the structuring of the *Ḥarba* and the Papyri.[72] The *Ḥarba* starts with the description of the heavenly hierarchy, continues with the elaboration of the *nomina barbara* and finally presents the magical prescriptions. In a very similar way, the Papyri present the following arrangement: cosmogonical section—unintelligible names—magical recipes. Thinking, however, of the Arabic "Sword" and particularly of its Jewish-Aramaic source, I agree with those opinions which are inclined to place the final redaction of the Jewish work in the second half of the first millenium.[73] This can be particularly valid of the work that served as the source for the Arabic version. The numerous connections to the different pieces of the Hekhalot literature and its milieu seem also to support this supposition. As I will try to show, the Geonic Period and Mesopotamia as the place could have been particularly appropriate to the emergence of the Arabic version.

Starting from this assumption, we may suppose that the redactor could have been an opponent of official Rabbinic circles from within the Jewish community who wanted to write an independent treatise void of any closer indication of the direct Jewish connection, because he had a larger public in mind. This work could have served as a basis for an Arabic translation either by the same person or another member of his community dealing with magical practices. As for his religious preferences, he could have been somebody who favored Meṭaṭron's paramount role and his elevated position which was second only to God. With this attitude he might have opposed Rabbinic circles who wished to lessen Meṭaṭron's importance. An evident sign of this is that his name occurs only three times in the Talmud.[74] As a matter

[70] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 379.
[71] Gaster 1925–28a, 311; Rohrbacher-Sticker 1996, 46 also supports this idea.
[72] Gaster 1925–28a, 308.
[73] *ÜdHL* IV. X–XII, Harari 2005. 296f. See also Wandrey 2004, 9.
[74] *EJ s.v.* "'Meṭaṭron."

of fact, the redactor was right when he emphasized Meṭaṭron's role as the revealer of the secret and ignored Moses as its recipient, since 3 Enoch firmly established this view.[75] He could also have been a Jew who converted to Islam, who wished to transmit a definitely important and popular work to his new coreligionists in a form that had to be modified according to their taste. Whatever the case was, the use of Arabic as the vernacular of the transmitting medium was a good choice since everybody must have understood it. Although the final redaction of the complete Arabic version in view of the characteristically Egyptian allusions and expressions in the text (which do not occur in the *Ḥarba*) can be attributed with most certainty to a Copt, it seems highly improbable that he could have been its original translator or even redactor. The skill manifested in the elimination or the "censoring out" of the non-desired elements from the text, the deep knowledge of biblical and Talmudic lore, the consequent adherence to some basic points in creating a unified work from three different pieces—all of these would contradict this hypothesis.

As we have seen, the unified character of *Sifr Ādam* was assured by the inclusion of the *Ḥarba de Moshe* material into the general framework of *Sefer ha-Razim* as the description of the Seventh Firmament. A further technical procedure to create the impression of one single work was offered by the use of a few permanently recurring expressions like *ṭūbā li-l-rağul* ("happy is the man"), the Arabic equivalent for the Hebrew *ashrei adam* throughout the text.[76] Limiting ourselves to the examinaton of the *Ḥarba de Moshe* section in our Arabic version we can delineate the following main elements in presenting the material:

1. Description of the conditions required for the use of the "Sword" (concerning the performer's physical and spiritual purity, his eventual acts or bodily positions, the timing of the procedure)
2. The prescription proper consisting of:
   a. the announcement of the concrete purpose
   b. the recitation of the "Sword" (the *nomina barbara* representing the Divine Name) to adjure the angels serving the names

[75] See above, n. 43.

