

Mandaic Incantation(s) on Lead Scrolls from the Schøyen Collection

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This article presents a first edition of three Mandaic lamellae from the Schøyen Collection, MS 2087/10, 2087/11, and 2087/18, which are the product of the same scribe and probably constituted a single amulet. The language of the amulet differs from that of other Mandaic texts, and demonstrates unknown or rare phonetic and morphological features. In addition, several lexemes that were hitherto unattested in Mandaic have been identified. Some of the amulet's formulae are familiar from previously published texts, but in several cases the new textual evidence allows us to improve upon their readings.

INTRODUCTION

The study of Babylonian Aramaic magical texts has enjoyed something of an upsurge in recent years. The discovery and publication of dozens of new epigraphic sources from Mesopotamia have significantly increased the corpus of such materials now available and contributed greatly to our knowledge of three types of Aramaic employed in the region: Jewish Babylonian, Syriac, and Mandaic. In the present article, we hope to make an additional contribution to the ever-increasing corpus of Mandaic texts. Three Mandaic lamellae are published here in an *editio princeps*, accompanied by a translation and linguistic and philological notes.

These scrolls supplement the fairly limited number of Mandaic amulets written on metal that are currently known to the scholarly world. The lamellae, both in terms of their miniscule script and their state of preservation, present significant challenges to their readers, and every new textual witness that becomes available adds to our understanding of previously published materials.¹ The magic formula our scrolls contain is parallel in most parts to an

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1. To date, some sixteen Mandaic lead scrolls have been published (some only partially). Mark Lidzbarski was the first to publish such a scroll, 278 lines in length, in an edition that included an accurate transliteration, a translation, some commentary, an analysis of the script, and a proposed dating of the script to around the start of the fifth century C.E. Between 1967 and 1968 Rudolph Macuch published four additional Mandaic lead scrolls. Subsequently, three scrolls were published: Caquot 1972, Naveh 1975, and Greenfield and Naveh 1985. Recently, Müller-Kessler has published parts of eight more scrolls, with citations from additional scrolls (see bibliography). A substantial lead scroll from the Schøyen Collection is also treated in Morgenstern and Schlüter 2016.

early Mandaic amulet published by Rudolph Macuch in 1967.² Naturally, the new material presented here aids us in understanding several of Macuch's difficult passages, just as the material published by Macuch was of great aid to us in interpreting or reconstructing those parts of the Schøyen scrolls that were partially illegible or damaged. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to collate the readings in Macuch's texts since the photographs that accompanied his edition were insufficient for the purpose.³

An additional partial parallel is to be found on a Mandaic magic bowl in the Iraqi Museum (IM 1481), an edition of which was produced by Nu'man in her master's thesis of 1996.⁴ Again, the photographs that accompany the text are only partially legible, though in some cases they have been of use to us in checking her readings. We may assume that the long-awaited publication of additional parallels will further illuminate the formula presented herein.⁵

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS

The Mandaic amulet presented here is inscribed upon three small lead scrolls now held in the Martin Schøyen Collection. The scrolls measure 22 cm × 3.4 cm (MS 2087/10), 22.5 cm × 3.1 cm (MS 2087/11), and 10.6 cm × 3.7 cm (MS 2087/18). MS 2087/10 has split into two parts that form a perfect join. MS 2087/11 comprises a single complete piece but is damaged on the lower part of the recto and the upper part of the verso. MS 2087/18 contains only twenty-three lines on each side. While we cannot decisively determine the original length of the scroll, since the other two scrolls contain around sixty lines each (col. IV is somewhat shorter), it is reasonable to assume that MS 2087/18 was of similar proportions. Otherwise, the scrolls are fairly well preserved and allow for a certain reading in most places, though in parts they have suffered from the ravages of time that characterize such materials.

Thanks to Macuch's parallel copy of the amulet we were able to establish definitively the relationship between two of the three scrolls, and suggest with a high level of probability that they formed a set with the third. Interestingly, the scrolls are not organized in a linear fashion; rather, the scribe jumped from one scroll to another. The formula begins at the top of the recto of MS 2087/10 (I) and continues on both sides of MS 2087/11 (II–III). Only after he had completed the second side of MS 2087/11 (III) did the scribe return to the verso MS 2087/10 (IV) (see Fig. 1).⁶ The text found in MS 2087/18 (V–VI) does not constitute the direct continuation of the previous scrolls, but only appears in Macuch's text considerably further on in the formula of his text no. I. However, given that a) in Macuch's text the formula that MS 2087/18 contains is part of the same amulet formula that the two continuous amulets contain, b) this third lead strip is written by the same scribe in the same unique language, and c) it was purchased at same time as the two continuous amulets, it is reasonable to regard it as their indirect continuation. We may assume that the scribe ini-

2. Macuch Ia 1–106, Ic 1–20, Ib 36–55.

3. Compare Greenfield and Naveh 1985: 102. Corrections to Macuch's readings have been proposed in our article when they are certain (particularly in light of Macuch's own readings) and do not demand examination of the original.

4. We wish to thank Dr. Marco Moriggi for making this valuable master's dissertation available to us.

5. The publication of the parallel text from the Ligabue Collection was first announced in Müller-Kessler 1999–2000 but the article seems never to have appeared.

6. At the base of MS 2087/11 recto we find several "catch lines" that directly connect it to MS 2087/10 verso. These confirm the arrangement of the text proposed here. See comments below.

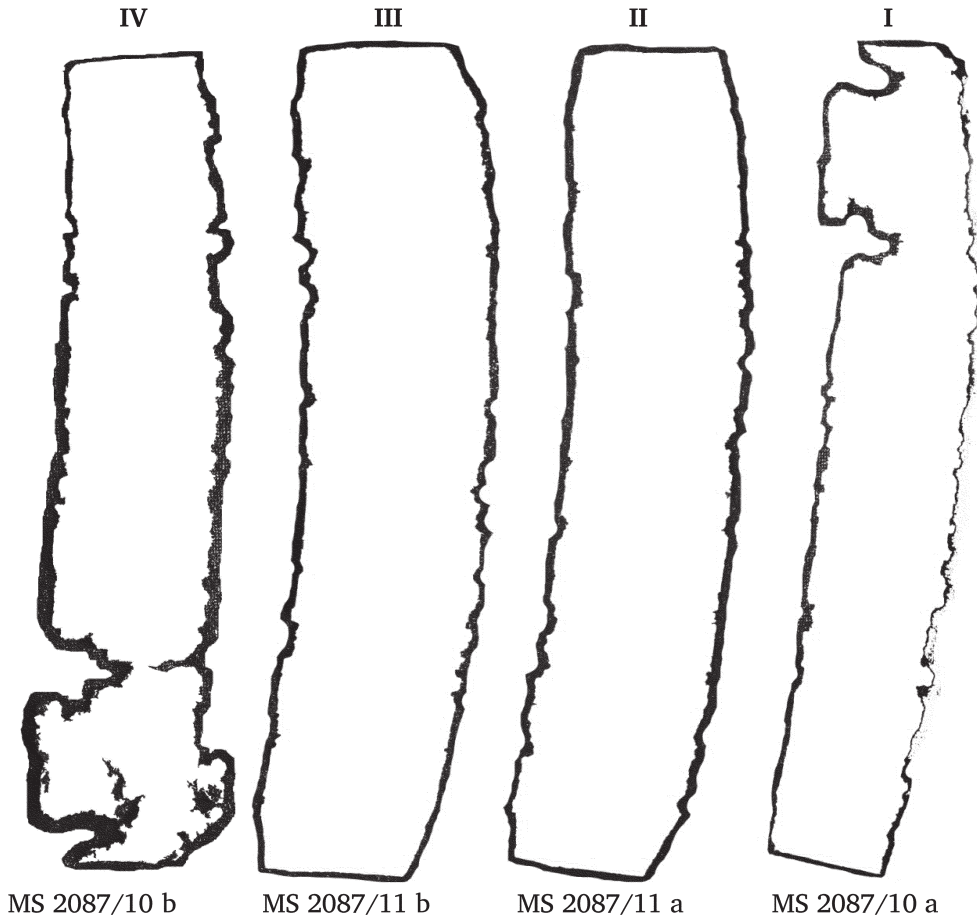


FIG. 1. The order of reading of the first two scrolls.

tially laid out the first two scrolls before him and inscribed them on one side, then turned them over and inscribed the second side before taking up a third scroll.

3. THE LANGUAGE

3.1. Orthography and Phonology⁷

While the formula contained in this amulet is, as we have mentioned above, for the most part known from other sources, the present scrolls make a particular contribution in the field of grammar, since they present the amulet formula in an early and heretofore unknown form of the Mandaic language. It is a truism that almost every new epigraphic source that is published adds something, great or small, to our knowledge of Pre-Classical Mandaic.⁸

7. For the sake of clarity, the forms cited in this section are provided with non-contextual glosses. These glosses may differ slightly from the contextual translations that accompany the edition.

8. For a periodization of the Mandaic language, see Morgenstern 2009: 124. Macuch (1989: 4) claims that the earliest evidence for the “mandäische Volkssprache” lies in the magical texts [lead scrolls and magic bowls],

However, in the case of the present scrolls, this is something of an understatement, since the scrolls contain a significant accumulation of unusual linguistic phenomena and new forms that set it aside from all the other sources that have been published to date. In what follows, we present some of the more salient features of this amulet's language.

3.1.1. Doubled *i*

The masculine plural morpheme is written on several occasions with a double **i**, e.g., **maluḡiia** 'curses' (I 28), **bṣuḡiia** 'in the streets' (II 35), **rurbiia** 'great' (III 47), **ṣihiia** 'desire' (I 26). So too in the 3 m.pl. participles: **nasabiia** 'they take away' (I 18), **qadiia** 'they were screeching' (II 14).⁹ Apart from these morphemes, the doubled **i** is also found once in word-medial position in **hiiniun** 'they' (VI 8) and once in the client's name **lkuṣalqaiia** 'to Khwaṣqai' (III 42–43).

