

THE BIBLE
IN THE
ARAMAIC MAGIC BOWLS

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the ages, holy texts have been used in the magical practices of many different peoples and nations. Quotations from holy texts frequently appear in magic spells and incantations, as the holy written word was deemed to render a magic act more effective through its holy power. The Jewish magic of late antiquity was no exception; indeed, artifactual and literary evidence shows, that without a doubt, material from the Hebrew Bible was used in Jewish magic as early as the pre-Exilic period.

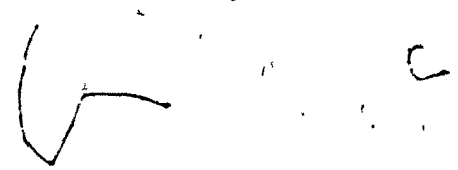
The Aramaic Magic Bowls, a type of magical amulet produced in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, are artifactual evidence of the use of Biblical references and quotations in the Jewish magic of the Talmudic and Geonic periods. This thesis contains a comprehensive survey and analysis of the use of Biblical references and quotations in the Bowls.

After an introduction, in which the history of publication of the Bowls and the main issues of scholarly inquiry and debate are outlined, the general magical function of the Biblical material in the Bowls is explored.

A detailed examination of the magical significance and function of each Biblical reference and quotation follows. The use of these quotations and references in both Jewish and non-Jewish magic literature is noted, as is any magical or anti-demonic tradition associated with them in the Midrashim.

Finally, the relationship between the Magic Bowls and Rabbinic culture is re-examined, using the treatment of Biblical material as a point of reference. Today's prevalent scholarly opinion holds that the magic of the Aramaic Bowls does not reflect Rabbinic culture; rather, it is closer to Hellenistic magic and the extra-Talmudic Jewish magic of late antiquity. I demonstrate, however, that the treatment of Biblical quotations and references in the Bowls has much in common with their treatment in Rabbinic literature. Furthermore, the use of Biblical quotations in actual magic spells in the period in question, occurs only in artifactual remains, like the Bowls, and in the Talmud. No other Jewish literary magic text from this period uses Biblical quotations as powerful ingredients in magic spells.

My findings suggest that, contrary to popular scholarly opinion, the magic of the Aramaic Magic Bowls has more in common with Rabbinic culture than has hitherto been thought. This conclusion is significant for our understanding of Jewish society in the Talmudic period, as it broadens our conception of Rabbinic beliefs and culture.



RESUME

A travers les époques, on retrouve l'utilisation de textes sacrés dans les pratiques magiques de divers peuples et nations. Des citations de textes sacrés se manifestent fréquemment dans des formules magiques et incantations, puisqu'on considérait que le mot sacré écrit pouvait, de par son pouvoir sacré, rendre un acte magique plus efficace.

La magie juive de la fin de l'Antiquité ne faisait pas exception. En effet, des preuves littéraires et matérielles démontrent que, sans aucun doute, on employait dans la magie juive des extraits de la Bible hébraïque et ce, dès la période précédant l'exil.

Les coupes magiques araméennes, sortes d'amulettes provenant de la Mésopotamie et de l'Asie Mineure, constituent des preuves matérielles de l'utilisation de citations et de références bibliques dans la magie juive des périodes talmudique et géonique. La présente thèse contient une étude et une analyse complètes de l'utilisation de citations et de références bibliques dans les coupes.

Après une introduction dans laquelle sont présentés l'histoire de la publication des coupes et les thèmes principaux de débats et d'intérêts érudits, la fonction magique générale du matériel biblique est explorée.

Vient ensuite une considération détaillée de la signification et de la fonction magiques de chaque citation et référence. L'emploi de ces citations et références dans la littérature magique juive est notée ainsi que toute

tradition magique ou anti-démoniaque qu'on leur associe dans les Midrashim.

Finalement, la relation entre les coupes magiques et la culture rabbinique est reconsidérée en utilisant le traitement du matériel biblique comme point de référence. L'opinion érudite courante actuelle maintient que la magie des coupes araméennes ne reflète pas la culture rabbinique mais qu'elle se rapproche plutôt de la magie hellénistique et de la magie juive extra-talmudique de la fin de l'Antiquité. Mon étude démontre, cependant, qu'il-y-a beaucoup en commun entre le traitement de citations et de références bibliques dans les coupes et celui de citations et de références bibliques dans la littérature rabbinique. De plus, l'emploi de citations bibliques dans des formules magiques de la période en question, ne se révèle que dans des vestiges matériels, comme les coupes, et dans le Talmud. Aucun autre texte magique littéraire juif de cette période n'utilise des citations bibliques en tant qu'ingrédients puissants dans des formules magiques.

Mes constatations suggèrent que, contrairement à l'opinion érudite populaire, la magie des coupes araméennes a un rapport plus étroit avec la culture rabbinique qu'on ne le pensait jusqu'ici. Cette conclusion est nécessaire à notre compréhension de la société juive de la période talmudique et élargit notre conception des croyances et de la culture rabbiniques.

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Remembering speechlessly we seek the great forgotten language, the lost lane-end into heaven, a stone, a leaf, an unfound door... and all the forgotten faces.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As early as the time of Hammurabi, the practice of religion and the practice of magic have often been viewed as separate and diametrically opposed activities by religious authorities. In spite of this, the line separating man's magical and religious impulses is often extremely vague. Even such a scholar as A.A. Barb, who deplores the existence of magical elements in religion, admits that in religious ritual and liturgy "there are elements which scarcely differ from magical acts and incantations."¹ Furthermore, even pagan magical incantations can show "lofty spiritual conceptions and belief...the conscience-stricken suppliant, crying to his god for relief from his sin."²

It is clear that there are magical elements in religion and religious elements in magic. Though there is a trend among 20th century historians of religion to deny any difference between the two,³ there is one fundamental difference. There is no magic that does not try to manipulate supernatural forces in order to cause some effect in man's environment. Regardless of how effective it might actually be, magic is perceived as an essentially manipulative device.

Religious practice, on the other hand, may indeed be just as manipulative in intent as magic: a man may pray in order to influence the good will of the supernatural, he may consciously fulfill the precepts of his religion in order to coerce his deity to grant him some concrete reward. However, religious practice is not, as is magic, manipulative by definition; it can, and often does, appear in a purely nonmanipulative form. We have ample evidence of religious souls, content to worship and contemplate their deity with no coercive or manipulative intent.

Even though this distinction between religion and magic is valid, the two need not be seen as diametrically opposed. Rather, they may be perceived as but two of the various spiritual paths by which the believer approaches the world of the supernatural.

Few historians of religion living today would admit that a debate over the relationship between religion and magic is a pressing issue in today's secular world. In the 20th century, the religious institutions of First World countries have lost their power to enforce dogmatic and political pressure on their often straying flock. Furthermore, the terrors and charms of both magic and religion hold little profound attraction for the average, secular, educated citizen of our day. Though this average, educated citizen might affirm or deny any number of beliefs

in the spectrum of the supernatural: God, U.F.O.s, angels, the power of Evil, Bigfoot, he would scarcely froth over with moral indignation if it were pointed out to him that his beliefs held elements of archaic magical practices. The prevailing attitude of the educated classes of our age towards faith in all its permutations is one of bemused tolerance. Religion is tolerated in our society, and for good reasons: religious institutions fulfill positive social functions and inculcate useful values in our children. Furthermore, the history of religion and the supernatural provides a deep wealth of raw plot material for popular films and novels.

Though religion is tolerated, it is scarcely taken seriously by the average, educated citizen. It is this very refusal to take religion seriously that allows the rise of fundamentalist right-wing, reactionary political blocs in Western democratic countries. The Left, not taking religion seriously, does not combat it on its own terms. Debate over the relationship of magic and religion, or over any other religious issue, cannot be conducted in an atmosphere of bemused tolerance.

However, though debates over the relationship between religion and magic are not of crucial relevance to today's secular world, an understanding of that relationship is crucial for a correct perception of the religious cultures

of the past. Such an understanding is especially important for the study of the development of the great, Western, monotheistic religions of late antiquity: Judaism and Christianity. In both religions, magical practices were outlawed and condemned by the authorities, based upon the Old Testament prohibitions against witchcraft, sorcery and divination.⁴ Jewish and Christian authoritative legal literature of the first five hundred years of the Common Era continues the Old Testament tradition by specifying many prohibitions against magical practices. In Talmudic literature, among other prohibitive measures, there is a list of forbidden superstitions and magical acts, called mi-darke ha-'Emori, "the Ways of the Amorites."⁵ The Church Fathers made repeated denunciations of magical practices, utterly denying them a place in Christianity.⁶ These denunciations were supported by the civil authority of the Christian Roman Emperors, who drafted repeated legislation against the practice of magic in its many forms.⁷

In spite of the denunciation of magical practices by both Jewish and Christian authorities, it is clear that this denounced magic was widely practiced by members of both religions in late antiquity. The record of repeated prohibitions itself, bears witness to this state of affairs. Furthermore, the large number of magic texts and artifacts that have survived, are ample evidence for the widespread

practice of magic. Magic, then, was formally prohibited, but commonly practiced among both Jews and Christians of late antiquity.

Scholars have spent long and thoughtful hours trying to account for this apparent contradiction. This is not the place to enter into a detailed review of the scholarly debate over the presence of magical practices in the Judaism and Christianity of late antiquity. However, scholarly opinions on the issue may be summarized as follows: on the one hand is a group of scholars who view magic as an integral part of the religious beliefs and practices of the period. To these scholars, magical and religious beliefs often cannot, and should not, be distinguished one from the other. In spite of the prohibitions present in the literature of the religious authorities, magic was simply a part of the religion of the time. Even the educated authorities often professed magical beliefs, and were regarded as magicians by the common people.⁸

A second group of scholars takes a totally opposite stand on the relationship between magic and orthodox religion. To these scholars magical belief is completely different from religious faith. Whatever magic existed in the Judaism and Christianity of the period, was deplored by the religious authorities. Sometimes they had to "give in" to popular opinion and tolerate certain magical practices,

but these they managed to clothe with the trappings of true religion. The presence of magic in the popular Judaism and Christianity of the period was but a leftover of the dying pagan religions of the East, and was utterly foreign to the true spirit of monotheism.⁹ A.A. Barb, for instance, calls the magic in the Christianity of late antiquity "rotten food...that the authorities concerned condemn...to the refuse heap as unfit for human consumption."¹⁰

In spite of their different conclusions, the two groups of scholars described above agree on one point: the magical beliefs and practices in the Judaism and Christianity of late antiquity have their roots in the pagan magic of the Ancient Near East and in Hellenistic magic.

It goes without saying that magical elements abounded in the various pagan religions of the Hellenistic age and of late antiquity; however, the presence of magic in these pagan religions does not bother the historian of religion. Magic is to be expected in pagan religions; it is not, however, consistent with monotheism. Therefore, one only has to account for its appearance in Judaism and Christianity.

The Aramaic Magic Bowls are important artifactual evidence of the place of magic in the Judaism of the Talmudic period. The inscriptions on the Magic Bowls belong to the large body of literature of late antiquity dealing

with magical practices.¹¹ The Bowls themselves are one of the many kinds of artifacts discovered in the archaeological digs of the 19th and 20th centuries, mostly in Mesopotamia, but also in Asia Minor and Iran. A Magic Bowl is a small, plain, terra cotta bowl, usually about 16 cm in diameter at the top, by 5 cm deep.¹² All evidence indicates that the Magic Bowls were buried under houses. The Bowls are inscribed with incantations, most often prophylactic, guaranteeing protection to an individual and his family and possessions. These incantations are usually written in a spiral form, starting at the middle of the bowl and circling outward to the rim. Incantations written in three different scripts appear in the Magic Bowls: 1) Judeo - Aramaic; 2) Syriac; 3) Mandaic. It is generally agreed that these three different scripts correspond to the three different ethnic groups who used the bowls: Jews wrote their Bowls in the Judeo - Aramaic square script, Christians wrote in a form of the Syriac Estrangelo script, while the pagan Mandaean wrote in Mandaic script. However, in spite of this general agreement, it appears that some individuals used Magic Bowls written in scripts not of their own dialect.¹³

The Magic Bowls date from the period of the rule of the Persian Sasanian dynasty in Mesopotamia, the 4th - 7th centuries A.D. In terms of Jewish history, they date from

the Talmudic and Pre-Geonic periods.¹⁴ Though some scholars say there are Moslem elements in the Bowls, it is generally agreed that they predate the Moslem conquest.¹⁵

The Magic Bowls were thus produced during the period in which Talmudic Judaism was formulated. The Judeo-Aramaic Magic Bowls are unequivocally Jewish: they contain particularly Jewish terminology and concepts and large amounts of Biblical material.¹⁶ The dialect in which they are written, is clearly a kind of Jewish Aramaic.¹⁷ The Aramaic Magic Bowls are also unequivocally magical; the inscriptions written in the Bowls are magical incantations, calling upon God and the powers of good to protect the specified individual from the multi-faceted powers of evil. Furthermore, the incantations on these obviously Jewish and decidedly magical Bowls are highly eclectic in nature; many pagan elements appear side by side with unequivocally Jewish ones.