[76] In addition to the above cited introductory passage of the "Sword" (*Sifr Ādam* 162), see also *Sifr Ādam* 179, 184, 194, 199, 200, 201, 221.

c. the recitation of a certain liturgic formula (the *Barukh Shem* blessing)
d. the dismissal of the angels

This consciously followed structure gains a deeper sense with the help of an exceptionally illuminating source of the Geonic Period which had already been used by Gaster, but the importance of which has never been assessed in its real dimensions to the best of my knowledge. Since Gaster was too keen on showing the ancient origin of the *Ḥarba* and its relationship with the world of the Greek Magical Papyri, he did not pay enough attention to the milieu in which the formation of the magical material received its final shape. The source in question is the Responsum of Ḥai Gaon (d. 1037) which he sent to the Jewish community in Qairouan answering their questions about certain customs which must have been familiar to everybody at that time.[77]

From the letter of the community we may assume that these acts could have been quite easily considered as magical procedures and this is why they were so anxious to get the Gaon's answer. At first they inquired about some magical practices, but their main problem concerned a general phenomenon. Putting their cautiously formulated question in a more direct way, they wanted to know whether it is acceptable if a man who protects the Name in purity and is just, old, has a broken heart and praiseworthy qualities, presents his request during prayer and then pronounces that particular Name in the moment when "YY" (the Name of the Almighty) should be said at the end of the prayer or blessing.

To summarize the Gaon's answer I have picked out the basic points from his Responsum in the following arrangement because they seem to be the most relevant for our subject:

ויש דברים שאי אפשר היותם כל עיקר כאשר אמרתם כי יש שאומ׳ שם ומחביאין עצמם מן הלסטים.
ויש בהם עוד דברים אחרים ומהם כי [שם] זה אתה אומרו על המת והוא חיה.
אבל למר משה הכהן ז״ל היו טוענים כי היה רגיל בקמיעין ובלחישות וכיוצא בהן
ובישיבת סורא היו דברים הללו רחבים כי הם קרובין למדינת בבל ובית נבוכדנצר ואנו רחוקים משם. וקפיצת דרך אינו מן הדברים שאי אפשר

[77] *Teshuvot*, No. 115. For a partial translation of the text, see Gaster 1925–28a, 300–302.

והנוסחים שראיתם הרוצה לעשות כך וכך יעשה כך וכך הרבה מאד יש אצלנו מזאת כאשר נקרא ספר הישר ואשר נקרא חרבא דמשה אשר תחלתה ארבעה מלאכים ממונים על החרב כי יש בה גבהות ונפלאות ובספר הנקרא רזא רבה חוץ מן המחותכות והפרטים שאין להם קץ ולא מספר
כאשר אמרתם כי יש ספרים ושמות וחותמות והיכלות רבתא (והילילות) [והיכלות] זעירתא ושר תורה ומשניות אחרות שהרואה אותם מתפחד מהן וכך היו קדמונינו ואף אנחנו כן שאין אנו מגיעין אליהם אלא בטהרה וברתת ובזיע וגם שמענו שמועות חזקות כי כמה נתעסק[ו] בהם ואבדו מהרה
וגם יש בזאת תשובה לאשר שאלתם מי שרוצה להתפלל ולהתחנן בו היאך אומרו כי כבר נגלה שאסור לאמרו
במקומותינו ומקומותיכם ועוד מי יודע היאך יאמר ושמא יטעה האומרו טעות גוררת עון. ואעפי״כ במקום שראוי לאמרו לא יכשר לשומו בכלל ברכה אלא האומרו סודר אותו ואומ׳ אחריו תהלה שבח וזמרה כסדר שיר כסא ותובע צרכיו מלפני המקום.

In translation:

And there are things which are absolutely impossible, as you have said that there are /people/ who say a name and they hide themselves from the thieves.
And there are also other things in them, and from these is that this /Name/ you say over the dead and he becomes alive.
But in connection with Mar Moshe ha-Kohen—may his memory be blessed—they claimed that he was well (familiar) versed in the amulets and the adjurations and similar matters.
In the yeshiva of Sura were these things common because they are near to the city of Babel and the house of Nebukadnezar but we are far from there. But the *qefiṣat derekh* / "path jumping"/ is not from the things which are impossible.
And the copies /of texts/ that you have seen about the one who wishes to do such and such a thing, should do such and such a thing, /there/ are very many from these among us, like the one called *Sefer ha-Yashar* ("The Book of Righteousness"), and the one called *Ḥarba de Moshe* ("The Sword of Moses") the beginning of which is that four angels are appointed over the "Sword" because there are excellent and miraculous things in it as there are in the one called *Raza Rabba* ("The Great Secret") apart from the pieces and fragments that have no limit and cannot be counted.
As you have said that there are books and names and seals and *hekhalot ravta (helelot)* ("Great Palaces") and /*hekhalot/ ze'irta* ("Small Palaces") and *Sar Torah* ("Prince of the Torah") and other *mishnayot* ("teachings"). He who sees them is afraid of them, and so were our ancestors, and so are we that we do not touch them unless in purity and in trembling and shivering. And we also heard strong rumors that some people dealt with them and they died soon.