3.1.2. The Digraph *ia* in Medial Position

The digraph **ia** occurs in medial position to indicate a single *i/e* vowel,¹⁰ e.g., **ṣiahia** 'desire' (I 26–27), **lilliata** 'Lilith' (III 10–11), **bhziadaiaun** 'in their dishonour' (III 20–21), **uasiata** 'and I healed her' (III 40), **d-ṭamhiaba** 'by which was struck (m.s.)' (IV 30), **uhziata** 'and I saw her' (V 7), **ṭiamlia** 'they (f.pl.) were filled' (V 14), **ṭiamalaʿiʿuṇ** 'they were filled' (VI 9). An interesting case is the mixed orthography of the m.pl. participle morpheme **umaurian** 'they blind' (III 15). This spelling combines the two regular forms of the m.pl. participle in Mandaic, **maurin** and **mauria**.¹¹

3.1.3. The *shewa*

An historical *shewa mobile* and even *shewa quiescent* is frequently represented with *plene* orthography. So, e.g., in syllable-final position: **nasabia** 'they take' (I 17, 29; II 31), **nasabiia** 'they take' (I 18), **nasaba** 'they take' (I 31; 3 f.pl.), **qaṣatataiaun** 'their bows' (I 42), **kuṣaṭa** 'truth' (I 59), **uḥaṣata** 'and now' (II 23), **bisira** 'flesh' (II 6), **ṣurabalta** 'families' (III 24–25), **adakirit** 'and I recalled' (III 27; compare **adkrit**, III 30), **uasaralta uhtamata** 'and I bound her and sealed her' (III 41–42), **bhatama** 'by the seal' (III 46), **zilmata** 'the hair' (III 54–55; compare **zimta**, III 56), **ulama** 'until' (III 54, 58).

In word-initial position: **banaiun** 'their sons' (I 32), **banataiaun** 'their daughters' (I 47), **zama** 'blood' (II 7), **udaraiaun** 'and their arms' (II 20), **batʿbil** 'in this world' (III 20), **sam-alaiun** 'their left' (III 49), **mallakia** 'angels' (IV 17–18), and **hrilbia** 'swords' (I 23–24) for

"die für Dämonen bestimmt waren und von Volk nicht gelesen, aber eher von volkstümlichen Schreibern als von Naṣoräen geschrieben wurden." However, there is no evidence to suggest that the magical texts are written in a more vulgar idiom on account of their intended audience or their unorthodox scribes. Both the early magic corpus and Classical Mandaic literature in its earliest textual witnesses from the sixteenth century, such as the *Ginza Rba* (CS 1, 2) and the *rahmia* (Bod. Marsh 691), contain a variety of grammatical forms, some more conservative, others more innovative. As Drower correctly noted, the oldest manuscript of *Ṣarḥ Traṣa d-Taga d-Ṣiṣlam Rba*, DC 54 (copied in 1008 A.H. = 1599–1600 C.E.), is an extremely corrupt exemplar containing numerous grammatical errors. The claim made in Macuch 1965: 531, "The language of the poorest manuscripts is superior to that of the best magic bowls and lead amulets," is entirely without foundation.

9. Sporadic examples of such spellings may be found in other sources, but are very rare. MS 2087/3, written by the same scribe as our text, contains several: **gubriia** 'men' (b 26), **midariia** 'they are lifted (?)' (b 15), **uʿtksiia** 'cover yourself' (a 17). A further example occurs in another amulet: **ṭasiia** 'metal strips' (MS 2087/9 b 34). Two are found in magic bowls: **anaṣiia** 'people' (Miami 8, see Abudraham forthcoming); **zakiia** 'victorious' (VT 1981.1 [Müller-Kessler 2005 40c]: 13).

10. The digraph functions similarly in many epigraphic sources (mostly unpublished).

11. Nöldeke 1875: 148–49; Macuch 1965: 208.

the regular spelling **harbia/hirbia**.¹² It should be noted that almost all these cases of *plene* orthography involve a sonant or sibilant consonant.¹³ In light of the interchange of **i** and **a** in the forms **halbila** (II 15–16) and **hibila** (II 24) we may assume that the vowel quality was somewhat variable, sounding to the copyist sometimes like a short *a* and sometimes like a short *e*, perhaps a central ə.¹⁴

3.1.4. *i > a?*

While as in other Aramaic dialects the prefix for the participles of the *t*-stems in Mandaic is generally **mi-** (*/mi-/*), in our scroll we find four examples that do not accord with this norm: **matahzia** ‘they appear’ (II 28), **umaltaqria** (II 33–34), **māiaqria** (III 2), and **matplsqia** ‘they are cut off’ (III 21–22). It is not entirely apparent what phonological reality lies behind these spellings, but perhaps we are dealing with vocalic harmony: *i-a > a-a*.¹⁵ The G-stem infinitive form **lmaqtl** ‘to kill’ (II 54–55) for CM **lmaqal** may perhaps also be explained accordingly.

3.1.5. *a > u*

There is evidence for the partial assimilation of an *a* vowel to the bilabial *b*: **kubira** ‘mighty’ <*/kabbīrāl/ (IV b 28). Unusually, the vowel has been assimilated to a geminated *b*, and not to an ungeminated *b* as is generally the case.¹⁶ On the interpretation of **šubilia** (II 24) see commentary below.

3.1.6. *-un > -iun*

Undoubtedly, the most notable feature of this amulet’s language is the scribe’s tendency to add a *y* in word-final syllables that end in *-un*, apparently reflecting the shift */-un/ > /-yun/ > -yun*. This phenomenon reoccurs frequently in different grammatical categories throughout the amulet, and cannot be regarded as a scribal error. The shift has occurred in the following categories:

1. 3 m.pl. independent pronoun: **hiniun lbišia šihia** ‘they are clad in desire’ (I 25–26), **hiniun nasabia gubria** ‘they carry off men’ (I 29–30), **hiniun diuia mhnqia ildia** ‘they are *devs*, the stranglers of children’ (III 12–13);¹⁷ on two occasions we encounter the spellings **hiniaiuun** (V 16) and **hiiniun** (VI 8).
2. Far-deixis m.pl. demonstrative pronoun: **hnataliuun** ‘those’ (III 11–12).
3. Perfect forms: **‘timlaiuun** ‘they were filled’ (VI 7).
4. Imperfect verbal forms: **n‘nziun unalṭariaiuun** ‘let them be repelled and removed’ (IV 35–36), **lantansibaiuun** ‘they may not be taken away’ (III 35).¹⁸
5. 3 m.pl. object suffix: **ushṭainiuun** ‘and I overturned them’ (I 56), **nsibiltiniaiuun** ‘I took them’ (I 38–39), **nsibitiniaiuun** ‘and carried them off’ (I 41).¹⁹

12. Drower and Macuch 1963: 126 s.v. **harba**, 147 s.v. **hirba**.

13. For a detailed discussion of this phenomenon in the epigraphic corpus see Abudraham 2015.

14. In Neo-Mandaic the *shewa* is similarly highly variable. See Häberl 2009: 60 and Mutzafi forthcoming n. 2.

15. Nöldeke (1875: 13) mentions sporadic examples of this shift preceding š, e.g., **maštmania** ‘obedient’ (Gy 106: 15). Compare Macuch 1965: 108.

16. Compare **rabania > rubania**, which according to Macuch (1965: 116) is pronounced *rubbānī*.

17. Similar spellings occur in other amulets written by the same scribe, e.g., MS 2087/3 b 13.

18. Nöldeke (1875: 227, 249) cites sporadic examples with this morpheme and describes them as “eigentümliche Nebenformen”: **nipišiuun** ‘they will remain’ (Gy 386: 11 [MS A,B,C]), **nimitiuun** ‘they will die’ (Gs 44: 6), **ništiniun** ‘they will be enflamed’ (Gy 258: 7). See further Macuch 1965: 317.

19. See also **uana kd ḏ-hziatiniun** ‘and when I saw them’ (MS 2087/3 b 20–21).

A process similar to that described here is known from Classical and Post-Classical Mandaic in numerous perfect verbal forms in the 3 pl., e.g., **npaḳiun** < ***npaḳun** (Gy 380: 1), **sliḳiun** (Gy 233: 17) < ***sliḳun**; **prašian** < ***prašan** (BN CS. 12. 74b: 1),²⁰ **shaḳian** < ***shaḳan** (ML 265: 4bis // CP 257: 2),²¹ and so in the m.pl. imperative forms, e.g., **ahribiun** ‘destroy’ (Jb 11: 10), **zdahariun** ‘beware’ (ATŠ I 13).²²

Nöldeke seems to have regarded the rise of forms such as **npaḳiun** as a result of a phonological process rather than analogy.²³ As we have seen, in our scribe’s dialect this phenomenon seems to have been extremely influential and is expressed to an unprecedented degree. It is not a sporadic phenomenon as we find in the later Mandaic manuscripts, but rather a central and salient characteristic of the scribe’s language. Compare further our discussion of the plural morpheme in §3.2.1.3.

3.1.7. Addition of non-etymological *h*

The loss of the pharyngeals is one of the most salient features of Mandaic phonology, and it may be discerned in every text. The pharyngeals have mostly shifted to laryngeals or been entirely elided. The form **puluhgdama** (Fig. 2) (for Classical Mandaic **pugdama**) ‘word’ (IV 1–2) deviates from the normal sound shifts, in that the consonant **h** appears here without etymological basis. We may suggest two possible explanations for this spelling: 1) that it is a hypercorrection; 2) that it reflects the aspiration of the fricative **g** (*ḡ*). According to the first explanation, the scribe added the otiose **h** because the **h** was occasionally written but not pronounced. In several Mandaic epigraphic texts we find examples that appear to reflect such a phenomenon, such as **gada šaplha** ‘bad fortune’ (MS 1928/06: 10), contrasting with the reading of a parallel copy **gada šapla** (YBC 2364: 17);²⁴ **untbrhun** ‘let them be broken’ (MS 1928/15: 9) for standard Mandaic **untbrun**; **dmhu šnai** ‘a transcendent apparition’ (Davidovitz 1: 23) for **dmu**; **uamria mnhia dmuuta dmhu šnai hazha** ‘saying, Who is this apparition, this transcendent apparition’ (Davidovitz 1: 32–33) for **dmu** and **haza**;²⁵ **mšiha brha ḡ-ruha** ‘Messiah, son of Ruha’ for **bra** (Davidovitz: 1 82–83).