The nature of the Magic Bowls renders them worthy objects of study for scholars of many disciplines. Scholarly studies of the Bowls have focused on various areas of inquiry: philological studies of the Aramaic of the Bowls, parallels between the Bowls and other Jewish and non-Jewish mystical and magical texts, the place of the magic of the Bowls in the history of magic...

In this thesis, I will focus on only one specific magical element used in the Magic Bowls: the use of the Bible, or Holy Scripture, in the magical incantation.

It is an aphorism among historians of magic, that the Holy Scripture of a people is commonly used for magical purposes in a variety of ways.¹⁸ John Hull writes:

Sacred texts, being writings which were believed to participate in the power of the spirit world of which they were revelations, and to contain the spirit force which had inspired them, have always been favourites when composing a magical prayer or spell of some kind.¹⁹

Joshua Trachtenberg states the same, in a more apologetic vein:

Many men have searched earnestly and devoutly in Scripture for a vision of eternal truth. But many, many more have been content to capitalize Scripture for professional ends... The Vedas among the Hindus, the Avesta and Tao-Teh-King (sic), Homer at the hands of the Greeks, the Old and New Testaments in Christian hands, the Koran in Mohammadan - for some men they have been storehouses of wisdom - for the masses, to whom through many centuries their contents were directly unknowable, they have been rather sacred works regarded as much with superstitious awe as with reverence, used as often for magical as for religious ends.²⁰

Holy Scripture, being in this case the Hebrew Bible, is used extensively in the magic of the Aramaic Magic Bowls. The Bowls contain Biblical phraseology and epithets, and

references and allusions to Biblical characters, places and events. The names of God and His angels used in the Bowls are often taken directly out of, or derived from, the Bible. The Bowls contain a number of liturgical phrases that are derived from the Bible. Furthermore, a sizeable number of the Bowls contain direct and indirect quotations from the Bible text.

I have chosen to highlight and analyze two of the Biblical elements used in the Magic Bowls: 1) reference to Biblical characters, places and events; 2) direct quotation from the Bible text. The thesis will consist of three main parts.

Part I consists of a survey of the existing scholarship on the Bowls. After a review of the history of publication of the Aramaic Magic Bowls, the main issues of scholarly inquiry and debate will be outlined.

Part II of the thesis consists of a comprehensive survey of the use of Biblical references and quotations in the Bowls. Listing each reference and quotation separately, I will comment on their magical significance and function. The treatment of these references and quotations in other magical literature and in the Midrashim, will also be presented.

Based upon the information gleaned from my close examination of the Biblical material in the Bowls themselves,

I will address a broader historical question in Part III: what does the use of Biblical material in the Magic Bowls reveal about the place of such magic in Talmudic Judaism? In order to arrive at a conclusion, the use of Biblical quotations in the magic preserved in the Talmud, and in Jewish magic texts of the Talmudic and Geonic periods, will be compared and contrasted with their use in the Bowls.

It is my opinion that the use of Biblical material in the Bowls is in many ways similar to its use in Talmudic and other Rabbinic sources.

Footnotes

Chapter I - Introduction

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3. Barb, "Survival," p. 100, for a list of references to those holding this view.
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5. Tosefta Shabbat chs. 6 - 7. Discussion in Judah Goldin, "The Magic of Magic and Superstition," in Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity, ed. E. Schussler Fiorenza (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), pp. 115-119.
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The Jewish Encyclopedia (New York: Funk and Wagnalls,
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 20. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 105.

PART I

SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS OF AND ABOUT THE MAGIC BOWLS

CHAPTER II

A Review of the Publication of the Aramaic Magic Bowls

Only the Aramaic Magic Bowls are direct points of focus in my study; thus, I have not included the history of publication of the Mandaic and Syriac Bowls. However, valuable general information on Magic Bowls and kindred topics is frequently contained in publications dealing with them.¹ I have, therefore, referred to such information when it adds to my discussion of the main issues of scholarly inquiry.

Since 1853, a small but ever-present group of scholars has been studying and publishing Magic Bowls. Interest in the Bowls was ignited in that year, when Austen H. Layard published the results and findings of his archaeological expedition to Mesopotamia, sponsored by the British Museum. Layard included the texts and translations of six Magic Bowls, five Aramaic and one Syriac, in his publication.² These Bowls were deciphered and translated, not by Layard, but by Thomas Ellis of the British Museum staff. Unfortunately, both Ellis' readings and his facsimiles of the Bowls are highly unreliable, being full of errors. In spite of this, the work of Layard and Ellis served to attract

the attention of the European scholarly community to Magic Bowls, as a fertile field of study for Semitic philologists and historians of religion.³

Between 1853 and 1913, a number of European scholars published and translated Magic Bowls in various scholarly journals.⁴ However, a sizeable number of these publications were but the republication and rereading of previously published texts.⁵

In 1913, James A. Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania made his debut as the first North American scholar of the Bowls. His Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur was the first monograph on the subject of Magic Bowls. After more than 70 years, this is still the classic work on the subject. In his work, Montgomery published and translated 40 previously unknown Magic Bowl texts, unearthed in the archaeological expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to Nippur: 30 Aramaic, seven Syriac, and three Mandaic texts. Apart from his publication of these 40 original texts, Montgomery wrote a lengthy and comprehensive introduction to the subject of the Bowls, and included a thorough commentary on the text of each individual Bowl. For the first time, accurate plates of the Bowls were appended to the work, and an index was supplied.

Montgomery looks at the Magic Bowls from all angles: he discusses the script and the language of the Bowls, their

magical elements and procedures, their place in the history of magic, their demonology and angeology. Though some of Montgomery's comments have a decidedly 19th century ring to the modern ear,⁶ his work remains the best available introduction to the study of the Magic Bowls.

Montgomery's readings, however, do contain errors of transcription and of translation. These errors were commented on and corrected by the critical remarks of G.W. Brown,⁷ George Barton,⁸ and Axel Moberg.⁹ However, it remained for Dr. Jacob Epstein to write a thorough critique of Montgomery's readings. Epstein systematically corrected readings in all 40 of Montgomery's Bowls. Epstein's valuable corrections should always be used alongside Montgomery's texts to insure a correct reading.¹⁰

Since Montgomery, the most prolific publisher of Aramaic Magic Bowls has been his student, the American scholar, Cyrus H. Gordon. Beginning in 1934, Gordon has published numerous original Magic Bowls in a series of articles. Gordon accompanies his publications of the texts with brief introductions on the history and the magic of the Bowls. He comments on many different aspects of the Bowl texts in his detailed commentaries: script and language, comparative philology, the names of angels, demons and divine figures, the history of magic. Altogether he has published 29 Magic Bowls, 25 Aramaic and four Mandaic.¹¹

Apart from the work of Cyrus Gordon, the 1940's and 1950's were years of drought for the publication of Magic Bowls. The only scholar, besides Gordon, to publish original Magic Bowls during these decades was Julian Obermann. Obermann published two Aramaic Bowls in 1940.¹² In 1953 William Rossell, a student of Cyrus Gordon, included a number of Magic Bowl texts in the Appendix of his Aramaic grammar based on the Bowls, but all of these texts had been published previously.¹³

In the 1960's, the 1970's and the 1980's, interest in the Magic Bowls infected a number of scholars. I. Jérusalimi presented a doctoral dissertation on Magic Bowls to the Sorbonne in 1963.¹⁴ Of the twelve Aramaic Bowls examined by Jérusalimi, only three were published for the first time.

Back on the North American continent, Edwin Yamauchi, another student of Gordon's known mainly for his work on the Mandaic Magic Bowls and on pre-Christian Gnosticism, published one Aramaic Bowl text in 1965.¹⁵ William McCullough followed Yamauchi in 1967, publishing five Bowls, two Aramaic and three Mandaic, from the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.¹⁶ In 1975, Charles Isbell published his doctoral dissertation, submitted in 1973 under the supervision of Cyrus Gordon: The Corpus of the Aramaic Magic Bowls.¹⁷ In his dissertation, Isbell collected the Aramaic Magic Bowls

that had been published previously by other scholars. Isbell introduces his collection of texts with a scanty introduction focusing on the praxis of "bowl magic." His comments on the texts are sparse and lack direction. Indeed, Isbell's book is remarkable only for its uselessness; one must consult the original publications of the texts for any serious study of the Magic Bowls. The only redeeming feature of Isbell's work is that it is easy to obtain, whereas the publications in the older journals are not readily available.

In 1976, two scholars published Magic Bowls in North America: Charles Isbell published two original Bowls,¹⁸ and Markham Geller published one Syriac and one Aramaic text.¹⁹ Geller continued his work on the Magic Bowls with his publication of four original Aramaic Magic Bowl texts in 1980.²⁰

A Finnish scholar, Tapani Harvianinen, has kept the fires of Magic Bowl scholarship burning in Europe: in 1981 he published one original Aramaic text with extensive notes. Harvianinen's interest in the Bowls is centered on aspects of language: script, orthography, grammar and comparative philology.²¹

The publications of most scholars after Gordon, have followed his method of commenting on the Bowls: a brief general introduction, followed by the texts, the translation, and a line by line commentary on the text. The commentary

includes various kinds of information on Magic Bowls in general and the Magic Bowl in question in particular: the language, the magical praxis, the names of angels, demons and divine figures, the history of magic, and so on.

Only one scholar, Stephen Kaufman, takes a different approach. In 1973, Kaufman published the text of an unusual Magic Bowl from Nippur.²² The text of this Magic Bowl consists solely of verses from the Hebrew Bible and the Targum. Due to this Bowl's unusual nature, Kaufman focuses on the question of the use of Bible verses in the Magic Bowls in his article. His article thus, concentrates on one question, not on a variety of related issues, as did the articles of other scholars.

The most recent work on the Aramaic Magic Bowls is the 1985 book Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity, by the Israeli scholars Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked.²³ Published here for the first time are the texts of 15 amulets, 13 Magic Bowls and eight magical Geniza fragments. Naveh and Shaked preface their presentation of the texts with a lucid, informative and thorough introduction. The introduction focuses both on the characteristics of the texts themselves, and on the place of Jewish magic in the magic of late antiquity. Each text is supplied with a thorough, careful, line-by-line commentary. The commentary focuses on comparative philology,

and on parallels between the Magic Bowls and other Jewish works. A thorough bibliography, various indices, a glossary, and plates make this book a paradigmatic model of a work of its kind. Scholars in any field would do well to imitate Naveh and Shaked's presentation and thoroughness. The one criticism that can be made of their work is their tendency to be overenthusiastic in their identification of Biblical parallels in the Magic Bowl texts.²⁴

Footnotes

Chapter II

A Review of the Publication of the Aramaic Magic Bowls

1. See Hamilton, Syriac Incantation Bowls for a good introduction to the history of "bowl magic" and of Magic Bowl research.
See Edwin M. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantation Texts (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1967), for a thorough discussion of different magical elements appearing in the Magic Bowls.
2. Austen H. Layard, Discoveries Among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1856), pp. 434-448.
3. Layard, Among the Ruins, pp. 434-448. See Montgomery's evaluation of Layard's work in Montgomery, Nippur, pp. 16-17.
4. - M.A. Levy, "Über die von Layard aufgefundenen chaldäischen Inschriften auf Topfgefassen," Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, ix (1855).
- J.M. Rodwell, "Remarks on a Terra-Cotta Vase," TSBA, ii (1873).
- M. Halévy, "Observation sur un vase judéo-babylonien du British Muséum," Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, series iv, vol v (for 1877; Paris: 1878).
- Chwolson, Corpus inscriptionum hebraicarum, (St. Petersburg: 1882), p. 113.
- Moise Schwab, "Un vase judéo-chaldéen de la Bibliothèque Nationale," REJ, iv (1882), p. 165.
_____, "Une coupe d'incantation," Revue de l'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, i (1886), p. 117.
_____, "Les coupes magiques et l'hydromancie dans l'antiquité orientale," Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, xii (1891), p. 292.
_____, "Coupes à inscriptions magiques," Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, xiii (1892), p. 583.
_____, "Deux vases judéo-babyloniens," Revue d'assyriologie, ii (1892), p. 136.

Script," Orientalia 18 (1949), pp. 336-341.
"Two Magic Bowls in Teheran,"
Orientalia 20 (1951), pp. 306-315.
"Two Aramaic Incantations," in
Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor
of W.S. LaSor, ed. Gary A. Tuttle, (Grand Rapids: Wm.
B. Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 231-244.