> And there is in it a response to what you have asked about him who wishes to pray and to supplicate with that /Name/ and how he should pronounce it. Since it has already been declared that it is forbidden to pronounce it in our places and in your places. And to that, who knows how it should be pronounced and maybe he who pronounces it makes such a mistake which entails a sin. In spite of this, in such a place where it is appropriate to pronounce it, it is not correct to include it in some blessing. But he who pronounces it should arrange it in /a special/ *seder* ("order") and should say after it praise /Psalm/, laudation and glorification like the *seder* of the Throne Song and after it he should ask his request from the Almighty.

From this summary the following picture arises about the Gaon's personal views concerning the questions of the Qairouan community: He flatly refused to give credit to such magical procedures which pretended to be capable of making someone invisible or raising the dead but he seemed to accept the possibility of the *qefiṣat derekh*, "the path jumping'. He also acknowledged that there were people like a certain Mar Moshe ha-Kohen who dealt with amulets and magical adjurations indicating that the questions posed to him reflected everyday problems not only for the Qairouan community but also for his own coreligionists. More important, however, is what he says about the most popular magical works in use and about the technique generally applied in magical procedures.

From the evidently high number of magical works and fragments (which might have been separate magical prescriptions scribbled occasionally on pieces of some writing material) he deemed it necessary to cite the *Sefer ha-Yashar* and the *Ḥarba de Moshe*, and in this order. Although the Gaon did not mention *Sefer ha-Razim*, the first component in our *Sifr Ādam*—and it might, of course, be a sheer coincidence—it is certainly interesting that the redactor of our manuscript included these two treatises in his work in the very same arrangement. It is also remarkable that the Gaon referred to the pieces of Hekhalot literature (*hekhalot ravta* and *ze'irta*) together with the magical books revealing the existence of the close connections between them.

As for the description of magical procedures, at first he warned against uttering the /Ineffable/ Name in supplications, emphasizing that nobody knew how to pronounce it in a correct form. On the other hand, however, he approved of its use on condition that it was included in a special *seder* imitating the liturgy of the Throne Song and was followed by the recitation of different kinds of songs of praise. Here, he might have had in mind the parallel scenes of the heavenly

liturgy as they were described in the Hekhalot literature in the following form:[78]

כי את׳ כוננת׳ בכסאך שירה וזמרה שיר ושבח הלל וזמרה תהלה ותפארת ונצח.

In translation:

> Because You directed on Your Throne song and song of praise, song and glorification, exultation and song of praise, and praise and glory and jubilation.

Or in another place:[79]

ויפתחו בשיר וקילוס תהלה שירה וזמרה ברכה שבח והלל

In translation:

> And they burst into song and rejoicing, praise, song and song of praise, blessing, glorification, and exultation.

It is striking that the Gaon uses the same technical terms (*tehilla, zimra, ševaḥ*) as the Hekhalot texts to designate the different kinds of hymns, so the literally identical phrasing cannot be a coincidence.[80] This also means that he practically described existing and widely spread practices. Actually, the main elements we can bring together from the different magical recipes seem to comply with the Gaon's advice in every respect. In the quoted magical prescriptions, the "Sword" which was supposed to contain the Ineffable Name or appeared as the Name itself, was followed by the *Barukh Shem* blessing or other liturgical components as we have seen in the case of the reconstructed hymn of praise.

We have tried to show that the general structure of the magical procedures based on the use of the *nomina barbara* or *voces magicae* (containing the Ineffable Name) followed by a liturgical element (the *Barukh Shem* blessing) could be discovered equally in the Hekhalot literature, the Jewish magical texts and in the different recensions of the *Ḥarba* including the Arabic version. Speaking about the influence of liturgy on the magical rituals, an important formula of the Arabic text must not be left unnoticed.