By contrast, the second possible explanation assumes that the ostensibly otiose **h** in **puluhgdama** does not result from scribal error, but rather results from a conscious or unconscious representation of the aspiration of the fricative **g**.²⁶ There is evidence for such a phenomenon elsewhere in the epigraphic corpus, but it must be emphasized that to date we have otherwise found only examples connected to the fricative pronunciation of **k** (*k̄*). The following are some representative examples: **uhia zakhin** ‘And Life is Victorious’ (MS 2054/41: 9, 10, 11, 12), **ašbitalaikhun umuminalkhun** ‘I adjure you and beswear you’ (MS 1928/45: 5), **ʿhʿzitinkun ktabtinkhun uasartinkhun uasarth lšumaikhun** ‘I saw you and ascribed you and bound you and bound your name’ (MS 2054/28 10). In one case, the **h** appears before the fricative consonant: **umhkiba bhazin pagra** ‘and cause pain (f.pl.) in this body’ (Pognon 19: 1), which contrasts with the parallels **umkiba** (Pognon 15: 6) and **umakiban**

20. V.l.: **priḳiun** (Euting 1867: 74b, Oxf. Syr. e. 15. 119a: 8; DC 3. 211: 16), **praḳiun** (de Morgan 113: 1).

21. These forms provide the basis for the Neo-Mandaic 3 c.pl. perfect morpheme; see Macuch 1965: 262; Häberl 2009: 180–81; and Mutzafi 2015 for a more precise account.

22. Nöldeke 1875: 229. In Neo-Mandaic the morphemes are *-yon* (Khorramshahr; Häberl 2009: 180) or *-yon* (Ahvaz; Mutzafi 2015: 324). Compare also the NM shift of **ē* > *ie* (Häberl 2009: 88 with previous bibliography).

23. “Diese Formen auf 𐤒- 𐤒- können nur als lautliche Spielarten für 𐤒- 𐤒- angesehen werden; sie erscheinen ganz entsprechend im Impf” (Nöldeke 1875: 224).

24. Müller-Kessler 1996: 187.

25. But **haza** in line 36.

26. Compare Biblical Aramaic 𐤍𐤒𐤕𐤍 ‘message’ (Ezr. 4: 17) and Syriac ܡܫܝܚܐ (Sokoloff 2009: 1264).



FIG. 2. **puluhgdama** ‘word’ (IV 1–2).

(VA 2419: 8).²⁷ The fricative pronunciation of the **g** and **k** is widely marked in the Leiden Glossarium,²⁸ and survives to an extent in lexicalized usage in Neo-Mandaic.²⁹

3.2 MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1. 3 m.pl. Possessive Pronoun

The 3 m.pl. possessive pronoun is sometimes written with standard orthography, e.g., **samalaiun** ‘their left’ (III 49), **lgraiun** ‘their feet’ (III 59). Alongside these forms we find a considerable number of examples bearing the unique pronominal form **-aiaiun**, which has not been previously attested, e.g., **ṭupralaiun** ‘their nails’ (III 52–53),³⁰ **lgraliaiun** ‘their feet’ (III 53–54), **mnaliaiun** ‘from them’ (IV 10–11), **ḡmābāiaiun** ‘their back(s)’ (VI 18), **humraiaiun** ‘their *humras*’ (VI 22), **ḡlūiaiun** ‘against them’ (I 10; IV 33). It seems that we must assume that two alternative forms of the 3 m.pl. possessive pronoun were employed by this scribe: a frequent one, **-aiun**,³¹ and another less frequent one, **-aiaiun** (e.g., *ḡṭuprayayunl*, *ḡliḡrayayunl*). In addition, we find the forms **ḡ-ḡkūlhun** (VI 12), **kūlhun** (I 49, III 31, presumably a defective spelling of the previous form), and **lkūlhun shraiuun** (I 19), for which we may compare f.pl. **kūlhun** (VI 20). Nöldeke noted that in CM **kūlhun** always appears with **h**,³² but in the epigraphic corpus we have found several additional examples of **kūlhun**, e.g., BM 135794 II b 17,³³ MS 1928/05: 15, etc. It also appears once in parallel copies of a magical formula appended to the *Zarazta* series of incantations found in DC 13 and DC 15.³⁴

27. Lidzbarski 1902: 90.

28. Borghero 2004: 67–74.

29. Macuch 1993: 17–18; Häberl 2009: 57.

30. With the possible exception of nouns derived from III-y roots: **hadiaiun** ‘their chest’ (Gy 310: 24), **bsigiai-hun** ‘upon their going’ (Gy 11: 3), **miṣṭiaiahun** ‘their drinking’ (Gy 268: 20), **ṣihiaihun** ‘their thirst’ (Jb 266: 11), **maiaihun** ‘their water’ (AM 244: 2).

31. It is worth noting that this is the dominant form of the pronoun affixed to nominal bases that end in a consonant, e.g., **uaqriataiun** ‘and their adjurations’ (I 14), **ubnataiun** ‘and their daughters’ (I 24, 33), **uliliataiun** ‘and their liliths’ (I 30), and many others. In Macuch’s parallel texts we find the expected shorter form of the pronoun: **qriatun** (Ia 11), **bnatun** (Ia 17–18), **lilatun** (Ia 19), etc.

32. Nöldeke 1875: 181.

33. Müller-Kessler 2002: 186 (l. 59 in her edition).

34. The text is not found in de Morgan’s text or in DC 44. These texts are being prepared for publication by M. Morgenstern and T. Notarius.



FIG. 3. **lqašatataiun** ‘their bows’ (I 42).

The coexistence of several alternative grammatical forms in a single category, in this case the possessive pronouns of the 3 m.pl., is not surprising given that in Mandaic we find frequent interchanges of **-(h)un** and **-ai(h)un** in the same context.³⁵ It is very possible that the form **-ai(i)un** with its doubled diphthong is related to the same phenomenon that has led the scribe to substitute **-un** with **-iun**.

3.2.2. Possessive Suffix for Object Suffix

Above we discussed the phonetic development of the object suffix **-inun** > **-iniun/ -ainiun**). In addition, we should note several exceptional forms in which the possessive suffix substitutes for the object suffix: **ana ḡ-hzитайun** ‘and when I saw them’ (I 34),³⁶ **unsi-aiun lhr̄baiun** ‘they took up their swords’ (V 17–18). This phenomenon may be attested in other sources, though this requires further investigation; see meanwhile **ulatbraiun mn hazin baita** ‘and do not remove them from this house’ (MS 2054/30: 10). A possible explanation might lie in a localized analogy with the pronouns affixed to participle forms with the prepositional *l-*, which also frequently represent the direct object. In Neo-Mandaic, there is no distinction between the affixed possessive and objective pronouns.³⁷

3.2.3. F.pl. morpheme -tata.

The f.pl. morpheme **-tata** is not particularly common in Mandaic. The present amulet contributes an additional example to the fairly limited corpus: **qašatataiun** ‘their bows’ (I 42) (Fig. 3).³⁸ In the parallel amulet, Macuch identified several other examples which are not necessarily derived from verbal roots with *t* as the third-radical: **qulmatatun** ‘their bodies’ (Ia 27–28), **šaqtata** ‘afflictions’ (Ia 14), **hḡptataiun** ‘their snatchings’ (Ia 15–16), etc.³⁹ A further example is found in a bowl text published by Pognon: **mnautata** ‘portions’ (Pognon 16: 35). Recently, Ford has drawn attention to the same phenomenon in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic magic bowl texts, e.g., **דרדקתאהא** ‘maidens’ (MS 2053/123 [JBA 37]: 6), **שבעתהא** ‘oaths’ (MS 2053/130: 4).⁴⁰

3.3. VOCABULARY

Our amulet offers several new words to the Mandaic lexicon: **mašušta** ‘lizard’ (II 19–20), **br niših** ‘hawk’ (II 20–21), and **gdanpa** ‘brim’ (II 21). These are discussed in detail in the commentary.

35. Nöldeke 1875: 180–81; Macuch 1965: 159. Similar interchanges occur in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic texts. See Morgenstern 2011: 155–221.

36. Compare **ana ḡ-hazitinun šum hiia adkrit** ‘and when I saw them, I invoked the name of Life’ (MS 1928/53: 11).

37. Macuch 1993: 54; Häberl 2009: 157.

38. Cf. Macuch 1965: 222–23.

39. Macuch 1967: 109, 157.

40. Ford 2014: 240.

FIG. 4. **b'nia** 'between' (II 41).FIG. 5. **gubria** 'men' (III 31).FIG. 6. **sam** 'Sam' (III 36).

4. SCRIPT

This scribe's script differs notably from that employed in other Mandaic lamellae and magic bowls, and employs numerous unusual forms. Of the twenty-three graphemes, the following are worthy of particular attention:

(a) Medial **a** is written normally, but in word-initial position or following an unconnected letter it appears at first glance to be Δ (**ua**), (Fig. 4.) The consistent use of the letter in this form in all linguistic and phonological circumstances indicates that this is not a linguistic variant but rather a different graphic form of the **a**. In only a few cases could it be claimed that the expanded shape of the **a** stems from the scribe's desire to extend the word to fill the line.

(b) The **b** is generally written as a single stroke. It begins in the top left-hand end, extends with an unusual hook at the right-hand corner, and is then followed by the base (Fig. 5).

(s) In some cases the **s** appears somewhat akin to the regular Mandaic **k**. It extends below the line and its left-hand edge not connected (Fig. 6).

(p) Like **a**, unconnected **p** is liable to be written with an otiose stroke somewhat akin to the **u** before the main circle (Fig. 7).



FIG. 7. **umapiqilaiun** ‘and they remove them’ (II 12).



FIG. 8. **lilita** ‘Lilith’ (II 43).



FIG. 9. **pt** ‘daughter of’ (III 28).

(t) The **t** is undoubtedly the most unusual letter. It is most frequently formed as two corresponding curved strokes that are not connected. The upper part of the letter is entirely missing (Figs. 8, 9).

5. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

I. MS 2087/10 a

1	bšum[aiun ḡ-hiia]	In the name [of the Life!]
2	asuta [unṭarta]	Healing [and protection]
3	ūhtamaṭ[a tihui]	and sealin[g may there be]
4	la lkušaqāi pt u	unto Khwašqai daughter of Wairandu.
5	hrndu bhial hūṛaran	I hold the power of <i>Huraran</i> ,
6	qaimna āña hu sam	It is I, Sam the
7	‘tita ḡ-hiia ših	Predestined, whom the Life
8	šihlun bṭābata	sent with grace

9 ʿl kulḥ kn[a] d-nišmata
 10 d-šatala ʿlauiaiun
 11 bnia d-biša bqrii[iun]
 12 ušūqptaiun dūama
 13 [ma]taiun uluṭat[aiun]
 14 uaqriataiun []
 15 naiun umluṭ[aiun b]
 16 qriataiun
 17 nasabia gubr[ia]
 18 bḥrbaaiun nasabiia
 19 ʿnišia bšūqpta
 20 iun nasabia ldrda
 21 quinia bhṭipataiun
 22 nasabia ldrdqunia
 23 ta bnaiun lbišia hri
 24 bia ubnataiun maksī
 25 ia sikinia hiniun
 26 lbišia {šihīia} š
 27 iāhiā liliata
 28 mksia maluṭīia
 29 hiniun nasabia
 30 gubria uliliataiun
 31 nasaba ʿnišia
 32 banaiun hauia qria
 33 ubnataiun hauia š
 34 uqpta ana d-hzitaaiun
 35 tibrit hilaiun d-kul
 36 piṭiria {ugabit quma
 37 taiun d-} gabit qumataiun
 38 d-rama šārit nsibi
 39 tiniaiun lhrabaiun
 40 mn hddaiun ušarit
 41 nsibitīniaiun
 42 lqašataaiun
 43 mn hdaiun šaqa
 44 lit qria mn {bnia
 45 taiun} mn bnaiun
 46 ušūqpta mn
 47 banataiun una
 48 sibit hilaiun d-
 49 kulhn mlakia
 50 d-aka bmia siā

to the entire congregation of souls
 against whom were sent
 the sons of evil with [their] accidents,
 their afflictions and their apparitions
 and curses and
 their adjurations and their
 . . . and their curses. [With]
 their adjurations
 they carry off men,
 with their swords they carry off
 women; with their afflictions
 they carry off boys,
 with their snatchings
 they carry off girls.
 Their sons are clad in swords,
 and their daughters clothed
 in knives. They
 are clad in desire
 (and) the Liliths
 are clothed in curses.
 They carry off
 men, and their Liliths
 carry off women.
 Their sons are misfortune
 and their daughters are an
 affliction. And I, when I saw them,
 I crushed the strength of all of the
 adversaries
 and I bent their body
 that was high. I let loose (and) carried
 off their swords
 from their breasts, and let loose
 and carried off
 their bows
 from their chests.
 I took accident from
 their sons
 and affliction from
 their daughters
 and I removed the power
 of all of the angels
 that are in the black

51	[ui]a ù'zdian š	waters and armed themselves
52	[] mn zida	. . . with the wrath
53	q-[pta]hil 'l bnia	of [Pta]hil against the sons
54	bnia anaša nsi	of men. I carried
55	bit taga mn riš	off the crown from their
56	aiun ushptainiun	heads and I turned them
57	'l anpaiun uamrit	onto their faces, and I said
58	'laiun mlalia ku	against them words
59	kušaṭa hziṭh	of truth. I saw
60	lsin diua ulsida	Sin the <i>dev</i> , and
61	r{u}us mlakia	Sidarus the angel,
62	bnia q-sidamu	the sons of Sidamus
63	s mlaka	the angel,
64	q-ramia urha	who were casting and
65	ṭia bšūqia	running in the streets

II. MS 2087/11 a

1	q-di[.]ia ura	who were [. . .] and
2	haṭia bšūqi	running in the streets
3	ia uramia uma	and casting and
4	šaiḏinia bit	driving people mad amidst
5	briata uaklia	the alleys; eating
6	bisira lsiba	flesh to satiation
7	uṣatia zama	and drinking blood
8	lruia sin diua	to saturation. Sin, the <i>dev</i> ,
9	abid hršia	was practising sorcery,
10	usidrus shra	and Sidrus, the <i>sahir</i> ,
11	abid mabadia	was performing magical acts,
12	umapiqilaiun lbn ⁱ h ⁴¹	and removing the sons of
13	anaša bla kilaiun	men before their (allotted) span.
14	uakuat q-qadiia	And as they were screeching,
15	uqumataiun q-ha	their bodies were
16	bilḥ anpaiun dibia	of destruction, their faces of
17	ta udmuata dmua	dribbling, (their) appearances
18	ta q-hišukiḥ	appearances of darkness;
19	ligraiun q-mašuš	their legs of a lizard;
20	ta udaraiun q-br	their arms (were those) of a young
21	niṣiḥ ugdanpaiun	hawk; their wings
22	q-anania hišakta	(were) of clouds of darkness.

41. The scribe initially wrote **bnh** and then added an **i** above the line.

23	uhšata šuba	Now seven
24	šubilia d-hibila	ears ⁴² of destruction
25	mtanilaiun bri	they have placed
26	brišaiun	upon their heads.
27	bšuba dmuata	In seven apparitions
28	matahzia akliā	they (were) appearing; they (were) eating
29	bnia ušaqpia	children and afflicting
30	bnia uhnqia	children and strangling
31	bnia unasabia	children and taking away
32	bnia ubnia lbnia <anaša>	children and not giving
33	liahbaia uma	children to people;
34	taqria qria	and accidents (were) being brought about
35	bšūqia	in the streets
36	ušūqpta b'nia	and afflictions amidst
37	briata {urami	the alleys {and they cast
38	ia dhlata	fear
39	usidamus lili	and Sidamus the Lilith(s)}
40	ata} uramia da	and (was) casting fear
41	hlata b'nia	amidst the
42	briata usida	alleys. And
43	mus lilita a	Sidamus the Lilith
44	azla ušaria	(was) going and settling on
45	ʿ libaiun d-gubria	the hearts
46	d-gubriā u'niš	of men and woman
47	ia {b} bluṭata	with curses
48	ug[t]lata mlala	and killings (and) their words.
49	iun uaqarialiun	And calling to them
50	uq[ī]laun s[in]	and calling to them
51	[]	...
52	[]	...
53	[] ʿ gṭala d-	... for the killing of
54	hiiata lmagt	travailing women to kill
55	l ulaṣ[ruia] baṭ	and to torm[ent]
56	nata uqriḥ	pregnant women. And she (was) calling
57	ls[i]n diua {ḥ}	to S[i]n, the <i>dev</i> ,
58	d-h[a]tam ša	who th[e]re
59	riā [bb]taiuḥ	dwells in the [hou]ses
60	d-aḥāšia	of people.
61	ugb[ari]a	{And mighty (men)}

42. See commentary.

III. MS 2087/11 b

1 ugbaria ma	And mighty (men)
2 mātaqria ba	(were) being created
3 taibtāil ⁴³	in this world
4 lgubria gba	for mightly men
5 ria ulinišia š	and for . . . women
6 ilndiria uazli	they (were) going
7 ia ʿl bnia anaš	against the sons of
8 a bʿliata iati	men. In the attic / in wailing (was) sitting
9 b šup shra	Šup the <i>sahir</i> ,
10 bra d-šupntan li	the son of Šupntan
11 liata hnata	the Lilith, they
12 iun hiniun diuia	are <i>devs</i>
13 mhnqia ildia	the stranglers of children
14 ugʿlia ʿlaimnia	and killers of youths
15 umaurian sabia	and blinders of old men
16 mn šʿlia ap	at a stroke. So too
17 d-aka btʿbil	there are those in this world
18 btiha ⁴⁴ kula d-li	(who) with all the desire of their
19 baiun gairia	hearts fornicate
20 batʿbil bhz	in this world.
21 iadaiun matp	Because of their dishonor
22 saqia bqria	they are cut off,
23 iaiun lmitiria	because of their accidents
24 minaiun šuraba	families do not increase.
25 ta ana sam ʿti	I, Sam the Predestined,
26 ta qudam hiia	before the Life
27 adakirit ʿl kuš	recalled Khwašqai
28 aqai pt uhr	daughter of
29 ndu ʿlauiaiun	Wahrandu. For them
30 adkrit uʿl kul	I recalled, and for
31 kulhn gubria	all the men
32 uʿnišia uda	and women and
33 ruqiania ⁴⁵ uda	boys and
34 ruqniata	girls,
35 d-lantansibaiun	that they may not be taken away
36 bqaria uana sam	by accidents. And I, Sam
37 ʿtita sam	the Predestined, Sam Hiia,

43. See commentary.

44. The i has an unusual shape.

45. See commentary.

38	hiia asim	I place
39	ʿidai ʿlaiuaiun	my hand upon them.
40	uasiata uasara	And I healed and
41	ta uhtamata	bound and
42	uasarta lkuša	sealed Khwašqai
43	qaiia pt uhrn	daughter of Wahrandu
44	du basara qdama	by the primordial seal
45	qadamaiih uhta	I sealed her
46	tamta bhatama	with the seal
47	q-rurbiiā ia	of the great,
48	tria ʿqaria	preeminent glorious ones.
49	mn samalaiun	from their left
50	liamina umn	to their right, and from
51	iamina lsmala	right to their left,
52	iaiun mn ʿupra	from the nails of
53	iaiun q-lgra	their feet
54	iaiun ulama zi	to the hair of
55	mata q-briš	their head,
56	aiun mn zimta	from the hair
57	q-brišiuun	of their head
58	ulama ʿupria	to the nails
59	q-lgraiun	of their feet
60	bhazin pu	by this—

IV. MS 2087/10 b

1	bhazin pu	by this
2	uhgdama	word
3	[q-]bšumaiun	[that] in the name
4	q-hiia ktib	of life is written.
5	udhit mnaiun	And I repelled from them
6	qria bšuqia	accident in the streets
7	udhit šuqpta	and I repelled from them affliction
8	q-briata udhit	of the alleys, and I repelled from
9	minia<un> ʿšata uarui	them fever and chills
10	ata udht mna	and I repelled from
11	iaiun hršia	them sorceries
12	uʿubadia udhit	and (magical) practises, and I repelled
13	mina q-kušaqa	from Khwašqai
14	i pt uhrndu	daughter of Wahrandu
15	lu<t>ata uaqriata	cur<s>es and
16	upitiruata udhit	enemies, and I repelled

17	mnaiun gṭla ḡ-ma	from them the killing of
18	lakia uamrnalai<u>n	angels, saying to them,
19	lkulun shraiun	to all of their <i>sahirs</i>
20	udai{ui}uia urhia	and <i>devs</i> and spirits
21	{uliliata} ulilia	and Liliths.
22	ta kul man ḡ-hazin	Whosoever shall
23	raza nʿpuk uhlin	break this spell and
24	mumata lkdiḡ	breach this oath,
25	ltamahia diua	let him be struck— <i>dev</i> ,
26	qria uṣuqpta	accident, or affliction—
27	ḡmhta ḡ-khua	by a powerful and mighty
28	ukubira bmhta	strike; by the strike of
29	ḡ-rab gunhia	the master of rumbles
30	ḡ-ʿtamhiaba	by which was struck
31	abhṇ ḡ-mia	the father of the black
32	siauia uhuat	waters, and there came
33	ʿlauiaiuṇ ṣa	upon them a
34	maṭ[a] uagzara	ban and a decree.
35	ta nʿnziun una	Let them be repelled
36	ṭariaiuṇ mn	and removed from
37	pgra ḡ-kuṣa	the body of Khwaṣqai
38	quia pt uhrndu	daughter of Wahrandu
39	bṣumak [ubmim]	by your name [and by the comman]d
40	ra ḡ-hi[ia]	of the Li[fe]
41	uhiiia bṃ[imra ḡ-]	and the Life by the co[mmand of]
42	kuṣaṭ[a]	of Trut[h]
43	za[]	...
44	ʿsira ḡh[tima kuaṣ]	Bound and s[ealed is Khwaṣqai
45	[qai pt u]ḡrṇ	daughter of Wa]hran[du
46	[du bṣar]ṣira	with the ch[ain of
47	[ḡ-arqa]ḡra	the earth] . . .
48	[]ʿta	...
49	bʿziqat[a]	by [the] seal . . .
50	ʿlauia []	upon . . .
51	[]	...
52	[]	...