12. Julian Obermann, "Two Magic Bowls: New Incantation Texts from Mesopotamia," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature 57 (1940), pp. 1-31.
13. William H. Rossell, A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts, (Shelton Semitic Series, Number two), (New Jersey: 1953).
14. I was unable to obtain this thesis for a firsthand perusal, however it is described by Victor Hamilton in the introduction to his own doctoral dissertation on the Syriac Magic Bowls: Hamilton, Syriac Incantation Bowls, pp. 4-5
15. Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Aramaic Magic Bowls," Journal of the American Oriental Society 85 (1965), pp. 511-523.
16. William S. McCullough, Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).
17. Charles D. Isbell, The Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature and the Scholars Press, 1975).
18. Charles D. Isbell, "Two New Aramaic Magical Incantation Bowls," BASOR 223 (1976), pp. 15-23.
19. Markham Geller, "Two Incantation Bowls Inscribed in Syriac and Aramaic," BSOAS 39 (1976), pp. 442-427.
20. Markham Geller, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," in The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon, ed. G. Rendsburg, (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1980), pp. 47-60.
21. Tapani Harviainen, "An Aramaic Incantation Bowl from Borsippa," Studia Orientalia 51:14 (1981).

22. Stephen Kaufman, "A Unique Magic Bowl from Nippur," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 32 (1973), pp. 170-174.
23. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls.
24. Eg. Ibid., p. 166: Naveh and Shaked try to connect line 3 of Bowl 6 slm lyky mdynt' d'myh sgy sgy... with Jonah 4:9.

CHAPTER III

The Main Issues of Scholarly Inquiry and Debate

Scholarly research on the Aramaic Magic Bowls has focused on a number of issues. Discussions of these issues are found mainly in introductions to, and in comments on the published incantation texts; however, discussions of the Magic Bowls are also to be found in the works of other scholars, who use the evidence provided by the Bowls to support their ideas.

The main issues of scholarly inquiry and debate concerning the Aramaic Magic Bowls are as follows:

- A) The Language of the Magic Bowls
- B) The Magic of the Magic Bowls
- C) The Magic Bowls in the History of Magic
- D) The Magic Bowls and Jewish Society of the Talmudic Period
- E) The Magic Bowls and Other Bodies of Jewish Literature

A) The Language of the Magic Bowls

Every scholar who has published Magic Bowls, has discussed aspects of their language. Obviously, a detailed analysis of all aspects of language: script, orthography, grammar, morphology, is necessary for a correct reading of a text. Both Montgomery and Naveh and Shaked present concise, general introductions to the language of the Bowls in their respective works.¹

Some scholars, however, focus their comments almost exclusively on aspects of language. Obermann, for instance, focuses on the problems the orthography of the Magic Bowl texts pose for their decipherment, and on their dialect of Aramaic.² Harviainen deals almost exclusively with aspects of language in his publications.³ William Rossell constructs a grammar of Babylonian Aramaic based upon the evidence of the Bowls.⁴ Gordon,⁵ Geller,⁶ and Naveh and Shaked⁷ use comparative philology as a tool for deciphering the texts.

Though scholars may disagree over various readings in the Bowl texts, all agree that the Bowls are written in a dialect of Babylonian-Jewish Aramaic closely resembling that of the Babylonian Talmud.⁸

B) The Magic of the Magic Bowls

1. The Purpose of Magic Bowl Magic

A magical incantation, or a magical artifact, is never employed without a concrete purpose in mind. The client who uses magic, intends to summon super-human powers, and to cause them to perform his will.

In the mid-19th century, Austen Layard guessed at the magical purpose of the Magic Bowls; he called them "charms buried with the dead, or employed for some purpose at funeral ceremonies afterwards placed in the grave."⁹ Layard does not explain why the Bowls were placed in graves, nor what purpose they served at funeral ceremonies. Scholars after Layard have, however, discovered that the Bowls were buried under houses, not deposited in graves. As for the purpose of the Bowls' burial beneath houses, there has been unanimous agreement: they were used for magical protection. Charles Isbell psychologizes about the need for magical protection:

...(These people's)...concerns differed very little from those which are expressed in any age or set of circumstances. These people are seeking a handle on life and the forces of nature. They longed for security, for health, for safety, for confidence that things really would turn out well. They believed protection was necessary, protection...from things which could not be predicted or understood through 'normal' channels. Lacking psychiatrists, someone to sell them a piece

of the rock' and scientific explanations for numerous basic features of life, they turned to magic.¹⁰

Isbell's statement that Magic Bowls were used primarily for protection is undoubtedly true. The Magic Bowls are primarily domestic phylacteries, or amulets, meant to protect a client's home from various kinds of evil spirits.¹¹

Montgomery identifies the prophylactic purpose of the Magic Bowl with that of the mezuzah: he holds that just as the mezuzah was affixed to the doorframe to ensure the protection of a house, so were the Magic Bowls buried beneath the house to ensure the same.¹²

Wallis Budge, following Pliny the Elder, defines an amulet as an object endowed with magical powers and which of its own accord uses these powers ceaselessly on behalf of the person who carries it or who possesses it.¹³

According to this definition, Magic Bowls are indeed a kind of magical amulet; Budge himself classifies them as such.¹⁴

Though most all Magic Bowls are clearly protective amulets, a few Bowls of quite a different sort have been discovered. Two Bowls are inscribed with a charm meant to arouse love.¹⁵ Naveh and Shaked published a unique Bowl inscribed with a curse meant to inflict evil upon an enemy.¹⁶ Bowls with these types of inscriptions are, as their number indicates, extremely rare. Most known Magic Bowls, whether

whether Aramaic, Syriac or Mandaic, are prophylactic magical amulets.

2. The Praxis of Magic Bowl Magic

Most all magical acts consist of two distinct but related parts: 1) an incantation; and, 2) a ritual action. These two parts of the magical act are commonly known to historians of magic by the Greek terms: klesis and praxis.¹⁷ The klesis was a recitation of words, spoken aloud, that invoked the power of whatever supernatural being was being summoned. The praxis consisted of some symbolic, ritual action, usually in some way illustrative of the klesis.¹⁸ Both the klesis and the praxis have an effect on the success of the magical act; indeed, the performance of either alone could not insure success.

Surviving magic texts show us that ancient Babylonian and Sumerian¹⁹ and Hellenistic magic²⁰ were structured according to this two-part magical act: the klesis and the praxis. Scholars of the Magic Bowls have assumed that the magic of the Bowls must be understood according to this system. However, discovering the praxis of Magic Bowl magic is distinctly problematic. For, whereas ancient Babylonian and Hellenistic magical texts clearly describe both the klesis and the praxis of any given magical act, the Magic Bowl do not, being in themselves magical amulets, not books

of magical instruction like the Babylonian and Hellenistic texts. The incantations inscribed in the Bowls can clearly be seen as the klesis; we have, however, no description of the praxis that accompanied the recitation of the incantations.

Scholars since Layard and Ellis have argued over the nature of the praxis of Magic Bowl magic. The Magic Bowl scholars of the 19th century proposed various solutions to this question. Ellis said the Bowls must have been filled with liquid, which was drunk by the client. Layard opposed this theory, saying that the ink inscriptions were too fresh to have been immersed in liquid; he claimed the Bowls to be funerary charms, but did not specify their praxis. In 1873, J.M. Rodwell suggested that the Bowls were related to divining cups, such as that used by Joseph in Genesis 44. Later, Hyvernat and Pognon both claimed the Magic Bowls were traps in which noxious demons were imprisoned. The praxis of the Bowls consisted of burying them upside down, with some sort of accompanying ritual. Wohlstein, in 1893, suggested that the very act of writing the incantation on a vessel was, in itself, a particularly Jewish praxis. Schwab proposed that the Bowls are evidence of the practice of hydromancy, divination by using water or other liquids.²¹

None of the scholars whose praxis theories are described above, tried to discover the praxis through a

perusal of the incantation-texts themselves. Beginning with Montgomery, however, scholars began to approach the recovery of the praxis by a new method: since the Bowls are merely recitational texts lacking any instructions on how and when they are to be employed, one must try to detect in the texts themselves evidence of the praxis.²² Basing himself upon evidence within the actual incantation texts, Montgomery came to the conclusion that Hyvernât and Pognon were correct: the Bowls were meant to be prison traps for the demons. The praxis accompanying the burial of the Bowls was a kind of sympathetic magic: just as the incantation (the klesis) reads, "This press I press down upon thee...", so did the Bowls press down upon the demons. Montgomery brings archaeological evidence to support his theory: most of the Bowls were discovered buried upside down, this rendering them effective as demon traps.²³

Gordon rejected Montgomery's theory; according to Gordon, no home-owner would voluntarily trap demons beneath his home. Clients would want to get rid of the evil spirits, not keep them close by. Originally, Gordon suggested that the Magic Bowls are a form of "skull magic"; being similar in shape to skulls rendered the Bowls magically effective. The discovery of skulls inscribed with incantations like those of the Magic Bowls, lent weight to this theory.²⁴ Later on in his career, Gordon professes a different opinion

on the matter: he states that the overturning of a Bowl corresponded to the spell written within it, in which the powers of good are invoked to "overturn" the demons. The overturning of the Bowl is thus a kind of sympathetic magical act; the ritual act of inverting the Bowl corresponds to the simultaneous recitation of the incantation.²⁵

Most 20th century Magic Bowl scholars with opinions on the praxis of the Bowls, side with either Montgomery or with Gordon. McCullough²⁶ and Naveh and Shaked²⁷ both side with Montgomery, claiming there is no reason why the Magic Bowls cannot be regarded as devil traps. In his earlier work, Isbell sides with Gordon.²⁸ However, in a later article he suggests that there was never one sole praxis associated with the magic of the Bowls: "Scholars have been looking for one thing when multiple answers may be necessary."²⁹ Yamauchi straddles both sides of the argument by claiming that both Gordon and Montgomery are, paradoxically, correct: "The bowls may have been intended to trap the demons and also to get rid of them -- which appears as a contradiction to us, but which apparently did not trouble the ancients."³⁰

Victor Hamilton offers a long discussion of the debate over Magic Bowl praxis.³¹ It is not easy to determine Hamilton's exact position on the matter, however, he offers

one novel conclusion: there is no real archaeological evidence, says Hamilton, to prove that the clients actually buried the Bowls. Perhaps they simply placed them in various places in their houses, unburied.³² All other scholars disagree with Hamilton, asserting that the Bowls were indeed buried.

The praxis of the Magic Bowls has constituted one of the main issues of scholarly contention in the study of the Bowls. However, if the Magic Bowls are viewed in a certain way, it is not necessary to postulate that their use necessitated a magical praxis. Magic Bowls are persistently viewed with the standard magical act of ancient Babylonian and Hellenistic magic, composed of klesis and praxis, as a point of reference. The truth of the matter is, we must question the validity of this view of the Magic Bowls. A Magic Bowl is not a magical act; it is a magical amulet. Now an amulet needs no praxis in order to be magically effective: when one dons an amulet, there is usually no ritual involved -- one merely puts it on. Furthermore, the words inscribed on an amulet, though they are words of power, do not need to be recited aloud in order to be effective. Thus, they need not be considered a klesis, in the usual sense of the term. The written words themselves have protective power, whether or not they are physically intoned.

Even in Hellenistic magic, where involved praxes are the rule, there is little evidence of a praxis for putting on an amulet. For example, a rite for driving out demons in the Greek Magical Papyri begins with a klesis and a praxis: the magician must place olive branches before the client, while reciting an incantation. He then must tie the olive branches together in a certain way, and use it like a whip as he utters the conjuration. Following the klesis and the praxis, the magician is told to make the client an amulet of tin with certain magic words written on it. He is then to hang it around him. There is no ritual to be performed while hanging the amulet; neither is the magician instructed to recite out loud the words written on the amulet.³³

Though scholars agree that the Magic Bowl is a kind of amulet, they fail to take this into consideration in their attempts to discover the praxis behind its use. Instead, the search for the praxis of the Magic Bowl has been spurred by two factors: 1) the association of the Magic Bowls with other kinds of "bowl magic" in which there definitely were kleses and praxes;³⁴ and, 2) the indiscriminate application of the structure of ancient Babylonian and Hellenistic magic to the Magic Bowls.

At the present time, no conclusive evidence has been found upon which to base a theory of Magic Bowl praxis.

Evidence inside the incantations themselves is not enough upon which to reconstruct the praxis. Indeed, if the Magic Bowl was regarded as an amulet, perhaps there never was a praxis connected with its use. Of course, there may have been traditions that were followed when installing a Magic Bowl, ie., burying it upside down; however, these traditions need not have been magical praxes, in the technical sense of the term.