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[78] SHL § 594.
[79] SHL § 974.
[80] 3 Enoch also uses these terms, see *e.g.* i 12, xv 20, xlviii A 2.

We have to refer again to the Arabic expression starting with *ṭūbā li-l-rağul* ("'Happy is the man") which, as we have seen, regularly appears in the text of the three components of *Sifr Ādam.*[81] This expression is not only a literal translation of the Hebrew *ashrei adam* ("Happy is the man") used as a simple stylistic device, but again indicates the presence of a very consciously selected liturgical element. It can be related to the use of the Psalms in the *Ashrei* prayer[82] made up of Ps 145 and some other verses (see especially Ps 84:13) which are read both in the morning and in the afternoon services. The different pieces of the Hekhalot literature also attest to the conscious use of this characteristic expression. Suffice it to cite here two of its occurrences, traces of which can be recognized in the Arabic "Sword."[83]

אבל אשרי אדם יודעו ומזדהר בו זוכה ויורש לחיי העולם הבא
לפיכך אשרי אדם המשתמש ברז זה יקדיש אותו בקדושתו

In translation:

> But happy is the man who knows it, and takes care of it, he deserves and inherits the life of the coming world.
> And for this, happy is the man who uses this secret and sanctifies it in its sanctity.

For the sake of comparison we can pick out the following two phrases from the Arabic text:[84]

فطوبى لمن عرف سر هذا السيف
فطوبى لعارف ذلك

In translation:

> And happy is he who knows the secret of this Sword.
> And happy is he who is knowing that.

The first statement from the Hekhalot text is particularly interesting since it combines elements of the *ashrei* formula with reference to the world to come. This was the motif that appeared in the Arabic recension, the origin of which could be discovered in the Babylonian Talmud

[81] For its occurrences in the "Sword," see 162, 179, 184, 194, 199f, 201, 221.
[82] *EJ s.v.* "Ashrei."
[83] SHL §§ 712, 821. See also *ÜdHL* II, 57. For the *ashrei* formula see also Wandrey 2004, 302.
[84] *Sifr Ādam* 179, 201.

as attested to in the above quoted passage.[85] These kinds of phrases, however, together with the particular liturgical background connected to them are missing from the existing Jewish-Aramaic versions of the *Ḥarba*. In contrast, the Arabic work and its supposed Jewish-(Aramaic) origin show again the influence of the redactor's imposing knowledge of Rabbinic and mystical lore and his manifest insistence on using the characteristic terminology.

Another type of expression interwoven in the text of the whole Arabic *Sifr Ādam* including the "Sword" is construed on the pattern of "God *does* what He *wants*" such as the following: *Allah—tabāraka wa-taʿālā—yahdī man yašāʾu* ("God—May He be blessed and exalted!—guides whom He wishes") or *Allah yuʿṭī li-man yašāʾu* ("God gives to whom He wishes"). The background can possibly be looked for in such verses of the Psalms as 115:3 (*Velohenu ba-shamayim kol-ḥafeṣ ʿasa*, "Our God is in the heavens, everything He wished, He did") or 135:6 (*Kol asher-ḥafeṣ YHWH ʿasa*, "Everything YHWH wished, He did"). These formulae may point again to some liturgical usage. Here, however, another consideration may offer itself for exploring a new layer in the influences that effected the Arabic revision of the Jewish source, and this may also point to the supposed Islamic connection of the redactor. Notably, one cannot ignore the parallel phrasing that connects these characteristic expressions to such almost literally identical Qurʾanic verses as *Allāhu yafʿalu ma yašāʾu* (Q 3:40 "God does what He wants'), *wa-l-Lāhu yahdī man yašāʾu* (Q 2:213 "and God guides whom He wishes") or *wa-l-Lāhu yuʾtī mulkahu man yašāʾu* (Q 2:247 "and God grants His sovereignty to whom He wishes").

The review of the influence of the liturgical elements on the magical procedure cannot be complete without indicating that the instructions given to the practitioner prescribed not only what he was supposed to recite but also what kind of bodily position he had to take. Several passages describe that the angels who minister in front of the Throne participating in the heavenly liturgy direct their faces downward as a sign of respect and humility.[86] As if to imitate their position, the performer of the magic rite is also advised to bow his head and turn his face towards the earth, and finally to prostrate himself at the end of his supplication.[87]

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[85] See above, n. 14.
[86] See, *e.g.*, SHL IV. § 966.
[87] *Sifr Ādam* 172, 181f, 191.