V. MS 2087/18 a

1	ziuaḡ [uʿtksia]	your glory [and cover yourself]
2	nhuraḡ [ut]iḡ ʿ[ḡ]	with your light, and [si]t u[pon]
3	kursiak ḡ-ʿqari[a]	your throne of glory

4	uata [uh]azia	and come [. . . and see]
5	lbh[iria zid]iqa	the cho[sen righ]teous
6	u[]'stki[t]	and [I] observed
7	uhziata lšumi[a]	and saw the heavens
8	ua[r]qa d-šumia	and e[ar]th, that the heavens
9	kpa b̄mihata	were brought low with a strike
10	umahia qria	and struck by accident and
11	shria uarqa []	<i>sahirs</i> and the earth
12	qādia diuiaiuñ š	. . . their <i>devs</i> ,
13	šamiš usira	and the sun and the moon
14	ʿtiamlia bzida	filled with rage
15	ʿl bnia anaša	against the sons of men
16	uhiniaiuñ adrik si	and they raised
17	piaiuñ unsbaiuñ	their rapiers and took up
18	lh̄rbaiuñ ušā	their swords and
19	bqia ʿl anaš[ia]	let them loose against people.
20	ua[m]rnalaiuñ m[n]	And I say to them:
21	gbra d-qria	Who is the man who bringing about
22	qria uramia	accidents and casting
23	uramia ba	{and casting }

VI. MS 2087/18 b

1	uamrnalaiuñ mn	And I say to them: who
2	gbr<a> d-qria qa	is the man who is bringing about
3	ria uramia balmia	accidents and casting into the worlds
4	šuba kukbia ut	the seven planets
5	utrisar mluši[a]	and twelve constellations?
6	hii[X]niaiuñ ⁴⁶ biš[uta]	They are filled with
7	ʿtimlaiuñ ʿl bnia	evil against the sons
8	aḥāša hiiniuñ{n}	of men, they
9	bišuta ʿtiamala^i^uñ	are filled with evil
10	ʿl [bnia š]urba rba	against the [sons of the] great [f]amily
11	d-h[iia uan]a kd d-hz	of L[ife. And I,] when I saw
12	iatiñ[iuñ d-]kūluñ	them, that they were all
13	ʿ[]	. . .
14	ʿt[]	. . .
15	[] giṭriṭ []	. . . I tied . . .
16	b̄h upikri[t] řaz[]	. . . I bound . . .
17	uṭ[ik]riṭ ʿdaiuñ lʿh[ur]	and I b[ou]nd their hands beh[ind]

46. The letter in the space is probably a.

18 [i]a ġmábáiaiu[n] k[]	their backs
19 řglia ħāniaiu[n] []	...
20 kulhn šurbatāiu[n]	all of their families
21 shraiu[n] udaiui[aiu]	their <i>sahirs</i>
22 n uhumraiaiu[n] u[p]	and their <i>humras</i> and
23 țiar[iaiu[n]]	their enem[ies].

6. COMMENTARY

I. 2087/10 a

Ll. 4–5: **l̥kušaqaï pt ulhrndu** ‘Khwašaqaï daughter of Wahrandu’. The client’s name comprises two elements. The first, *khwaš-* (Persian ‘happy, pleasant’)⁴⁷ is well known from other names, e.g., **kuašizag** Khwašizag (A.O. 14.963 [MIT 17]: 4),⁴⁸ **kušduk** Khwašduḳ (BM 91728 [Segal 096M]: 45), **kušintai** Khwašintay (MS 2054/52: 13), **kušazad** Khwašāzād (SD 63: 4). The second element is more problematic, since its spelling varies. Later in the text we find the certain reading **kušlaqai** (III 27–28) and slightly further on **kušalquia** (MS 2087/37–38). The ending **-uia** is common in Persian names, but nonetheless it seems that preference must be given to the form of the name ending with **-ai** (**kušlaqai**), which appears on other Mandaic lamellae in the Schøyen Collection written for the same client.⁴⁹

The matronym **ulhrndu** represents the Persian name Bahrāndukh ‘Daughter of Bahram’. The orthography here differs in two ways from that employed in the Jewish Aramaic bowls, **בהרננדך**.⁵⁰ The first relates to the representation of the Persian phoneme *w/b*.⁵¹ The orthography with **u** implies the early Persian pronunciation before the shift of *w > b*.⁵² This may tell us something about the antiquity of these texts. In other Mandaic lamellae from the Schøyen Collection we find the same name in the form **bhrandu** (MS 2087/5 b 11; MS 2087/11 frg. 2/1 6). The other difference is the abbreviated form of the final element of **-duk(t)**. Such an abbreviated form is found in several names, e.g., **pruk dad br gušnzd** (MS 2054/72: 3–4), **azrmidu** (KT 8: 6),⁵³ **ahai br šaburdu** (MS 2054/104: 7–8), **ma[^]zid[^] br adardu** (MS 2054/105: 3–4). On one occasion we find the abbreviated form in the name of a spirit: **izdandu lilita** (MS 2054/76: 47), which parallels the same name in its full form, **iazdanduk lilita** (BM 91775 [Segal 086M]: 9, etc.).

Ll. 5–6: **bhial hūřaran qaïmna** ‘I hold the power of *Huraran*’. The amulet formula begins with the common description of the sorcerer who “stands” in a certain location, but in the present case, we must understand that the sorcerer’s “situation” is not a physical place, but rather a state of being.⁵⁴ Compare, e.g., **braza ḡ-hiia qaïmna** ‘I hold the spell of Life’ (MS 2054/30: 1), **bhazin raza rba ḡ-qaïmnaḥ** ‘by this great spell that I hold’ (Griffith 1: 15), etc.⁵⁵

47. MacKenzie 1986: 96.

48. First published in Pognon 1894.

49. E.g., MS 2087/19 a 12; b 16.

50. Compare **בהרננדך בת ניננדך** (BM 91710 [Segal 013A]: 3, 8). For a discussion see Shaked 1999: 185.

51. See Ciancaglini 2008: 82–83.

52. Compare the forms of Vahrām from the Sassanid period cited in Gignoux 1986: 171.

53. Compare **azarmidukt** (JNF 40: 7).

54. For a more detailed discussion see Morgenstern and Ford 2017: 219–21.

55. For additional examples see Ford and Morgenstern, in preparation.

Ll. 6–7: **āna hu sam ‘tita** ‘It is I, Sam the Predestined’. In the amulet that Macuch published the name of the speaker is more explicit in all three of his appearances: **ana sam mana ‘tita** ‘I am Sam, the Predestined Spirit’ (I a 6, 80, I b 27). The term **mana** is optional in other cases, e.g., **sam mana smira** (Gy 71: 2) contrasting with **sam smir ziuā** (Gy 295: 12).

L. 8: **šihlun** ‘sent me’. Macuch’s parallel **bnai hlun** (Ia 7) is clearly erroneous, representing either a scribal error or, more likely, an editorial misreading.

L. 10: **‘satala**. Gt 3 m.pl. from root š-l-a < *š-l-ḥ. While the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel in the Gt stem is regular in Mandaic, this is not the case when the first radical is a sibilant.⁵⁶

Ll. 20–21: **ldrdalquinia** ‘boys’. This form represents an unusual diphthongization process in which the monophthong *o* becomes a diphthong *oy* near the sonant consonant *n*: **drdaqunia** > **drdaqunia**. Cf. **udalruqiania udalruqniata** (III 32–33).

Ll. 23–25: **bnaiun lbišia hrilbia ubnataiun maksilia sikinia** ‘Their sons are clad in swords, and their daughters covered in knives’. A similar parallelism occurs in another Mandaic lamella: **lbuš hrilbia u‘tksiia iaqdanā** ‘wear swords and clad yourself in flames’ (MS 2087/3 a 16–18).

Ll. 25–28: **hiniun lbišia {šihia} šliahiā uliliata mksia maluḡia** ‘They wear desire and the Lilitis are clothed in curses’. For the concept of ‘wearing desire’ compare the Talmudic expression **יצר אלכשה** ‘he clothed her with desire’ (b. Ket. 51b), i.e., brought her to desire.⁵⁷ Although the photographs that accompany Macuch’s edition are insufficiently legible, in light of our parallel text we may reasonably assume that his reading **hinin rlišia šiha uliliatun lbiš nimliaḡia** is to be corrected to **hinun lbišia šiha uliliatun lbišln mluḡia** (Ia 18–20).

L. 31: **‘nišia**. This spelling is well established in epigraphic sources, e.g., **umhzia l‘nišia bdmu gubriā ulgubria bdmu ‘nišia** (MS 2054/2: 8). In the later manuscript sources, it was written **‘nšia**.⁵⁸

L. 32: **banaion hauia qria** ‘Their sons are misfortune’. Macuch’s reading may be corrected from **saria** to **qaria** (Ia 22).⁵⁹ On the parallelism **qria** // **šuqupta** see below.