Montgomery himself stated that the praxis was but a minor part of Bowl Magic. He differentiates between ancient Babylonian magic, in which the praxis was a primary element, and Magic Bowl magic. In the Magic Bowls, says Montgomery, and I agree, the written words themselves, the magic names, syllables and phrases, possessed a power⁷ capable of binding demons without the performance of a praxis.³⁵

3. Magical Elements in Magic Bowl Incantations

There has been much debate over the praxis of Magic Bowl magic, precisely because its nature is so elusive. The magical elements in the incantation texts, are a source of much less debate, because they are clearly identifiable. Studies of these elements have tended to be descriptive, rather than analytical.³⁶

The usual structure of the magical incantation in the Bowls is as follows: an invocation to the divine protective

powers is followed by the names of the clients who are to be protected. Maternal lineage is used, as is common in magic, for greater exactitude.³⁷ Then, the categories of demons and ills to be purged are listed, followed by the names of power who are being invoked. A conclusion follows;³⁸ sometimes the incantation is repeated if there is room on the bowl.

Many different magical elements merge in these incantations. Perhaps the most evident are the plethora of names of angels, other divine powers, and demons. The demonology of the Bowls appears to be closely related to that of ancient Babylonia.³⁹ Divine powers of different religions are invoked: Jewish powers, such as "the great prince Michael," and non-Jewish powers, such as Hermes and Abraxas.⁴⁰ Strings of divine names appear in the incantations. Often these names are Biblical names of God: 'hyh 'sr 'hyh from Ex 3:14, is a favorite. Often these divine names are but strings of unintelligible letters, known by their technical term as barbarica onomata.⁴¹ These barbarica onomata are sometimes cryptograms for standard names of God.⁴²

It is important to note one feature of the use of divine names in the Aramaic Magic Bowls: the Bowls show an eclectic, rather than a syncretistic, use of the names of non-Jewish gods. The gods of other nations are invoked in

the Bowl incantations; however, the God of the Jews is never identified with these other gods.⁴³ This eclecticism is quite different from the syncretism of the Greek Magical Papyri. In the Greek magic spells, the gods of different nations are consciously identified with each other; there is no longer any difference between the various gods.⁴⁴ The term "syncretism" is often applied to the magic of the Bowls; however, I feel, because of the failure to identify the God of the Jews with other divine powers, "eclecticism" would more aptly describe their magic.

References to powerful mythical acts of the past are sometimes included in the Bowls, such as the "curse of Leviathan"⁴⁵ or the creation of the world.⁴⁶ Great magicians, or more precisely, demon-experts, of the past are referred to: Solomon, the son of David, and Rabbi Joshua ben Perahia. The divorce of she-demons, usually Lilith, is a common element in the Bowl incantations. Apparently there was a common belief that she-demons could be divorced as effectively as a living human wife.⁴⁷ These "divorces" seem to follow Jewish legal divorce procedures.

Phrases strongly reminiscent of Jewish liturgy also appear in the Magic Bowl incantations. As the Greek Magical Papyri and the Merkavah texts show, liturgical phrases, and sometimes even entire hymns, found their way into magical texts.⁴⁸ The most obvious of the liturgical phrases in the

Bowl incantations are the frequent "Amen, Amen, Selah"s and "Hallelujah"s. Other liturgical phrases include:

Qdws̄ yh qdws̄ hw' sb'wt smw...m'th w'd 'lm hbybt
yśr'1;⁴⁹ and, Brwk 'th yhwh rwp' hwly kwl bśr wmpI'
l'šwt.⁵⁰

As we will see, quotations from the Hebrew Bible and references to Biblical places, characters and events frequently appear in the incantations.

Another magical element worthy of note, though not actually a part of the incantation itself, is the pictures and magical signs that sometimes decorate the Bowls. The pictures usually represent frightening demons.⁵¹ Often circles, or strange geometric shapes decorate the Bowls. Such signs are often used in magic,⁵² but their exact significance in the Bowls is unclear.

Good general surveys of the various magical elements in the Bowl incantations are in Montgomery's Aramaic Incantation Texts From Nippur,⁵³ and in Yamauchi's Mandaic Incantation Texts.⁵⁴ Of course, much detailed and valuable information on all of these elements is provided in the commentaries of other scholars on published texts.

C) The Magic Bowls and the History
of Magic

The relationship between the magic of the Magic Bowls and that of other cultures has been a much-discussed issue among scholars. The debate over this issue centers on three questions:

- 1) The generic relationship between the magic of the Magic Bowls and the ancient magic that preceded it: where did the magic of the Bowls come from?
- 2) The relationship between the magic of the Magic Bowls and its contemporaries Hellenistic and Persian magic.
- 3) The place of the Magic Bowls in the history of "bowl magic."

1. The Generic Relationship Between the Magic of
the Magic Bowls and the Ancient Magic that
Preceded It

It is generally agreed that the parents of what later became "Jewish magic," were ancient Egyptian and Babylonian-Assyrian magic. Various elements of both are evident in magical texts and artifacts of the Geonic period,⁵⁵ as well as in the Magic Bowls. The elaborate demonology in the

Bowls is undoubtedly a bequest of Mesopotamian magic. Many named demons appearing in the Magic Bowls made their debut in much earlier Akkadian and Babylonian magic texts.⁵⁶ The phraseology, the content, even the basic structure of ancient Babylonian exorcism texts are also quite similar to those of the Magic Bowl incantations.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Babylonian supplicatory magical invocation texts are also similar in structure and content, to the incantations in the Bowls.⁵⁸

The ancient Egyptian influence in the Magic Bowl incantations is evident, first and foremost, in the invocation of many divine names of power and the use of barbarica onomata as holy names.⁵⁹

Though most scholars agree that the magic of the Bowls was the offspring of both Egyptian and Mesopotamian magic, there are different opinions on their relative influence. Montgomery holds, that while it is impossible to deny the importance of the Mesopotamian elements in the Bowls, their magic more closely resembles Egyptian magic, albeit, in its later Hellenized form.⁶⁰ Yamauchi refutes Montgomery, pointing out the very unEgyptian elements in the Bowls; for example, a key element in Egyptian magic is the explicit identification of the magician with the god or the divine power that is invoked. This identification rarely appears in the Aramaic Magic Bowls. Though he admits that there is

some Egyptian influence in the Bowls, Yamauchi stresses that Mesopotamian magic had a much greater influence.⁶¹

One important question touching the generic relationship of the magic of the Bowls with earlier magical cultures has been addressed only obliquely by Magic Bowl scholars. This question is, however, quite pertinent to the history of the Bowls: when did a form of magic which we can call "Jewish magic" actually begin? Though this question has never been addressed directly by scholars of the Magic Bowls, some of them reveal their often contradictory and apologetic opinions on the matter.

Though, as we have seen, it is generally accepted that both ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian magic parented the magic of the Bowls and Geonic Jewish magic, it was difficult for earlier scholars to accept the fact that Jewish magic predated the Hellenistic age. Montgomery, for instance, though well aware of the similarities between the Magic Bowls and much more ancient forms of Babylonian magic, could not bring himself to admit openly that there was a direct generic link between the two. If he did, he would of course have to admit that a kind of Jewish magic probably existed in Babylonia in the pre-Christian era. Instead, he states that Bowl magic, and indeed, all Jewish magic, began in the Hellenistic period, coming from "the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world."⁶²

Thus, whatever elements of Babylonian magic are in the Bowls, were inherited indirectly through the surrogate parent, Hellenistic magic.

Joshua Trachtenberg states the same opinion: -first he admits that the magic of the Bowls is indebted to both ancient Babylonian and Egyptian magic.⁶³ However, he claims that "Jewish magic," per se, did not exist until the Geonic period;⁶⁴ magic entered Judaism through Hellenistic magic.

Both Montgomery and Trachtenberg were extremely reluctant to admit that a true form of "Jewish magic" existed at any early period; nor could they state that magic was a part of Judaism before the Talmudic period. This reluctance is undoubtedly apologetic in origin: it made them uncomfortable to assign the existence of Jewish magic to periods in Jewish history that produced authoritative holy texts, the Bible and the Talmud. Interestingly enough, Montgomery, a Christian to whom the Old Testament, but not the Talmud, is an authoritative holy text, assigns the beginnings of Jewish magic to the Mishnaic period. Trachtenberg, a Jew, for whom both the Old Testament and Talmud are authoritative holy texts, assigns the beginnings of real Jewish magic only after the Talmudic period!

It appears to me that if indeed the Magic Bowls show direct affinities with ancient Mesopotamian magic, a direct

generic link must exist between them, especially as they share the same provenance. It is impossible that such affinities could have been picked up second-hand through Hellenistic magic. Indeed, the Greek Magical Papyri show none of the developed demonology of ancient Babylonian, and the Magic Bowl, incantations.

Other scholars do not enter into direct debate with the opinion of Montgomery or Trachtenberg; however, clearly most scholars feel there was a direct generic link between Magic Bowl magic and its ancient predecessors.⁶⁵ Without any discussion or hesitation, Naveh and Shaked write: "Aramaic magic literature continues Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian magic..."⁶⁶

2. The Relationship Between the Magic of the Magic Bowls and Its Contemporaries, Hellenistic and Persian Magic

The first centuries of the Common Era witnessed the rise and spread of what is known as "Hellenistic magic." The foundation of Hellenistic magic was the pagan religion of ancient Greece;⁶⁷ after the conquests of Alexander, native Greek magic and religion were enriched by their contact with the magic and religions of the other cultures of the Hellenistic world. Elements from older national forms of magic: Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Persian, blended

together to form a highly syncretistic international magic. Indeed, the most striking feature of Hellenistic magic is its syncretism.⁶⁸

Happily, we have many extant sources that enable us to have a clear idea of the nature of Hellenistic magic. Numerous novelists and scholars of the Hellenistic age wrote descriptions of the magic of their period. The Hermetic literature, and other literature of the mystery religions, is also valuable for the study of Hellenistic magic. However, the main source for the study of Hellenistic magic are the Magical Papyri.⁶⁹ More than 150 Magical Papyri have been published throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. These Papyri, in Greek, Coptic⁷⁰ and Demotic,⁷¹ contain a wealth of magical lore. Hundreds of magic spells are described in great detail, from the bizarre, to simple folk remedies and herbal lore.

Besides the Magical Papyri, other magical artifacts have survived upon which we can build our knowledge of the magic of the period: the reams of tabellae defixionum, or curse tablets, magical amulets of various kinds,⁷² ostraca, and magical equipment.⁷³

There are certainly many similarities between Hellenistic magic, in its various manifestations, and the Jewish magic of late antiquity. The Magic Bowls themselves exhibit certain characteristics of Hellenistic magic: the

use of names of power, the invocation of divine beings, the barbarica onomata, to name a few. The most obvious shared characteristic of both is their syncretism, or when speaking of the Bowls, their eclecticism; both the Magic Bowls and the Magical Papyri contain religious and magical elements borrowed from other cults and cultures.⁷⁴

All scholars agree that there are similarities between Hellenistic and Jewish magic; however, there is some disagreement over the question of influence. John Hull,⁷⁵ and A.A. Barb,⁷⁶ historians of religion, and H.D. Betz,⁷⁷ a historian of Hellenistic magic, hold that Jewish magic influenced the development of Hellenistic magic. Hull supports his opinion by citing the "Jewish" elements and references to Biblical material in the Greek ~~Magical~~ Papyri: the use of "Ya", "Yao," "Adonai," and "Sabaoth" as magical names of power, the references to the Red Sea, to Moses, and to Solomon. Barb gives no direct evidence to support his claim, but falls back on the reputation the Jews had as "expert sorcerers" in antiquity. Betz claims that the Greek Magical Papyri show extensive Jewish influence. He contends there is an abundance of "Jewish material" in the Papyri, stating that the god who is invoked the most often in the Papyri is "Iao" or "Yao" the Jewish God.

Some scholars of the history of Jewish magic hold that it was Hellenistic magic that influenced Jewish magic.