The question arises: What could have been the reason for making such drastic changes in the *Ḥarba de Moshe*? As we have seen, the Arabic text—or better said, its Jewish source—has amply drawn on Hekhalot material and 3 Enoch. Acccording to Schäfer's opinion, the main issue of the Hekhalot literature must be sought in the magical adjuration and not in the mystic's heavenly journey, since the mystic wanted to control the "Prince of the Torah" (*Sar ha-Torah*) by magical means to gain perfect knowledge of the Torah and protection against forgetting it. Closely related to this was the mystic's ambition to take part in the heavenly service centered upon the recitation of the *Qedusha* and hymns of praise to realize a kind of liturgical communion with God.[88]

The *Ḥarba* used the magical techniques and methods of the pious mystic but surpassed his primary aim by far. This meant that the original setting came to be ignored and the knowledge of the Ineffable Name in the form of a fascinating number of *nomina barbara* was supposed to help the practitioner in realizing his most varied goals by pure magic. The Arabic adaptation attests that there must have been a revised version of the *Ḥarba* which took a further step on the way of giving the contents an even more general character when it "censored out" all the direct references that could have been related to a specific Jewish background or even to the Hekhalot literature.

As a result of this purificatory zeal, such characteristic elements of the Hekhalot literature as the word *hekhal* itself, or *merkava* ("chariot") together with such protagonists as Rabbi ʿAqiva, Rabbi Elʿazar, Rabbi Nehemia or Rabbi Yishmaʿel—some of which appear also in the *Ḥarba*—have been eliminated. *Shamayim*, however, represented by *al-samāʾ al-sābiʿa*, "the Seventh Firmament," has been given a prominent place in the structure of the Arabic work and its Jewish source. Similarly, as we have seen in the closing section, the reference to the Cherubs has preserved another favourite Hekhalot subject[89] which did not appear in the *Ḥarba* in this form.

As we have seen, the adjuration of the *Sar ha-Panim* has greatly influenced the structure of the invocations in both the *Ḥarba* and the Arabic "Sword". As if to complete this picture, Ḥai Gaon's Responsum

[88] Schäfer 1993, 233f.
[89] See *e.g.* SHL § 954.

actually explained why such liturgical elements as the *Barukh Shem* had to be included in the magical procedure. The Hekhalot literature, the different redactions of the *Ḥarba* and the Arabic "Sword" illustrate how his description was put into practice. We have also seen that the use of these liturgical components could be interpreted in the light of the ritual on the Day of Atonement. In this respect, we might also say that the most dramatic change concerned the main protagonist of the original scene, the High Priest of the Temple liturgy. This development brought about the elimination of his role; on the other side, the change also helped to proliferate or even to "democratize" an element in the Temple liturgy—namely, the act of pronouncing the Ineffable Name by the High Priest on Yom Kippur and responding to it through the recitation of the *Barukh Shem* by the congregation was relegated to a new actor, the magician. This means that according to the opinion of the redactor or compiler of the text, the magician could play the role of the High Priest—and that, not only on a special occasion but at any time and at any place in case of need. Then, following this course, the role of the professional magician could have been performed by anybody else who claimed the knowledge of the Names and had the necessary expertise in using them to achieve the desired goal.

This phenomenon as a sign of a kind of "democratization process" shows well the dual character of the magical act. On the one hand, it is characterized by exclusiveness because it is limited to a certain group of chosen persons, the initiates. On the other hand, however, it tends to be democratic since anybody can easily fulfill the requirements which are necessary to be able to perform the magical rite.

The structure of these names which compose the "Sword" present a further peculiarity of the Arabic version. As we have seen, the Gaon clearly distinguished two elements in the procedure of the supplication: the recitation of the (Ineffable) Name and the liturgical elements which should follow it. The different prescriptions of the Arabic work, and in particular the reconstructed liturgical song of praise, show that these two independent elements have been merged together, and the originally intelligible liturgical component became part of the *nomina barbara*. It is worthwhile to take a look at the long history of the latter and at the process of transformations which they underwent.