L. 34: **ḡ-hzitaion** ‘When I saw them’. On the grammatical form, see above, §3.2.2.

L. 42: **lqašataion** ‘their bows’. On the doubled feminine morpheme, see above, §3.2.3.

Ll. 43–48: **šaḡallit** (. . .) **unalsibit** ‘I took and I removed’. Compare **nsilbit**, I 54–55. The conjugation of verb on the basis of the 3 m.s. is a characteristic of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic;⁶⁰ in Mandaic, it is restricted to verbs bearing the enclitic *l*, e.g., **amarilh**, **amaralh**. We would thus expect to find here **šiqilit** and **unisbit**. Compare in Macuch’s parallel text **ušiqlit** (Ia 24). In light of the scribe’s tendency to indicate particularly short etymological vowels (see above, §3.1.3), it is possible that these examples attest to a 1.cs. **qaḡlit** form. In the epigraphic sources we find sporadic examples of verbal forms without the vowel attenuation in the first syllable. The examples attested to date have been in the 3 f.s.: **uazlat unaplat qudamḡ** ‘and she went and fell before him’ (MS 1928/06: 3), paralleling **uazlat uniplat** (YBC 2364: 14) and **luat gbra šakbat uluat ‘tta damkat** ‘she lay with a man and with a woman’ (MS 1928/05: 11), paralleling **šikbat** (YBC 2364: 23).

Ll. 51–53: **mn zida ḡ-[pta]hil ‘l bnia {bnia} anaša** ‘with the rage of [Pta]hil against the sons of men’. The combination of Macuch’s improbable reading **mn zida ḡ-ata hu l’l**

56. Nöldeke 1875: 27; Macuch 1965: 125. The anaptyctic vowel is commonly *i*, but examples of *a* are attested.

57. For a recent discussion of this passage and its meaning, see Rosen-Zvi 2009: 274.

58. In JBA bowl texts too we occasionally find the spelling **אניש** ‘women’. See Müller-Kessler 2012: 5.

59. For the plene orthography and vowel quality compare in our text **bqaria** (III 36). The form **qiria** with *i* is much more common in Mandaic.

60. Kutscher 1962: 163–65; Boyarin 1978: 146; Morgenstern 2011: 82–85.

bnat anaša (Ia 32–33) with the material remains in our amulet brings us to the reading **zida ḡ-ptahil** ‘the wrath of Ptahil’. Compare **zida ḡ-saṭana** ‘the wrath of Satan’ (Gy 20: 22).

Ll. 60–63: **Isin diua ulsidalr{u}us mlakia bnia ḡ-sidamuls** ‘Sin the *dev*, and Sidarus the angel, the sons of Sidamus’. The names of these maleficent beings occur again below, sometimes in defective orthography: **sidrus** (II 10). The amulet provides us with a detailed account of their appearance and injurious activities. **sin diua** ‘Sin (Moon) the *dev*’ and **sida-mus** are known from other sources.⁶¹ Macuch erroneously transliterated **sin diua** as **qandila** (Ia 37). The graphic similiarity of **ܣܝܢ ܕܝܘܐ** and **ܩܢܕܝܠܐ** in the Mandaic script is apparent. Macuch’s determined efforts to explain his unique reading are thus misplaced, particularly since only a few lines later in his text the name **sin diua** reoccurs (Ia 42),⁶² **Isin diua ḡ-hatam** (Macuch Ia 67).

II. MS 208711 a

Ll. 4–5: **umalšaidīnia** ‘and driving people mad’. The reading is difficult, and Macuch and Müller-Kessler⁶³ were unable to propose a reading for their parallels. We take it to be the active participle of the denominative root š-y-d-n ‘driven mad’ (lit. ‘affected by a *šed*’), which appears as a trilateral root š-d-n in the late Mandaic sources, i.e., the Leiden *Glossarium* and *Haršia Bišia* (DC 46, CS 24).

Ll. 5–8: **uaklia bisira lsiba ušatia zama lruia** ‘eating flesh to satiation and drinking blood to saturation’. The motif of eating the victim’s flesh and drinking his/her blood is fairly common in Mandaic magical texts, and has been discussed in detail by Müller-Kessler.⁶⁴

Ll. 8–11: **sin diua abid hršia usidrus shra abid mabadia**. ‘Sin, the *dev*, was practicing sorcery, and Sidrus, the *sahir*, was performing magical acts’. The reading **shra** of our scroll is shared with the Ligabue scroll.⁶⁵ Without sufficient photographs, it is not possible to establish if this was actually the material reading in Macuch’s scroll.

Ll. 12–13: **umapiqilaiun lbn[^]i[^]h anaša bla kilaiun** ‘and removing the sons of men before their (allotted) span’. The formula appears in Macuch’s text in an expanded form: **umpaqlun lbnia ‘naša blaḡ lhun mn pgraihun** ‘und zerreiβt die Menschensöhne. Er verschluckt sie mit ihren Körpern’ (Ia 44–46). The unlikely expression **blaḡ lhun** is probably to be read in accordance with our text **bla kliun** ‘before their (allotted) span’.⁶⁶ Compare **unišmata bla kilaiun mn pagraiin napqan** ‘and souls leave their bodies before their (allotted) span’ (CP 372: 5).⁶⁷

Ll. 16–17: **anpaiun dibialta** ‘their faces dribbling (?)’. The reading **dibialta** is seems certain but its interpretation is somewhat unsure. We have provisionally derived the word from the root d-w-b.⁶⁸

L. 18: **ḡ-hišukih** ‘of darkness’. In several places in this scribe’s work we find **-ia** or **-ih** for expected **-a**; compare **niših** ‘hawk’ (II 21) for expected **niša**, **iaminia** ‘right’ (III 50) for

61. ‘**siria kulhun diuia ḡ-bit sidmus hrašta ḡ-bit sidmus** ‘Bound are all the *devs* of the House of Sid(a)mus, all the witches of the House of Sid(a)mus’ (MS 1928/53: 14).

62. Our reading is based on the parallel. Macuch read **haqun diua**, in which the first two letters actually belong to the previous word.

63. Müller-Kessler 1999–2000: 305.

64. Müller-Kessler 1999–2000: 302–5.

65. Apud Müller-Kessler 2010a: 471.

66. We may assume that Macuch read **ki** as **q**, which is not impossible in the script of the lead scrolls. It is less likely that we have here a shift of *k* > *q*, which is almost unattested in Mandaic.

67. Drower and Macuch 1963: 65 s.v. bla.

68. Drower and Macuch 1963: 103 s.v. DUB.

iamina/iaminaiu, ‘qari[a]’ ‘glory’ (V 3) for ‘qara, and perhaps **almia** ‘world’ (VI 3) for **alma**. We have translated these throughout as singular according to the context.

Ll. 19–20: **ḡ-maṣuṣṣta** ‘of a lizard’. The traces of the descender of the second ṣ may be discerned by the left-hand margin, and the reading is confirmed by the parallel **mṣuṣa** [] (IM 1481 [Nu‘man 15]: 45). This word represents a new contribution to the Mandaic lexicon. In light of the parallelism, **ligraiu** **ḡ-maṣuṣṣta** // **udaraiun ḡ-br niṣiḥ** it is clear that **maṣuṣṣta** must be an animal with distinctive legs. We owe the identification of this animal as a lizard to Professor Hezy Mutzafi, who has compared similar forms in several dialects of North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, e.g., Christian Urmi ^{+mazuzta}.⁶⁹

Ll. 20–21: **br niṣiḥ** ‘young falcon’. Another new contribution to the Mandaic lexicon. The noun for a falcon, JBA נצח and Syriac بڤي, and its young *br nṣ* are known from various Aramaic dialects,⁷⁰ and are now also attested in Mandaic. Macuch’s reading **ḡ-br nuna** ‘die eines Fischessohnes’ (Ia 50) should be corrected accordingly. The plural form in our text raises a certain problem, but as we saw above regarding **hiṣukih**, such forms are attested in our scroll.

L. 21: **ugdanpaiun** ‘their wings’. To date, three nouns meaning ‘wing’ have been attested in Mandaic: **kanpa**, **ganpa**, and **gadpa**; compare in Macuch’s text **ugdpaiun** (Ia 50). The form **gdanpa** provides a fourth form as yet unattested in Mandaic. The form is otherwise attested in the related Eastern Aramaic dialects, JBA גדנפא and Syriac ܓܕܢܦܐ, with the meaning ‘edge’ or ‘brim’.⁷¹

Ll. 23–24: **uhṣata ṣuba ṣubilia ḡ-hibila** ‘seven ears of destruction’. We have taken **ṣubilia** ‘ears (as of corn)’ to be an undissimilated form of **ṣumbilia**, and understand it as a form of wreath or crown. Macuch read **uhaṣta ṣuqia ṣaria ḡ-hbi[la]briṣaiun mhtilun** ‘Und jetzt öffnen sich die Märkte, die in ihren Enden die Zerstörung ausstrecken’ (Ia 51–52), while in the parallel from the Iraqi Museum, Nu‘man read **uṣlkata ṣuba ṣulia ḡ-hbila iatbil[h] bibi[...]** (IM 1481 [Nu‘man 15]: 45), which she interpreted ‘seven questions [from the world of darkness] which weakened him and came to him’.⁷² Regrettably, the photographs reproduced in her work do not allow for the collation of the reading at this point. However, if we assume that this is a misreading of a broken **bri[ṣaiun]**, it is possible to interpret most of her text as ‘seven apprentices of destruction sit at her head’, which may feasibly also be the correct interpretation of our text.⁷³

Ll. 28–32: **aklia bnia uṣaqqia bnia uhnqia bnia unasabia bnia** ‘They (were) eating children and afflicting children and strangling children and taking away children’. The injurious activities that are here ascribed to the maleficent forces are found in the identical order in other sources: **lilita marirta ḡ-gaḥḥia uaklia uṣaqqia uhanqia unasabia dam gḥilia** ‘The Lilitas that kill and eat and torment and strangle and take away the blood of the killed’ (Griffith 1: 8).⁷⁴ Compare further **ugaḥḥa uṣaqqia uhanqa dardqia udrdqata** ‘and kills and torments and strangles boys and girls’ (Louvre A.O. 2629: 4–5).⁷⁵ In light of our text, Macuch’s

69. See already Maclean 1901: 152, and compare Talshir 1981: 223. The word is entirely velarized, indicating the loss of an etymological ‘emphatic’.

70. Talshir 1981: 118–19.

71. Sokoloff 2002: 261–62; 2009: 207.

72. In the original: سبعة أسئلة [من عالم الظلام] الذين اضعفوه وجاءوا له.

73. Compare the similar expression דשב נשי חרשתא רכבין יתיה ותמני שולניתיהו ‘that seven sorceresses are riding with their eight apprentices’ (Moussaieff 164: 11, according to the interpretation of Morgenstern and Ford 2017: 222–24).