We have already seen how both Trachtenberg and Montgomery deny the existence of Jewish magic before the Hellenistic period. Both see Jewish magic as, more or less, an outgrowth of Hellenistic magic. As Montgomery states quite succinctly: "...All Jewish magic has come out of the crucible of the Graeco-Roman world."⁷⁸ Similarly, Mordechai Margaliot, in his introduction to Sefer ha-Razim, states that the Jewish magic evinced by that work is a direct outgrowth of the magic of the Greek Papyri.⁷⁹

A larger group of historians of Jewish magic and religion take a reasonable middle position: Jewish and Hellenistic magic influenced each other. Thus, there are Jewish elements in Hellenistic magic, and Hellenistic elements in Jewish magic.⁸⁰ After postulating a direct relationship between the Magic Bowls and the Greek Magical Papyri, Gershom Scholem writes: "The Greek magicians used Jewish material and the Jewish writers used syncretistic formulae, which, as it seems, they transcribed from Greek originals."⁸¹

It is this middle position that must be adopted vis-a-vis the relationship between Hellenistic and Jewish magic. Evidence supports the likelihood that there was mutual influence between them. The conclusions of both extreme positions must be discarded. First of all, it is historically highly unlikely that Jewish magic began only after

the Hellenistic period, as Montgomery and Trachtenberg claim. It is also unlikely that Jewish magic contributed more to Hellenistic magic than the other way around, as claim Hull, Betz and Barb. Indeed, their claims that Judaism made a sizeable contribution to Hellenistic magic are greatly exaggerated; they make this claim, not based solely on concrete textual evidence, but more on that vague, and not altogether historically reliable, "magical reputation" that Jews had in antiquity.⁸²

Finally, it must be said that even if it is clear that Hellenistic and Jewish magic influenced each other, it is most often impossible to establish which influenced which first.⁸³ As Montgomery says, in a somewhat flowery manner: "It is difficult in the field of magic to decide which is the cause and which effect, for the spirit of magic produces like fruits spontaneously."⁸⁴

As the Magic Bowls were produced during the period of Persian rule in Mesopotamia, it would stand to reason that the magic of the Bowls was influenced by contemporary Persian magic. However, such is not the case. Jacob Neusner comes to the conclusion, following his historical study of the Talmud, that Jewish culture in Mesopotamia in the Persian period was isolated from, and relatively uninfluenced by, contemporary Persian culture.⁸⁵ Studies of the Magic Bowls support Neusner's conclusion. Montgomery asserts that hardly

a trace of Persian influence is to be discovered in the Bowls. This absence of Persian influence is, to Montgomery, a remarkable fact, as Bowl Magic "...belongs to Persian soil and flourished under the Sassanian empire, while the dualism, demonology and magical practice of Persia would have been so natural a nursing mother to the superstition we have been studying."⁸⁶ Yamauchi notes that in the Mandaic Magic Bowls, in spite of the fact that many of the clients' names are Persian, Persian influence on the magic is surprisingly slight.⁸⁷ It appears, that from all evidence, Persian religion and magic may be discounted as important influences on the magic of the Bowls.

3. The Place of the Magic Bowls in the
History of "Bowl Magic"

Several scholars have identified the Magic Bowls as examples of a kind of magic called "bowl magic." "Bowl magic" is a hoary form of magic that employed bowls in some way in its praxis, reportedly existing in different forms in ancient Babylonia, Crete and Egypt.

Montgomery and Gordon hold that the Magic Bowls are a descendent of ancient Babylonian "bowl magic." Unfortunately, no physical relics of this ancient Babylonian "bowl magic" have survived; however, Montgomery sees proof of its existence in a spell from the ancient Babylonian

Utukki series. This spell, interpreted by Montgomery, refers to covering a demon with a vessel.⁸⁸ Gordon holds that "bowl magic" was practiced in ancient Babylonia, and that by the time of Hammurabi it had evolved into a highly elaborate practice.⁸⁹

William McCullough, on the other hand, contends that neither the spell cited by Montgomery, nor the evidence offered by Gordon, proves that a form of "bowl magic" like the magic of the Bowls, existed in ancient Babylonia.⁹⁰ Certainly, as long as no artifacts like the Magic Bowls have been discovered, it is necessary to concur with McCullough.

Victor Hamilton claims that he has discovered just such evidence. Bowls have been discovered in archaeological sites, dating from as early as the third millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and in Asia Minor. These bowls are, apparently, almost always discovered in an upside down position. M.E.L. Mallowan has suggested that there is a connection between these bowls and the Magic Bowls. Hamilton is quick to jump at Mallowan's suggestion.⁹¹ However, neither Mallowan nor Hamilton offer any conclusive evidence of any such connection. Furthermore, there are no inscriptions whatsoever in these bowls. They were apparently used to give votive offerings to the dead. Simply because the Magic Bowls and these bowls are both bowls, in no way means there is a historical connection between them.

Victor Hamilton has also tried to link the Magic Bowls with a form of ancient Egyptian "bowl magic." The ancient Egyptians practiced a form of "bowl magic" known as "Letters to the Dead." Supplicatory letters, usually written on bowls, were discovered in Egyptian tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms (2688-1785 B.C.). These "letters" were written by members of a family to deceased relatives; they usually ask the departed to intercede on the behalf of the living family in the spirit world. It appears that offerings were presented in the bowls along with the supplication.⁹²

According to Hamilton, there may have been a direct relationship between this form of "bowl magic" and the magic of the Magic Bowls. After a discussion of the possible Egyptian origins of the Mandeans, Hamilton hypothesizes:

In light of this evidence, is it not possible to conclude that the Mandeans may have been instrumental in introducing Egyptian style bowl magic into Babylonia in the early Christian era? And subsequently the Jews and Christians picked up and copied the Mandaean practice.⁹³

According to Hamilton, then, the Mandeans kept a form of "bowl magic" alive, the practice of which had died out in the Middle Kingdom (1785 B.C.); upon their migration to Babylonia in the first centuries A.D., they revived this magical practice, and influenced other ethnic groups to

adopt it as their own. This hypothesis is highly unlikely, to say the least. It is highly doubtful that there is a generic relationship between the "bowl magic" of ancient Egypt and the Magic Bowls. Though both forms of magic consist of inscriptions written in bowls, those of the Egyptian bowls are supplicatory, whereas those of the Magic Bowls are prophylactic. The magical functions of both are quite different. Again, Victor Hamilton goes "bowl-happy"; he postulates a relationship between the Egyptian bowls and the Magic Bowls simply because both are bowls.

Cyrus Gordon connects the Magic Bowls with yet another form of "bowl magic": the Minoan bowls unearthed at Knossos, dating from about 1400 B.C. Like the Magic Bowls, these bowls were discovered inverted, they are inscribed with drawings of demons, they mention some of the same demons by name, and they suggest a similar praxis. Gordon states: "...There is no doubt about the connection between the Minoan and the Aramaic bowls."⁹⁴ According to the present archaeological data, the bowls discovered at Knossos do indeed have much in common with the Magic Bowls. Judging from the similar forms and magical elements of the Minoan and the Mesopotamian bowls, a generic relationship between them is more likely than the theories of Montgomery and Hamilton examined above. If, however, the Babylonian Bowls of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. have a generic

connection with the Minoan bowls of 1400 B.C., this connection has yet to be historically accounted for.

Yet another approach to the place of the Magic Bowls in the history of "bowl magic" is taken by Charles Isbell. Isbell maintains that the shape of the Magic Bowl is not due to an essential magical necessity; the amulets we know as the "Magic Bowls" did not need to be in the shape of bowls at all. However, common clay bowls were cheap, abundant, and readily available: they were used "simply because they were there."⁹⁵ The fact that the Magic Bowls are bowls is not owing to any particular virtue of the bowl shape, nor to a relationship between them and earlier forms of "bowl magic."

There is something to be said for Isbell's suggestion. Personal amulets, meant to be worn on the body, are often made of silver or other precious substances; they are designed to be aesthetically pleasing as well as magically effective. A Magic Bowl, however, destined to be buried beneath one's house, need not be made of any sort of precious material. Thus, they were made of the cheapest, most readily available material: in Mesopotamia clay bowls were just that. It is possible, however, that an earlier tradition of "bowl magic" lent traditional strength to the choice. If terra cotta bowls had been a rarity in

Mesopotamia, it is doubtful that the Magic Bowls would be in their present form.

D) The Magic Bowls and Jewish Society
of the Talmudic Period

Information gleaned from the study of the Magic Bowls has been used to theorize about the nature of Babylonian Jewish society in the Talmudic period. The undeniable evidence offered by the Bowls of Jewish participation in magical practices, poses a problem for many scholars. How do we account for this Jewish magical practice when Biblical and Talmudic authorities expressly forbid magic?

Most scholars resolve this difficulty by making a clear-cut distinction between the religious beliefs of two social classes: the learned class (i.e. the Rabbis), and the common people. The Magic Bowls, and other forms of magic, were doubtless used by Jews, but these Jews were members of the common, ignorant masses. The educated class, the Rabbis and their entourages, did not practice magic and opposed it. There were then, two sects of Judaism in the Talmudic period: the magical Judaism of the masses, and the theological Judaism of the Rabbinic elite.⁹⁶

I feel that this division of Judaism into two sects according to class and religious beliefs, is a common.

apologetic tactic: if we do not feel comfortable with a belief from our religious past, we assign that belief to "the lower classes of Judaism." If it was only the ignorant "lower classes" who believed it, it is somehow less embarrassing. Furthermore, this division is clearly historically inaccurate: there is evidence within the Talmud that the Rabbinic elite themselves held magical beliefs.⁹⁷ Scholars who make this distinction between the beliefs of the Rabbinic elite and the beliefs of the ignorant masses, must somehow explain the presence of magical beliefs in the Talmud. Saul Lieberman solves the problem thus:

The charms recorded in the Talmud were accepted all over the civilized ancient world, and even the foremost scholars of the time were not able to mark the definite limits between superstition and science; they (the Rabbis) were aware of the fact that there are some grains of scientific truth in the accepted charms, but they were not mature enough to distinguish truth from fiction...Whenever the Rabbis were convinced from observation and experience that an application of magic contains some natural basis, they did not forbid it.⁹⁸

According to Lieberman, then, the Rabbis were aware of the natural, scientific basis of some magical practices; these they tolerated. However, they were unfortunately not "mature enough" intellectually to correctly identify those magical practices with a natural basis. Therefore, they made some mistakes; presumably these mistakes are the magical

practices that the Talmud allowed. Of course, Lieberman has the Rabbis, fledgling scientists as they were, determine whether or not a practice has a natural basis through the scientific method of inquiry: "observation and experience."

Judah Goldin has a more sophisticated, historical approach to the problem. He contends that the Rabbis permitted certain magical practices only against their will due to political exigencies: the pressure of the beliefs of the common people, coupled with the threat to the Rabbinic authority posed by charismatic magicians. However, though the Rabbis were forced to permit certain magical practices, they "outwit" the common people by turning these magical practices into true religious practices. Says Goldin:

I can't resist guessing that there must have been practices which surely irritated them, but they simply shut their eyes to them and must have muttered under their breath the equivalent of, Oh to hell with it. Or they cleverly converted what may have been magical spells to begin with into religious prayers and thus removed the string of superstition from them. Or it might be that they would sanction a superstition which they themselves accepted, by endorsing it with a religious value.⁹⁹

However, try as Lieberman and Goldin might, neither political acumen, nor rudimentary knowledge of science can adequately explain the permitted magical practices in the Talmud.

Another group of scholars use the evidence from the Talmud and from the Magic Bowls to show that belief in magic

was not a class-restricted phenomenon in the Talmudic period: both the learned classes, i.e., the Rabbis, and the ignorant common throng held magical beliefs and participated in magical practices.¹⁰⁰ Even these scholars, however, distinguish between the users of the Bowls and the Rabbis. Neusner states that there were two systems of magic in the Babylonian Judaism of the period: that of the Rabbis, whose magical powers stemmed from their knowledge of the Torah; and that of those "elite magicians" who wrote the Bowls.¹⁰¹ Thus, according to Neusner, the Rabbis only indulged in a Torah-based sort of magic, purer than the magic of the Bowls.

Montgomery, in a similar vein, tries to distinguish between the beliefs shown by the Bowl incantations and true religious feeling. He states: "...There are no real religious elements in the Magic Bowls...We have here a purely magical system."¹⁰² Though Montgomery does not draw any historical conclusions from this statement, it stands to reason that he would feel the Rabbis would have had little to do with a kind of magic in which religious elements were lacking.

The Magic Bowls raise another question concerning the nature of Jewish society of the Talmudic period: did a class of professional Jewish magicians exist? As we have seen, Neusner answers this question in the affirmative: he sees the Bowls as proof of a separate class of elite Jewish

magicians. These magicians were "anonymous exorcists," who did not possess charismatic magical powers, as did the Rabbis of the Talmud.¹⁰³ Montgomery also sees the Bowls as evidence of some kind of professional but anonymous Jewish exorcist.¹⁰⁴ Though other scholars are not as definite as Montgomery and Neusner in proclaiming the existence of an actual class of Jewish exorcists and magicians, they usually refer to the authors of the Bowls as "magicians."

Charles Isbell, on the other hand, questions this appellation. He holds that the Magic Bowls are no proof of a separate class of Jewish magicians. Common people may have written, or have had written, Magic Bowls for themselves.¹⁰⁵ Isbell is correct in questioning the existence of a class of Jewish magicians. The Magic Bowls in no way prove that a professional guild of Jewish magicians, or even of Bowl writers, ever existed outside the realm of scholarly fantasy.