Hekhalot Zutarti considered the epithets in Cant 5:10–16 as Divine Names and initiated a pattern to express them in a proper form by using the word *ṣeva'ot* seven times as a dividing element between them,

while the original components came to be replaced by unintelligible *nomina barbara*.[90] As we have seen, this kind of structure appeared at the beginning of our Arabic text.[91] Here we are confronted with the same phenomenon of deterioration characterized by Rohrbacher-Sticker as a tendency from "sense to nonsense." The final phase in this process was reached when the liturgical formulae came to be incorporated into the *nomina barbara*, that is the "Sword," and lost every sign of their primary function or meaning in the Arabic redaction. Apart from the case discovered by Rohrbacher-Sticker, the prayer to Helios in Greek hidden behind a group of *nomina barbara* in *Sefer ha-Razim* offers the best example for this "development."[92]

The text tradition of the *Ḥarba* shows that it has undergone many changes until it reached its final form with the Arabic "Sword." Due to the numerous connections to the main pieces of Hekhalot literature and its milieu, the redactional work could most probably be traced back to the Geonic period. A seemingly very good parallel to our Arabic "Sword" could be offered by the case of another magical text, the *Tefillat Rav Hamnuna Sava* ("The Prayer of Rav Hamnuna Sava").[93] This *Tefilla*, although attributed to Rav Hamnuna Sava, a 3rd–4th century CE authority, can also be dated to the Geonic period. The apparent similarities of its structure and composing elements with those that can be detected in the "Sword" are striking. To indicate some of these basic common features, the evident importance attributed to Meṭaṭron (although his name is not mentioned in the "Prayer"), the motif of the promise of the coming world to the practitioner if he fulfills certain conditions, the parallel situation between the performer's asking for forgiveness by pronouncing the Name and the corresponding act of the High Priest on Yom Kippur should be pointed out.[94] A substantial difference, however, between the *Tefilla* or the Hekhalot texts and the *Ḥarba* or the Arabic "Sword" is that these have been transformed to a real magical handbook representing the level of pure

[90] SHL §§ 419, 951, *ÜdHL* III. 171, nn. 13,15. For the interpretation of this development, see Dan 1993, 36, 75, 124.

[91] A similar arrangement with seven (!) ṢB'WWT-s can be found in another passage in *Sifr Ādam* 205f. The *Ḥarba* has a longer list of *nomina barbara* with *ṣeva'ot* as the dividing element (Gaster 1925–28b, 76/28–77/6).

[92] Margalioth 1966, 12, 99f; Morgan 1983, 71.

[93] Herrmann 2005.

[94] Herrmann 2005, 202.

magic without giving expression to such original goals as the acquirement of the knowledge of the Torah or the forgiveness of sins.

Summing up what has been said in the foregoing, we may state that the Jewish(-Aramaic) source of the Arabic "Sword" offers another good example for the intermingling of different elements from the Hekhalot literature, liturgy and magic. On the other hand, however, with its characteristic features it represents an independent work within the "*Ḥarba de Moshe* tradition." Among its distinctive attributes a kind of anti-Rabbinic tendency (manifested in the censoring out of certain elements and the preference given to Meṭaṭron) should be indicated. Due to this and other specific traits, it can be clearly distinguished from the related pieces of Jewish magical literature. In this sense, the Arabic "Sword," deprived of almost every specifically Jewish connotation, was meant to serve the needs of a wider public—whether Jews, Muslims or Christians—by offering them solutions for their everyday problems. With these developments, the Arabic version partly shows the end of a long road that Jewish magical tradition has followed, and has partly turned out to be an important channel for conveying this magical lore to the Islamic world where its influence has made itself felt for long centuries until the recent past. To be more specific on the latter point, we may even say that it might have played a decisive role in transmitting the elements of the magical cosmology which has become fundamental for Arabic magic and might have also contributed to the formation of Meṭaṭron's formidable career in the Islamic environment.[95]

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[95] For the importance of Meṭaṭron in the Islamic world, see Wasserstrom 1995, 181–205.

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