74. To be published in Ford and Morgenstern, in preparation.

75. Lidzbarski 1902: 102, republished in Yamauchi 1967: 230.

reading **adlzabanlia** (אדלזבאנליה) may be corrected to **aklia banlia** (אקליה באנליה) ‘they eat children’ (Ia 53–54).

Ll. 33–37: **umaltaqria qria bšuqia ušupta b’nia briata** ‘and accidents (were) being brought about in the streets and afflictions amidst the alleys’. The parallelisms **šuqia // biriata** and **qria // šupta** are fairly common in epigraphic sources, and have been discussed on several occasions in the scholarly literature.⁷⁶

L. 44: **azla ušaria ʿI libaiun d-gubria d-gubriā u’nišlia** ‘(was) going and settling on the hearts of men and women’. The demonic figure that settles on people’s hearts and leads them astray is described in detail in a recently published Mandaic bowl text: **šaria ʿI l’bbiun d-bnia anaša ukul iuma apkia l’bbiun d-bnia anaša** ‘that settle on people’s hearts and every day turn people’s hearts’ (Kaslik IBC 43: 18).⁷⁷

III. MS 2087/11 b

Ll. 2–3: **baltāiḇtāil** ‘in this world’. We have interpreted this unintelligible form as a scribal error for **bataibail**, which in regular Mandaic orthography would be written **btibil**.

Ll. 4–6: **lgbria gbria ulinišia šlilndiria** ‘for mighty men and . . . women’. The reading of **šlilndiria** is certain but we are unable to propose a convincing interpretation. From the parallelism, it would appear to be an adjective representing strength.

Ll. 9–11: **šup shra bra d-šupntan liliata** ‘Šup the *sahir* the son of Šupntan the Lilith’. These names appear to be unattested in other source, but compare **šupnia/šupnai lilita**, a name that appears in both epigraphic texts and in the Haran Gawaita.⁷⁸

L. 15: **umaurian sabia** ‘and blinders of old men’. It is equally possible to read **umaudian** ‘and destroyers of old men’ from the root a-w-d <*a-b-d. On the digraph **ia** in medial position to represent an *i/e* vowel, see above, §3.1.2.

Ll. 23–24: **lmitiria minaiun šurabalta** ‘because of their accidents families do not flourish’. The interpretation is questionable. Macuch’s parallel text reads **umitpradan minaiun šurblata** ‘und von ihren . . . fliehen die Generationen weg’ (Ia 79–80). We interpret here in light of passages in Classical Mandaic literature, e.g., **minaihun natnapaš alma ualma minaihun n’tiaiar** ‘Von ihnen wird die Welt sich vermehren, von ihnen die Welt neu erweckt werden’ (Gy 49: 7).⁷⁹

Ll. 32–33: **udalruqiania udalruqniata** (Fig. 10). We would expect to find here **udrdqunia udrdqunita** (with plene or defective orthography of the **a**). Compare above **ldrdalquinia . . . ldrdquniaita** (I 20–23) and in plene orthography **drdqunia udardquniata** (BM 103358 [Segal 099M]: 6). The scribe here clearly distinguishes between the **d** and **r**, and it is not possible to read **daduqiania** or the like.⁸⁰

Ll. 36–39: **uana sam ʿtita sam hiia asim ʿidai ʿlaiuaiun**. ‘And I, Sam the Predestined, Sam Hiia, I place my hand upon them’. Here we find several levels of word-play. **Sam Hiia** is both the name of a light spirit (e.g., Jb 217: 3) and can be interpreted ‘medicine of life’, in contrast to **sama d-muta** ‘deadly poison’ (Gy 216: 7). Furthermore, we find that the name resonates in the verbal form **asim** ‘I shall place’.⁸¹ Note that the 1 c.s. imperfect prefix here is the simple **a-**. Classical Mandaic would employ the prefix **ʿia-**, e.g., **ana manda d-hiia**

76. See Morgenstern and Schlüter 2016: 121, notes to MS 2087/10: 8–9, with previous literature.

77. Abu Samra 2013: 56.

78. Morgenstern and Schlüter forthcoming, notes to MS 2087/1 b 51.

79. Translation: Lidzbarski 1925: 45.

80. See Morgenstern 2010: 286.

81. For similar wordplay in MS 2087/1 a 25, see Morgenstern and Schlüter 2016: 121.



FIG. 10. *udalruqiania udalruqniata* ‘and boys and girls’ (III 32–33).

‘*iasim iaminai ʿlh* ‘And I, the Manda-*ḡ*-Hiia, shall place my right hand upon him’ (Gy 30: 4–5).⁸²

Ll. 49–59: *mn samalaiun liaminia umn iamina lsmalaliaiun mn ṭupraliaiuḡ ḡ-lgraliaiuḡ ulama zilmata ḡ-brišlaiun mn zimta ḡ-brišiuḡ ulama ṭupria ḡ-lgraiun* ‘from their left to their right, and from right to their left, from the nails of their feet to the hair of their head, from [the] hair of their head to the nails of their feet’. This formula has many parallels in Mandaic texts, both those preserved in epigraphic texts and those that are known to us only from late manuscripts. The formula’s function is to ensure that the client is protected from all directions. The first witness to such a formula already came to light in 1894 with the appearance the first Mandaic magic bowl edition by Pognon: *mn iaminun lsmalhun umn smalhun liaminun umn zimta ḡ-rišaihun ualma ṭupria ḡ-ligra[iu]n umn ṭupria ḡ-l[igraihun ua] lma zimta ḡ-rišaihun* (A.O. 14.963: 22–25).⁸³ Since then, additional examples have been discovered.⁸⁴

It is worth noting that as far as we have been able to ascertain, in all the other examples the order is opposite: right to left, left to right; hair of head to toenails, toenails to hair of head. In our scroll and Macuch’s parallel, left precedes right and the toenails precede the hair of the head. The doubled reversal in both parts of the formula show that this is not an accidental change. We may further note that in Jewish magic bowls we find an abbreviated version of this formula, and in these too the order is clear, e.g., *ותיתסי מין בינתא דראשה ועדמא טופרא דרגלה* ‘and may she be healed from the hair on her head until the nail of her feet’ (MS 1927/34: 15). Apart from this issue, the other variations between the formulae are of an orthographic or linguistic nature.

L. 54: *ulama . . . ulama* ‘to . . . to’. A word-initial vowel is sometimes omitted (elided?) on the addition of the prefixes *u/b/l*.⁸⁵ The other versions of this formula employ *ualma*.

82. Nöldeke 1875: 215; Macuch 1965: 257.

83. Pognon 1894, republished in Yamauchi 1967: 214 [no. 17]).

84. For a partial collection see Müller-Kessler 2005: 122. We may now add MS 2045/30: 17–18 and Moussaieff 139: 13–14.

85. Nöldeke 1875: 11; Macuch 1965: 24; Yamauchi 1967: 81.

Note that our text provides additional evidence for the Mandaic preposition **alma** followed directly by a noun, rather than by the preposition **I-**.⁸⁶

IV. MS 2087/10 b

Ll. 1–2: **puluhgdama** ‘word’. On the spelling, see above, §3.1.7.

L. 6: **qria bšuqia** ‘accident in the streets’. This should read **qria d-šuqia**, as in Macuch’s parallel **qiria d-šuqia** (Ia 104–05). The scribe has accidentally used the common expression employing the **b-** preposition found elsewhere (e.g., **I** 65, **II** 35). Our scribe did not repeat his error in the second half of the parallelism: **šuqpta d-briata** (**IV** 7–8).

Ll. 8–10: **udhit minia<un>** ‘šata uaruilata’ ‘And I repelled from <them> fever and chills’. In light of the formulaic structure here, we have assumed that the scribe accidentally omitted the letters **un**. The word pair ‘fever and chills’ is well attested in many Aramaic sources.⁸⁷

L. 16: **upīṭruata** ‘and enemies’. This is an indisputable plural form of the noun **piṭiara** (Middle Persian petyārag).⁸⁸ The feminine singular form **piṭiaruta** is based upon the pattern of abstract nouns, e.g., **uhumrta up’ṭiara up’ṭiaruta** ‘and (every) spirit and male and female adversaries’ (Greenfield-Naveh a verso 13–14). Accordingly, the plural form is based upon the abstract plural *-wātāl*, e.g., **udhumria udp’ṭiaria udp’ṭiaruta** ‘of spirits and male and female adversaries’ (idem, 28–29).

Ll. 18–52: Up to this point, our text has run parallel to Macuch’s amulet Ia 1–106. From the middle of line 18 this continuity is interrupted and our text runs parallel to Macuch’s Ic 1–20. Since the move to the other formula takes place in the middle of the amulet without any forewarning (i.e., no graphic indication of the end of one section and the start of another) we must assume that our scribe drew from a collection of magical formulae similar to that that stood before Macuch’s scribe but arranged in a slightly different order.

Ll. 22–28: **kul man d-hazin raza n’puk uhlin mumata lkdib ltamahia diua qria ušuqpta bīmhta d-khua ukubira** ‘Whosoever shall break this spell and breach this oath, let him be struck—*dev*, accident or affliction—by a powerful and mighty strike’. Compare: **kul shra d-mn hazin q’na hu d-mn hazin šurba hu d-hazin raza n’puk [. . .] uhlin mumata nišania n’mhia bmhita d-kahua ukbira** ‘any *sahir* that is from this brood, that is from this family, that will break this spell . . . and will transgress these oaths, let him be struck with a powerful and mighty strike’ (Moussaieff 23: 9–10).⁸⁹

The adjectival form **kubira**, parallel to **kbira** in the Moussaieff bowl, has been discussed above. It is interesting to note that though both texts read **n’puk**, our text reads **lkdib** (presumably *llikaddib*) in the D stem), while the Moussaieff parallel reads **nišania**. While the use of a-p-k in the meaning of ‘break an oath’ is well established,⁹⁰ as is š-n-y,⁹¹ the parallelism here firmly establishes the use of k-d-b with similar force. The use of k-d-b in this meaning is found in several Mandaic texts; we present here some representative examples. Epigraphic sources: **ukul shra bkinianh d-hazin raza n’pik hlin mumata n’kadib n’nud Ḥh baita** ‘any *sahir*, whatever its family, that breaks this spell (or) contravenes this oath, may the house collapse upon him’ (IM 124745 [Nu‘man 10]: 5–6); manuscript sources: **kul man**

86. On this issue, see Morgenstern 2010: 287.

87. See Morgenstern 2010: 289 and Ford 2011: 272–73.

88. For a detailed discussion of this noun and its etymology see the discussion by S. Shaked *apud* Greenfield and Naveh 1985: 106.