If indeed, the protective agent at work in the Bowl incantations are the magic words of power, then anyone could write a Magic Bowl provided he knew the formula and was able to write. Rather than attribute the authorship of the Bowls to a separate class of Jewish magicians, it is simpler to attribute it to scribes. Perhaps some of the same scribes who were responsible for copying mezuzot, tefilin and other holy objects, were those who wrote the Magic Bowls.

The relationship between Jews living in Babylonia and their gentile neighbors is another question approached through information gleaned from the Magic Bowls. The similarities between the Aramaic, Syriac and Mandaic Magic Bowls show that there must have been free cultural exchange between Jews, Christians and Mandeans, at least, in the realm of magic. Baruch Levine affirms this point: "What we have here (in the Magic Bowls) is a common idiom and mentality, and little typological distinctiveness."¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, it is now clear that the original belief that all Aramaic Bowls were Jewish, all Syriac Bowls Christian, and all Mandaic Bowls Mandaean, is simply not true. Epstein has demonstrated that the incantations in Bowls of different scripts, sometimes literally agree with each other. This means that a Syriac Bowl may have had a Jewish origin, or vice versa.¹⁰⁷ Thus, not only the general idea, form and function of Magic Bowl magic was shared among the three ethnic groups; even actual texts were circulated among them and copied. If this is indeed the case, there was probably a closer relationship between Jews, Christians and pagans during this period than is shown in the evidence from the Talmud.

A similar question addressed by scholars in their discussions of the Magic Bowls is the place of Jews in the non-Jewish magic of the period. We have already seen how

contemporary scholars of the history of magic and religion, such as John Hull, A.A. Barb, and H.D. Betz,¹⁰⁸ hold that Jewish magic had a highly influential status in the Hellenistic world. This notion did not originate with them; the civilized Hellenes and Romans in the pre-Christian and early Christian eras commonly viewed their less civilized neighbors as magicians.¹⁰⁹ We have many records of cultivated Greek and Roman pagans of the pre-Christian era holding Judaism to be founded on magic and sorcery.¹¹⁰ Juvenal remarks that both Jews and Chaldeans are known for their proficiency in magic and astrology.¹¹¹ The Church Fathers followed their pagan predecessors by attributing special magical powers to Jews: Origen called Jews "a nation gifted in sorcery."¹¹² It is important to note that these allegations were undoubtedly polemical and xenophobic in origin and purpose, and thus cannot be accepted as complete historical fact.

It is somewhat astonishing to see how many contemporary scholars have uncritically accepted the statements of the Church Fathers, and attributed an extraordinary magical capacity and influence to the Jews of the Hellenistic period and late antiquity. Of course, they do support this attribution with textual evidence: the presence of "Jewish" words, names and references in the Greek Magical Papyri, in Hellenistic magical amulets, and in the Mandaic and Syriac

Magic Bowls. Holding up this evidence as proof, many scholars claim that Jews had a great influence upon the magic of their neighbors, and that they were especially skilled in magic.¹¹³ Naveh and Shaked write: "The Jewish influence in the magic of the period is conspicuous."¹¹⁴ Levine holds: "Jewish influence on Babylonian magic of the period in question should not be understated."¹¹⁵ Even Baron assumes a historical reality behind the Jewish magical reputation: he maintains that the belief that the Jew was endowed with superior magical powers "...was made realistic by the professional Jewish magicians who were found in many eastern communities."¹¹⁶

Undoubtedly, a great deal of borrowing of magical ideas and practices took place between different ethnic groups during late antiquity. One must, however, question the assumption that Jewish magic had any special influence on Hellenistic or Babylonian magic; furthermore, the allegations that Jews occupied themselves with sorcery more than other peoples must be taken for what they are: xenophobic legend, not historical fact.

Let us turn for a moment to the Magical Papyri, which many scholars hold are replete with Jewish influence. There are a total of 537 magic spells of various lengths in Betz's publication of the Papyri. Of these 537 spells, according to my counting, only 57 spells contain what scholars call

"Jewish content." Of these 57, 25 contain only "Jewish" divine names: Iao, Adonai, Sabaoth.¹¹⁷ Another ten contain "Jewish" divine names and the names of "Jewish" angels.¹¹⁸

Now the mere presence of a "Jewish" divine name in no way proves Jewish influence; there is no way to tell if the pagans who formulated the spells knew if the names were Jewish. Such names could have been regarded as outlandish, magical names of power, and not at all as Jewish. Furthermore, the use of such names could show Christian, rather than Jewish, influence. Clearly in PGM CXXVIII,¹¹⁹ the divine name "Iao" is Christian rather than Jewish, for this spell calls Jesus Christ "the son of Iao." The appearance of "Jewish" names in the Papyri is in no way conclusive evidence of a deep Jewish influence on Hellenistic magic, nor of Jews being especially adept at magic.

Twelve spells in the Papyri contain Biblical references or names of legendary Biblical characters: Solomon, Moses, the Red Sea....¹²⁰ However, apart from these names and references there is nothing at all Jewish about the spells in which they appear. The famous spell entitled "Diadem of Moses,"¹²¹ apparently taken from a pseudepigraphal magic book attributed to the prophet, has no Jewish content other than the name "Moses" in the title. Again, the authors of the spells need not have perceived these characters as being Jewish; furthermore, as with the

names, the appearance of Biblical material could denote Christian influence.

Another twelve spells in the Papyri contain real Jewish content.¹²² The content of these spells indicates that their authors may have been aware that the material they were using was actually Jewish. References are made in these spells to the Hebrew language, to Jerusalem, to the prayer of Jacob, to the God of the Jews. However, at least one of these twelve is clearly Christian.¹²³ Thus, only eleven of 537 spells contain real Jewish content.¹²⁴

Thorough and serious research on the subject is necessary before reaching a definite conclusion on the actual Jewish content of the Magical Papyri; however, my preliminary statistics reveal that there is less Jewish content than scholars contend.

Likewise, the presence of Jewish names and formulae in the Syriac and Mandaic Magic Bowls in no way proves that the Christians and Mandeans perceived the Jews as being especially adept in magic. They are merely a characteristic of the eclecticism of the magic. The scholarly cliché that Jews had special influence in magic in late antiquity is without firm basis; it is an unchallenged legacy of the xenophobic writings of antiquity.

E) The Magic Bowls and Other Bodies of
Jewish Literature

From the beginnings of Magic Bowl scholarship, one important issue of scholarly comment has been the relationship between the incantations of the Magic Bowls and other bodies of Jewish literature. As we shall see below, the Bible appears in the Aramaic Magic Bowls in quite a unique way. The relationship of the Magic Bowl inscriptions to the Bible must be carefully distinguished from their relationship with other Jewish literature of the period. Therefore, I will discuss the two separately.

All of the major scholars of the Magic Bowls, Montgomery, Epstein, Gordon, Naveh and Shaked, point out parallels between the Magic Bowls and Talmudic literature. These parallels are, for the most part, linguistic and philological, however there are also parallels of content: the divorce motif in the Bowl incantations and in Talmudic halakhah, the names and functions of angels and demons, the names of God, and so forth. Their comments on these parallels are scattered throughout their commentaries on the published Bowls. No one has taken it upon himself to gather together and analyze these comments as a unit; therefore, none of these scholars forms a synthetic

conclusion as to the relationship between the Bowls and Talmudic literature.

The publication of Gershom Scholem's study of Merkavah Mysticism¹²⁵ and Mordechai Margalit's reconstructed Geonic magic text Sefer ha-Razim¹²⁶ in the 1960's, spurred a search for parallels between these and the Magic Bowls. In 1970, Baruch Levine published an article entitled "The Language of the Magical Bowls" as an Appendix to Vol. V. of Neusner's History of the Jews in Babylonia.¹²⁷ Using the method of comparative philology, Levine traces parallel motifs through the Magic Bowls, the Merkavah literature, Sefer ha-Razim and the Talmud. Some of these parallel motifs are: magical warriors, the signet ring in magic, the reversing and releasing of spells, and the mythological substratum of magical literature. According to Levine, there are important parallels between some Magic Bowls and the Merkavah literature, and more detailed study is warranted.

Jonas Greenfield continued the study of parallels in the Magic Bowls and the Merkavah literature. In an article of 1973,¹²⁸ Greenfield focuses on the names and motifs appearing in both: the "Enoch theme," Bagdana, Metatron, Shemhazai. After his analysis of these parallels he concludes: "They (two Magic Bowls) bear witness to an

important strand in the 'magic bowls,' one which drew from the theurgic side of the Merkavah tradition."

M.S. Cohen's work on the Shi'ur Qomah, a text in the corpus of the Merkavah literature, has led him to note the parallels in it and in the Magic Bowls. The similarities in the language of the Bowls and Shi'ur Qomah, led Cohen to the conclusion that the Shi'ur was given a final literary form in Babylonia, though it is composed of Palestinian traditions.¹²⁹

Judging from this survey, it is clear that little conclusive work has been done on the relationship between the Magic Bowls and contemporary Jewish literature. The presence of some parallel motifs, such as those noted by Levine and Greenfield, in no way substantiates the claim for a generic relationship between the Merkavah literature and the Bowls, as Greenfield would like to think. The presence of the same motifs and names in the two, merely signifies that the authors of both drew upon a common body of traditional knowledge for their magical lore.

The relationship between the Aramaic Magic Bowls and the Bible is much more obvious. Clearly, the authors of the Bowls drew upon the Bible when composing the magical incantations. All of the Bowl scholars have noted the Biblical material in the Aramaic Bowls: Biblical quotations, references to Biblical characters, places and events, divine

epithets, and Biblical allusions and phraseology. Scholars have used the Biblical material in the Bowls to try to shed light on a number of issues. One issue is the history of the Bible text.

Beginning with Montgomery, scholars have observed that the spelling of the Biblical quotations in the Bowls is often not Masoretic, and that many quotations are not exact.¹³⁰ Gordon,¹³¹ and especially Kaufman,¹³² point out that the quotations in the Aramaic Bowls represent the earliest known Bible texts from Babylonia, and the earliest Bible texts outside of the Qumran material. Thus, the quotations preserved in the Bowls may be significant for the study of the pre-Masoretic Bible text. Kaufman states:

...These departures from the Masoretic Text represent types of variations that one might well expect to find in any pre-Masoretic manuscript and, for want of any other information, must be considered to be a legitimate reflection of the Biblical text at this period in Babylonia.¹³³

Most often, however, the faulty orthography in the quoted Bible verses does not indicate a true textual variant.

Naveh and Shaked comment on the identical phenomenon in the Palestinian magical amulets. According to Naveh and Shaked, the faulty orthography evident in the quoted Bible verses does not reflect an actual Bible text; it merely shows a superficial level of learning.¹³⁴

The Biblical verses and references in the Bowls can shed light on problems of Biblical exegesis. Lester Grabbe¹³⁵ and G.R. Driver¹³⁶ investigate the numerous references to Leviathan in the Aramaic Bowls.¹³⁷ They use knowledge gleaned from their investigation to correctly interpret references to Leviathan in the Bible.¹³⁸ Other scholars, such as Kaufman, touch on exegetical questions when they try to explain why certain verses were quoted in the Bowls.¹³⁹

The magical significance of the Biblical references and quotations in the Aramaic Bowls is the frequent subject of scholarly discussion. Clearly, their inclusion in the incantations was meant to increase the effectiveness of the magic. As noted above, the Holy Scripture of a people was often used in their magical practices.¹⁴⁰ This use is based on the belief in the magic power of the holy word. As the words of the Bible were holy to the Jews, their inclusion in magic spells gave those spells additional magic power.¹⁴¹ The inclusion of Biblical quotations in magic spells was a way to harness the holy power of the Bible in magic. This holy power was especially effective if the quoted verse had a direct bearing on the magic at hand.¹⁴²

The magical significance of the references to Biblical places, characters and events appears to be somewhat different. It seems that references to Leviathan, Sodom and

Gomorraah, Noah and the Ark, were used as appropriate typological precedents to the magic at hand.¹⁴³ These references would call the attention of the divine powers and the demons, to great feats of magic in the past; the recollection of these typological feats would contribute to the success of the magical incantation. Just as God overturned Sodom and Gomorraah, so shall the demons be overturned; just as God sealed the Ark for Noah, so shall He protect the owner of the Magic Bowl.