89. This text will be published in Ford and Morgenstern, in preparation.

90. See in detail Greenfield 2001: 93–103.

91. Greenfield 1974: 82–83.

ḏ-lhazin raza nibar⁹² **unipsa lhalin ʿumamata nikadib nitia ʿlauḥ tbara urgala uʿhdara uʿsura** ‘anyone who transgresses this spell and contravenes, and breaks these oaths, may there come upon him calamity and entrapment and enclosing and binding’ (*Pašar Mihla*, RRC // DC 40: 526–9). k-d-b here is semantically equivalent to **ק"ר** in Biblical Hebrew and the Sefire inscription,⁹³ while Rabbinic Hebrew employs the D-stem gerunds **שיקרר** and **שיניר** synonymously in the meaning of ‘betrayal, breach of trust’.⁹⁴

Ll. 33–35: **šalmat[a] uagzaralta** ‘ban and a decree’. Hendiadion. The etymological spelling of the first word appears in later manuscripts, e.g., **šamadta uagzarta** (*Qmaha ḏ-Šir Sahara*, DC 43A:111; *Qmaha ḏ-Bit Mišqal Ainia* DC 28:96). We also find the order of the elements reversed, e.g., **agzarta ušamta** (Tarshish 29–30).⁹⁵ It is unlikely that **uagzaralta** here is a plural form; rather the **a** represents plene orthography of the *shewa*. On this phenomenon see above, §3.1.3.

Ll. 35–39: **nʿnziun unalʿariaiun . . . bšumak**. ‘Let them be repelled and removed . . . by your name’. As is common in the language of our scribe, the final syllable */-un/* has shifted to */-iun/*. The two verbs, n-z-y and a-ṭ-r (<*-ṭ-r) are also found in tandem in an early Mandaean prayer that contains many parallels to Mandaic magic texts: **ninzun uniṭrun bšumak iatira** ‘may they be repelled and removed by your preeminent name’ (CP 33: 17–18 // ML 39: 9).⁹⁶ The verbs also appear together in spells preserved in later Mandaic manuscripts, e.g., **hšta zha aṭar kpaš uʿtbrih** ‘and now, be repelled and removed, be cut off(?) and betake yourself out’ (BM 135793 I b 22–23 // Christie’s scroll 87–88).⁹⁷ Very similar formulae appear in a manuscript spell: **hašta zha aṭar ukbuš**⁹⁸ **utbaṭal upra upuq uʿtrahaq minai** ‘be repelled and removed, be cut off(?) and be annulled and fly and be distanced from me’ (*Pašar Mihla* RRC // DC 40: 859–61), and **azha aṭar ukbuš utbaṭal utbarun utrahaqiu** ‘be repelled and removed and annulled and betake yourself out and be distanced’ (DC 46. 30: 11–12 // DC 45. 21:17, CS 27. 38b: 11–12, BM 23602B fol. b). Compare also **uninzun unikiṭṣun uniṭrun mn baith udurḥ uhiklḥ** ‘and may they be repelled and cut off(?) and removed from his house and home and estate’ (MS 2054/104: 46–47).

92. The manuscript and parallel copy DC 40: 526 read **nibad** ‘will do’, but from the context this must be interpreted as a slight graphic error for **nibar** ‘will transgress’.

93. Greenfield 2001: 890.

94. Kahana 1990: 77–83 (English summary, p. VIII).

95. To be published in Ford and Morgenstern, in preparation.

96. The textual evidence for the expression **ninzun uniṭrun** that Lidzbarksi presents in ML 37: 7 is tenuous; see Euting 1867: 13b l. 24. Furthermore, his discussion of the verbs in question in n. 2 must be overlooked in light of subsequent discoveries.

97. Christie’s scroll published in Müller-Kessler 1999: 443. Müller-Kessler translated the verb **ʿtbarih** ‘zerreiße’ as though from the root t-b-r, but it is better regarded as derived from the denominative b-r-y ‘be taken out’, as this latter verb is common in exorcism spells. See for example **sab razaikin uqbail ʿumamatkian uʿtbaria mn hazin baita udura uhikla** ‘take up your spells and accept your oaths and take yourselves (f.pl.) out of this house and dwelling and homestead’ (MS 2054/68: 11–12), **uʿtrahaq uʿtbarun lʿliata zikria unuqbata mn baith durih hikliḥ ubinianḥ ḏ mar š[i]mun br š[i]šin** ‘And be distanced and take yourselves out, male and female Lilitis, from the house and dwelling and homestead and building of Mar Š[i]mun son of Š[i]šin (MS 2054/86: 16), **uʿtbrun uʿtrahaq mn quldamiḥ** (Wolfe 89: 25–26), **uʿtbaria uʿtrahaq mn qudmaiun** (Wolfe 89: 37–38). In all of these examples, the III-y root b-r-y employed is morphologically distinct from the accompanying sound verbs.

98. To date, this root is attested in epigraphic sources as k-p-š and in the later manuscripts as k-b-š. In addition to the examples cited here, we may add the bowl spell **nʿnzun unibaṭṭun unikaṭṣun unitrahqun mn biḥ uʿskupṭḥ** ‘may they be repelled and annulled and cut off(?) and be distanced from his house and his threshold’ (IM 124900 [Nuʿman 4]: 19–20).

Ll. 46–47: [bšar]šira [d-arqa]. ‘with the ch[ain of the earth]’. The reconstruction is based upon Macuch’s parallel (Ia 17–18). Compare also **bšar šira d-arqa bzarzi’il ‘siqta** ‘by the chain of the earth, by Zarz’il the Seal’ (DC 43B 15–16).⁹⁹

V. MS 2087/18 a

The present scroll is parallel to Macuch’s Ib 36–55. The two sides of the scroll represent a continuous text, as proven by the catchword at the end of the verso. See above, §2.

L. 3: **kursia d-‘qari[a]** ‘your throne of glory’. Macuch read in his text **kursiak d-arauata** ‘deinen Löwenthron’ (Ib: 37–38). For our reading, compare **uqam ‘utria ‘l karsauata d-ziua unhura u‘qara ušqal klilia min rišaiun uatnun lkarsauata d-ziua unhura u‘qara** ‘Then the Uthras approached the thrones of radiance and light and glory and they took the crowns off their heads and placed them on the thrones of radiance and light and glory’ (CP 2: 14–17 // ML 6: 10–7:1).

Ll. 11–12: **uarqa [] qādīa diuiaiun** ‘and the earth . . . their *devs*’. We are uncertain how to translate this line. Instead of **qādīa**, which may be translated ‘shrieks’ or ‘sprouts’, it is also possible to read **qāria**. Neither reading suits the context. Macuch’s parallel presents an entirely different reading: **šumia kipa umha ‘tahia d-bguḥ qadia siblḥ uarqa qadia dnalḥ šmš usira** ‘Der Himmel ist gebeugt und schlägt die Götter, die darin aufsprießen und geduldet(?) werden. Und die Erde bringt hervor, über ihr sind die Sonne und der Mond aufgegangen’ (Ib 41–44). It is hard to determine whether our text has accidentally omitted several words of the formula, but Macuch’s transliteration and translation are also problematic. It is to be hoped that the discovery of additional parallels will clarify this opaque passage.

Ll. 13–14: **šamiš usira ‘tiamlia** ‘the sun and the moon filled’. **‘tiamlia** ‘filled’ may be interpreted as a Gt 3 f.pl. perfect.¹⁰⁰ It seems that the gender of **šamiš** and **sira** varies in sources. In some cases we find they are masculine, e.g., **šamiš usira baḥlin** (Jb 46: 4; compare Gs 56: 2–3), but in other manuscripts feminine: **šamiš usira baḥlan** (Jb 46: 4, CS 10).¹⁰¹ This lack of unity is found also in our amulet, as Macuch’s parallel text reads here **‘tmlun** (Ib 44), and it appears that in the continuation of our text the scribe moves to m.pl.

Ll. 16–17: **adrik silpiaiun** ‘raised their rapiers’. The reading is clear and a translation of raising or grasping is contextually required, but such a use of the root d-r-k is not otherwise known to us from Aramaic. We may tentatively suggest that the final **k** represents the palatalization of the word-final vowel of the verb **adri**. Similar forms are found in other Neo-Aramaic dialects.¹⁰²

VI. MS 2087/18 b

Ll. 1–3. The scribe repeats the first four lines of the recto. The practice of repeating certain words to ensure the correct ordering of the materials is known from other sources,¹⁰³ but the repetition of entire lines is less frequent.

Ll. 11–12: **kd d-hziatiḥ[iun]** ‘when I saw them’. For the pleonastic use of **kd + d**, compare **kd d-hzit lqudam hiia** ‘when I saw before the Life’ (Gy 75: 5) and other such examples.¹⁰⁴

99. See Ford 2002: 245–46.

100. On specifically feminine 3 pl. forms see Nöldeke 1875: 264.

101. The interpretation of the data is somewhat complicated by the fact that in the same context we find **arqa u‘šumia baḥlan** (Jb 46: 3 with variant **baḥlin**), and the use of the m.pl. participle for f.pl. nouns (Nöldeke 1875: 411).

102. Professor Hezy Mutzafi has drawn our attention to Christian Salmas *da:ri ~ da:rich* (esp. pausal) ‘they should put’.

103. See Müller-Kessler 2002: 184 and Morgenstern and Schlüter 2016: 125 n. 7.

104. Nöldeke 1875: 463; Macuch 1965: 457.

Ll. 17–18: **uḫ[ik]rīt ʿidaïun lʿh[urli]a ḡmábáïaiun** ‘and I b[ou]nd their hands beh[ind] their backs’. The tying of demons’ hands behind their backs is equated in several texts to the blocking of magical spells in their mouths, e.g., **uħrimia ra[z]ia ḡ-bpumik pkira ʿidik lʿħuria gambik ligrik bšš[ll]ta ḡ-przla** ‘Banned are the spells that are in your mouth, your hands are bound behind your back, your legs with chains of iron’ (MS 2054/122: 18), **sdimia uħrimia razia ḡ-bpumik pkʿra ʿidik lʿħuria gambik** ‘Shackled and banned are the mysteries that are in your mouth, your hands are bound behind your back’ (Moussaieff 139: 17).¹⁰⁵

105. Ford and Morgenstern, in preparation. Compare BM 91715 [Segal 084M]: 11 and BM 91780 [Segal 085M]: 13.

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