Footnotes

Chapter III

The Main Issues of Scholarly Inquiry and Debate

1. See Montgomery, Nippur, Ch. II; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Intro., Pt. 7.
2. Obermann, "Two Magic Bowls."
3. Harviainen, "Borsippa."
_____, "A Syriac Incantation Bowl in the Finnish National Museum, Helsinki: A Specimen of Eastern Aramaic 'koine'," Studia Orientalia, 51:1 (1978).
4. Rossell, Handbook.
5. See Gordon's various publications: AASOR 14 (1934) ArOr 6 (1934) "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums" and "Aramaic Exorcism."
ArOr 9 (1937).
Orientalia 10 (1941); 18 (1949); 20 (1951).
Biblical and Near Eastern Studies.
6. Geller, "Two Incantation Bowls."
_____, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls."
7. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls.
8. Ibid., p. 31.
9. Layard, Among the Ruins, p. 448.
10. Charles Isbell, "The Story of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls," Biblical Archaeologist 40 (1977), p. 5.
11. Eg. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 43; McCullough, Royal Ontario Museum, p. xiii.
12. Montgomery, Ibid.
13. E. A. Wallis Budge, Amulets and Superstitions (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 13.
14. Ibid., Ch. XII.
15. Montgomery, Nippur, Bowls 13 and 28.

16. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9.
17. Hull, Hellenistic Magic, p. 42.
Montgomery, Nippur, p. 51.
18. Montgomery, Ibid., pp. 51, 56.
Cyrus H. Gordon, "Leviathan: Symbol of Evil," in Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 8.
19. See Montgomery, Ibid.
20. Hull,, Hellenistic Magic, p. 42.
21. See Isbell, "Story," pp. 7-8 for summary of the theories of 19th century scholars on the praxis of the Bowls.
22. Hamilton, Syriac Incantations Bowls, p. 11.
Levine, "Magical Bowls," p. 344.
23. Montgomery, Nippur, pp. 41-42.
24. Cyrus H. Gordon, Adventures in the Nearest East (London: 1957), pp. 161-162.
25. Gordon, "Leviathan," p. 7.
26. McCullough, Royal Ontario Museum, p. xiii.
27. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, p. 15.
28. Isbell, Corpus, p. 14.
29. Isbell, "Story," p. 9.
30. Yamauchi, "Aramaic Magic Bowls," p. 523.
31. Hamilton, Syriac Incantations Bowls, Introduction, Pt. B, pp. 7-19.
32. Ibid., p. 18.
33. H.D. Betz, ed., The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), PGM IV.1227-64, p. 62.
Other examples in the PGM of the lack of magical ritual surrounding donning an amulet are: PGM

- IV.3007-86, p. 96; PGM IV 2622-2707, p. 88; PGM VII.197-98, p. 121; PGM VII.206-7, p. 121; PGM VII.215-18, p. 122. It must be pointed out that there are some prescriptions for amulets in the Papyri that require lengthy and involved rituals. These, however, are a distinct minority: PGM V.213-303, p. 104; PGM XII. 201-69, p. 161.
34. Eg. with the use of bowls in hydromancy and oil magic. See Samuel Daiches, Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the later Jewish Literature (London: Jews' College, 1913).
35. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 56.
36. Larry Schiffman, "A Forty-two Letter Divine Name in the Aramaic Magic Bowls," London Institute of Jewish Studies Bulletin 1 (1973). Neusner, Jews in Babylon, Vol. V, pp. 235-243.
37. Neusner, *Ibid.*, p. 232.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
39. Montgomery, Nippur, Ch. 12. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, pp. 23-27
40. Montgomery, *Ibid.*, Ch. 13. Yamauchi, "Aramaic Magic Bowls," p. 519.
41. Eg. the name: "KPRGYH, PRGYH, RGYH, GYH, YH, H" in Gordon, Orientalia 10, Text 9, p. 131. See Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 87.
42. See Charles D. Isbell, "Some Cryptograms in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 33 (1974).
43. See Montgomery, Nippur, p. 115; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, pp. 35-37 for discussions of the appearance of the names of non-Jewish gods in the Magic Bowls.
44. Betz, GMP, p. xlvi.
45. See Gordon, "Leviathan," p. 8.
46. Levine, "Magical Bowls," p. 371.

47. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 158-160.
Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, p. 47.
Neusner, Jews in Babylonia, Vol. V, p. 227.
48. See Betz, GMP, p. xlv.
Gershom Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960), Ch. IV.
49. Gordon, ArOr 6, Text G.
50. Gordon, Orientalia 10, Text 7. This liturgical phrase is a blessing from Birkhot ha-Shahar.
51. Eg. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Plate 18.
52. A glance through the Greek Magical Papyri is clear evidence: Betz, GMP.
53. Montgomery, Nippur, Pts. I-III.
54. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, Introduction.
55. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, pp. 87-88.
Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bwls, p. 13.
56. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, pp. 23-27.
Montgomery, Nippur, p. 109.
57. Montgomery, Ibid., pp. 109-110.
58. See the magic texts published by King, Magic and Sorcery. See pp. xii-xiii for a description of the structure of these magical invocations.
59. Montgomery, Nippur, pp. 114-115.
Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 87.
Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, p. 205.
60. Montgomery, Ibid., p. 115.
61. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, pp. 62-63.
62. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 9.
63. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, pp. 87-88.
64. Ibid., p. 11.

65. Eg. see Gordon, "Leviathan."
Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, Introduction.
_____, "Aramaic Incantation Bowls."
66. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, p. 13.
67. Hull, Hellenistic Magic, p. 36.
68. Ibid., pp. 27-37.
Betz, GMP, p. xlv.
69. The standard critical edition of the Greek Magical Papyri is Karl Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri (Berlin: 1928; reprint ed., Stuttgart: Verlag B.G. Teubner, 1973); A new, expanded English translation of the Greek Papyri including the Demotic Papyri and some Coptic: Hans Dieter Betz, ed., The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
70. The standard critical edition of the Coptic Magical Papyri is: M. Kropp, Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte (Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique de la Reine Elisabeth, 1931-1933), in three vols. Some Coptic spells are included in Betz, GMP.
71. Betz, GMP. For reference to the original publications of the Demotic Papyri see Bibliography and notes in GMP.
72. For a thorough treatment of Hellenistic amulets see: Campbell Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950).
73. For a thorough discussion of these various artifacts see: Hull, Hellenistic Magic, pp. 6-15.
74. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, p. 35.
75. Hull, Hellenistic Magic, p. 31-37.
76. Barb, "Survival," pp. 118-119.
77. See Betz, GMP, Introduction; especially pp. xlv and xlvii.
78. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 9.

79. Margaliot, Sefer ha-Razim, ch. I.
80. See Introduction in Moses Gaster, "The Sword of Moses," in Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology (1928; reprint ed., New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971), Vol. I, pp. 288-337, Vol. II, pp. 69-103.
Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, pp. 164-205.
Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, pp. 35-36.
Scholem, Gnosticism, p. 92.
81. Scholem, *Ibid.*
82. For more on this subject see my comments on the place of Jews and Jewish magic in the magic of the period, this chapter, section D.
83. Except where there is explicit literary evidence of a Jewish writer using Greek sources or vice versa. Margaliot has shown that the author of Sefer ha-Razim clearly used some of the Greek Magical Papyri as a direct literary source. Margaliot, Sefer ha-Razim, Introduction.
84. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 115.
85. Jacob Neusner, "How Much Iranian in Jewish Babylonia?" Journal of the American Oriental Society 95 (1975).
86. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 116.
87. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, p. 64.
88. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 43.
89. Gordon, ArOr 9, p. 84.
90. McCullough, Royal Ontario Museum, p. xiv.
91. Hamilton, Syriac Incantation Bowls, pp. 33-35.
92. Bob Brier, Ancient Egyptian Magic (New York: Quill Press, 1980), ch. 12.
93. Hamilton, Syriac Incantation Bowls, p. 31.
94. Gordon, "Leviathan," p. 5.

95. Isbell, "Story," p. 7.
96. For scholars professing this opinion see:
 Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, p. 207.
 Goldin, "Magic of Magic."
 Margalioth, Sefer ha-Razim, pp. 15-16.
 Lieberman, Jewish Palestine, Ch. "Pleasures and Fears."
 Schiffman, "Forty-Two Letter Name," p. 102
 Urbach, Sages, Ch. VI.
97. See Neusner, Jews in Babylonia, Vol. V, Ch. VI. and
 Salo W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Vol. II, p. 316 for discussions of some of the
 magical beliefs of the Rabbis. Some passages in the
 Babylonian Talmud which clearly demonstrate the
 Rabbi's belief in forms of magic are BB 73a; Hul
 139b; Hul 105a; Shab 66b-67b; Kid 39b.
98. Lieberman, Jewish Palestine, pp. 100-101.
99. Goldin, "Magic of Magic," p. 123.
100. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 108.
 Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, p. 38.
 Neusner, Jews in Babylonia, Vol. V, Ch. VI.
101. Neusner, *Ibid.*, pp. 241-245.
102. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 111.
103. Neusner, Jews in Babylonia, Vol. V, pp. 218-241.
104. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 46.
105. Isbell, "Story," p. 6.
106. Levine, "Magical Bowls," p. 343.
107. Epstein, "Glosses," pp. 41-43.
108. See my discussion of the influence of Jewish magic on
 Hellenistic magic, this chapter, Section C.
109. Not only the Jews were viewed as expert magicians;
 the Chaldeans and Zoroastrians had a similar
 reputation in the eyes of the Romans and Greeks.
 For Greek attribution of magic to the Zoroastrians
 see: J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Les Mages Hellénisés:
 Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la Tradition

Grecque (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1973).

110. For references to primary material see:
John G. Grager, Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism (New York: Abingdon Press, 1972), Ch. 4.
N.W. Goldstein, "Ancient Anti-Semitism," The Journal of Religion 19 (1939).
Baron, History of the Jews, Vol. II, p. 189.
Urbach, Sages, p. 116.
Joshua Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 57-58.
111. Layard, Among the Ruins, p. 435.
112. Trachtenberg, Devil, p. 64.
113. Barb, "Survival," pp. 118-119.
Bonner, Graeco-Egyptian Amulets, pp. 26-27.
Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, Ch. VI.
Hull, Hellenistic Magic, pp. 30-35.
Levine, "Magical Bowls," p. 343.
Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, p. 35.
Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, p. 64.
Betz, GMP, pp. xlv, xlvii.
114. Naveh and Shaked, Ibid.
115. Levine, "Magical Bowls."
116. Baron, History of the Jews, Vol. II, p. 189.
117. See Betz, GMP: PGM II.1-64 p. 12; PGM III.200-262 p. 23; PGM III.263-275 p. 26; PGM III.467-78 p. 31; PGM III.633-731 p. 35; PGM IV.296-466 p. 44; PGM IV.475-829 p. 48; PGM IV.1390-1495 p. 64; PGM IV.1496-1595 p. 67; PGM IV.1596-1715 p. 68; PGM IV.3255-74 p. 100; PGM V.304-69 p. 106; PGM VII.218-21 p. 122; PGM VIII.1-63 p. 146; PGM VIII.64-110 p. 147; PGM XII.153-60 p. 159; PGM iv.239-95 p. 212; PGM xiv. 1056-62 p. 246; PGM XV.1-21 p. 251; PGM XVI.1-75 p. 252; PGM XVIIIa.1-4 p. 255; PGM CXXVIII.1-11 p. 323; PGM XXXVI.35-68 p. 269; PGM XXXVI.117-210 p. 274; PGM XXXVI.333-60 p. 277.
118. See Ibid.: PGM III.494-611 p. 32; PGM IV.1-25 p. 36; PGM VII.593-619 p. 135; PGM VII.1009-16 p. 145; PGM VII.1017-26 p. 145; PGM XXIIIa.18-27 p. 260; PGM XLII.1-10 p. 280; PGM XLIV.1-18 p. 281; PGM XLVIII.1-21 p. 282; PGM XC.1-13 p. 302.

119. Ibid, p. 323.
120. See Ibid.: PGM II.64-183 p. 16; PGM III.424-66 p. 30; PGM IV.850-929 p. 55; PGM V.96-172 p. 103; PGM VII.311-16 p. 125; PGM VII 619-27 p. 135; PGM XII.14-95 p. 156; PGM XII.270-350 p. 163; PDM xii.135-46 p. 171; PGM XIII.1-343 p. 172; PGM CV.1-15 p. 310; PGM XXXVI.295-311 p. 276.
121. Ibid., PGM VII.619-27 p. 135.
122. See Ibid.: PGM IV.3007-86 p. 96; PGM V.459-89 p. 109; PGM VII.260-71 p. 123; PGM VII.579-90 p. 134; PGM XII.201-69 p. 161; PGM XIII.1-343 p. 172; PGM XIII.734-1077 p. 191; PGM XXIIb.1-26 p. 261; PGM XXXV.1-42 p. 268.
PGM III.1-164 p. 18; PGM IV.1167-1226 p. 61; PGM IV.1227-64 p. 62
123. Ibid., PGM IV.1227-64 p. 62.
124. These statistics are only preliminary. A thorough study of Jewish names and Biblical references in the Magical Papyri is in order. The excellent series being published by the University of Chicago Press, of which Betz, GMP is only Volume One, should facilitate such a study.
125. Scholem, Gnosticism.
126. Margaliot, Sefer ha-Razim.
127. Levine, "Magical Bowls."
128. Greenfield, "Notes."
129. M.S. Cohen, The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1983), pp. 66-68.
130. Eg. Montgomery, Nippur, pp. 63-64.
Neusner, Jews in Babylonia, Vol. V, p. 219.
131. Gordon, ArOr 9, p. 85.
132. Kaufman, "Unique."
133. Ibid., p. 173. Kaufman is commenting only on the one Magic Bowl examined in his study.

134. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, p. 36.
135. Lester L. Grabbe, Comparative Philology and the Text of Job: A Study in Methodology (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977), p. 36.
136. G.R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Job," in Wisdom in Israel and the Ancient Near East: VT Supplement, Vol. III, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955), p. 72.
137. Eg. in Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 4.2.
138. Eg. Job 3:8; Ps 74:13-14.
139. Kaufman, "Unique," p. 172.
140. See my Introduction, note 18 for references.
141. Isbell, "Story," p. 14.
Montgomery, Nippur, p. 62.
142. Kaufman, "Unique," p. 172.
Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 108.
143. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 62.
Gordon, "Leviathan," p. 8.

PART II

THE BIBLE IN THE BOWLS

CHAPTER IV.

The Physical Geography of the Biblical Material :

The Statistics

One hundred and three Aramaic Magic Bowl texts, and two fragmentary texts,¹ were examined to obtain data for this thesis. A list of these texts with bibliographic information is in Appendix A. I discovered Biblical quotations and references suitable for my study in 44 of these 103 texts; Appendix B consists of a list of these 44 texts, and a detailed survey of the Biblical quotations and references found in each.

I will begin my detailed study of the Biblical quotations and references in the Aramaic Magic Bowls, by surveying what I call aspects of "physical geography": Where do they appear in the incantations? How many appear together? And so forth? I will then comment on the general magical function of the quotations and references within the context of Magic Bowl magic. I will conclude, by examining the magical significance of the individual Biblical verses and references in the Bowls. By searching through other bodies of Jewish and magical literature for magical associations with these verses and references, I will try

to determine whether or not they belong to a magical tradition outside of the Bowl incantations.

It is important to keep in mind that my study of Biblical material is limited in scope: I am only examining the Biblical quotations and the obvious Biblical references. Many other Biblical elements appear in the Bowls. Without taking these into account, the full Biblical flavour of the Bowl incantations cannot be adequately communicated. Biblical elements in the incantations that are not investigated here include: Biblical phraseology, divine epithets derived from the Bible,² liturgical phrases,³ and some names of angels and demons. All of these elements are worthy of further investigation; indeed, the many liturgical phrases in the Bowls could prove to be an important source for the state of Jewish ritual prayer in Babylonia in the pre-Geonic period.

As I am restricting my study to strictly Biblical material, I will not comment on any post-Biblical Jewish elements that appear in the incantations, such as "God's seal ring," or the figure of Joshua ben Perahyia. Though I have surveyed almost all the published Aramaic Magic Bowls, my work is far from comprehensive; hundreds of Magic Bowls and thousands of fragments lie in museums around the world waiting for publication.⁴ However, I had to make do with the published material.

I will now analyze the physical geography of the Biblical material in the Bowls, beginning with the Biblical quotations.

A) Biblical Quotations

Twenty seven quotations from the Bible appear in 22 Magic Bowl texts. A complete list of the quoted verses and the Bowls in which they appear can be found in Appendix C. Most of the Biblical quotations are only one verse long, however, seven quotations include two or three verses.⁵ Twice, Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1 are quoted together as a kind of magical formula:⁶ first a word from Deut 6:4 is quoted, followed by a word from Ps 91:1, followed by a word from Deut 6:4, and so on. Only six verses, or groups of verses, are quoted in more than one Magic Bowl text.⁷ The only verse quoted more than three times is Zech 3:2, appearing seven times.

I will now examine four characteristics of the quotation of Bible verses in the Magic Bowl incantations:

1. The number of quotations in each text

Of the 22 Bowl texts that quote the Bible, 13 contain only one quotation.⁸ Three texts have two quotations,⁹ three texts have three,¹⁰ and one text has four quotations.¹¹

One Bowl has nine quotations,¹² while one unusual Bowl consists only of Bible verses.¹³ Judging from these statistics, it appears that a "normal" Magic Bowl that contains Biblical quotations, has from one to four, usually one. The Bowl texts published by Naveh and Shaked and Kaufman that cite more than four verses are unusual in many ways; these Bowls will be discussed further below.

2. The grouping of multiple quotations

There is evidence to suggest that there may have been traditions for quoting certain verses together in Magic Bowl magic. I have already pointed out how Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1 appear together twice as a magical formula.¹⁴ Zech 3:2 is quoted together with Deut 6:4 in three Bowls,¹⁵ and with Num 9:23 in two Bowls.¹⁶ All three verses: Zech 3:2, Deut 6:4 and Num 9:23 appear together in one Bowl.¹⁷ Perhaps there was a magical tradition of grouping these verses together. The evidence is, however, limited; more examples of this grouping must be discovered in new Bowl texts before any conclusions can be drawn.

3. The whereabouts of the quotation in the incantation

My observation of the use of Biblical quotations in the Bowls has led me to one secure conclusion: there was a definite tradition of quoting Bible verses either at the

beginning, or at the end of an incantation. Of the 22 Bowl texts that quote the Bible, only five quote verses in the middle of the incantation.¹⁸ All of the rest of the Biblical verses appear either at the beginning or at the end of the incantation.¹⁹ In Appendix C I have clearly indicated which verses are quoted at the beginning, or at the end. A total of 22 verses are quoted at the ends of incantations, some alone,²⁰ some in groups of two or three.²¹ Only six verses are quoted at the beginning of incantations, alone,²² or in groups of two or three.²³ Two Bowl texts quote Bible verses both at the beginning and at the end of the incantation.²⁴

Judging from this evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that there was special magical significance in citing Biblical quotations either at the beginning, or most often, at the end of the incantation. I will discuss the possible magical significance of this phenomenon below. In the meantime, it is interesting to note that some Bowl incantations that do not end in Biblical quotations, end in liturgical phrases.²⁵ Both Biblical quotations and liturgical phrases were placed at the ends of incantations for a positive magical effect.

4. The use of verse citation formulae

Three Magic Bowl incantation texts use verse citation formulae to introduce Biblical quotations.²⁶ Two of these are verse citation formulae that one might see in Rabbinic literature: Gordon's ArOr 6, Bowl C uses sktwb, while Montgomery's Bowl 3 uses sn'mr. An unusual verse citation formula appears four times in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9: wytqym 'lyh qr'h dktvb, "may the following verse apply to him." The use of sktwb and sn'mr is probably due to a stylistic transfer from midrashic literary traditions. However, the unusual verse citation formula in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9 is a magical, rather than a midrashic, formula: it invokes God's power to make the events specified in a Bible verse, actually happen to a certain individual.

B) The Biblical References

For the purposes of my study, I counted 33 references to Biblical characters, places or events in 23 different Bowls.²⁷ The most frequent Biblical reference is to King Solomon's powerful seal ring, which is mentioned nine times. The creation of the world is referred to five times; the Red Sea, the monster Leviathan and Mt. Hermon, three times. Sodom and Gomorrah, Noah and the Ark, and Adam are referred to twice, while a few other Biblical characters are referred

to only once: Saul, David, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. For a complete list of these Biblical references, please see Appendix C.

Most Magic Bowl incantations that refer to Biblical characters, places or events, make only one such reference. However, seven incantation texts make reference to more than one.²⁸ Sometimes a reference is repeated in the same incantation text with a slightly different nuance of meaning. For instance, in Montgomery's Bowls 2 and 27, and Gordon's Orientalia X, Bowl 11, Leviathan is referred to twice in the same incantation: first in "the spell of the monster Leviathan," then in the "ban of the monster Leviathan."

It is clear that there were certain traditions of grouping certain references together. Reference to the seal ring of Solomon is often paired with reference to "God's seal ring," an element I am not discussing in this thesis, as it is not strictly Biblical.²⁹ Sodom and Gomorrah, Leviathan, and Mt. Hermon appear together in two texts;³⁰ Leviathan and Mt. Hermon appear as a duo once.³¹ There was probably some magical significance in these traditional groupings.

Unlike the Biblical quotations, there is no pattern to the placement of the Biblical references within the incantations. They can appear near the beginning, at the middle, or at the end of an incantation.

It is interesting to note that of all the 44 Bowls surveyed, only two contain both a Biblical quotation and a reference.³² This may well indicate that the incantations were written according to certain set traditions; one tradition used actual quotations as a means of harnessing the power of Scripture to the magic at hand. The other tradition used Biblical references. These two traditions rarely mixed.

C) Reference to Biblical Verses

A third category of Biblical material used in the Bowls, is reference to Biblical verses. I have only discovered three such references; they are listed in Appendix C. These are not full quotations, yet neither are they allusions; they were written with a specific Bible verse in mind. The reference in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9 is introduced with a verse citation formula, showing that it was regarded as a Biblical verse, even though it is not a full quotation. I have not included the many Biblical allusions or examples of Biblical phraseology in this category.

In conclusion, the Biblical quotations and references usually appear in the Magic Bowl incantations in predictable

patterns. The references can appear anywhere in an incantation, and are often grouped together in what may be traditional groupings. The Biblical quotations are almost always quoted at the end, and sometimes at the beginning of an incantation text. Except for the atypical Bowls, there are never more than four verses quoted in a text, and never more than three quoted consecutively. Biblical quotations and references almost never appear together in the same text. Verse citation formulae are used very rarely.

Before moving on to discuss the magical significance of the Biblical references and quotations, I would like to present brief profiles of the two atypical Bowls surveyed in my study.³³

Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9 is remarkable on two counts: first of all it is not a prophylactic charm to protect the client from the demons; rather, it contains a text dedicated to cursing a specifically named individual. Secondly, this incantation uses Biblical quotations in a way unlike that of any other Bowl text. Nine full Biblical quotations appear here, and one deliberate reference to a Biblical verse.³⁴ Strikingly, none of these quotations appear either at the beginning or the end of the incantation. Furthermore, no verse in Bowl 9 appears in any other Magic Bowl text; the choice of Biblical verses in Bowl 9 is highly idiosyncratic.

Kaufman's "unique" Magic Bowl is even more idiosyncratic than Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9. It consists solely of Bible verses, lacking any incantation whatsoever. The quoted verses are unique to this Bowl, appearing in no other Bowl text. Even more remarkable are the quotations from the Targum; this is the only known Magic Bowl text containing Targumic material. As this Magic Bowl contains no incantation, it is possible that it was not intended to be used for a magical purpose. Kaufman, however, concludes that the Bowl text is a unique example of an incantation type composed "solely of the words of the Torah."³⁵

These two Magic Bowls show a certain creativity in the use of Biblical quotations in Magic Bowl magic; at least two Magic Bowl authors were willing to depart from the prescribed traditions of Magic Bowl magic art. Magic Bowl traditions were thus creative, as well as conservative.

Footnotes

Chapter IV

The Physical Geography of the Biblical Material:

The Statistics

1. The two fragmentary texts are in Gordon, Orientalia X, Nos. 1932.619, and 1932.620.
2. I.e. 'hyh 'sr 'hyh an epithet taken from Ex 3:14 appears frequently in many Bowl texts. Other frequent epithets include: yhwh sw't, swr 'lmym, mlk 'lm'.
3. For some liturgical phrases in Magic Bowl texts see: Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 3, line 1; Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 7, end of incantation; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 6, line 10.
4. Related in a private conversation with Dr. Daniel Frank, a personal friend of Markham Geller.
5. Eg.: Num 6:24-26; Jer 2:1-3; Ezek 21:21-23; Hos 2:4-6; Mic 7:16-17; Ps 91:7, 10; Cant 3:7-8.
6. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, p. 233, comments on this phenomenon.
7. Num 9:23, Deut 6:4, Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1, Isa 40:12, Zech 3:2, and Cant 3:7-8. For further information on their frequency of quotation see Appendix C.
8. In order of appearance in Appendix B: Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Exorcism," Bowl G; Gordon, ArOr 9 (1937), Bowl J; Gordon, Orientalia X (1941), Bowl 1 and Bowl 7; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 3, Bowl 12, and Bowl 16; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 3, Bowl 6, Bowl 12b and Bowl 13; Geller, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," Bowl C; Isbell, "New Aramaic," Bowl I, Pt. III.
9. Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," Bowl C; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 5; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 12a.

10. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, Bowl 1; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 11, Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, Corpus, Bowl 66. Counting Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1 separately.
11. Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26.
12. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9.
13. Kaufman, "Unique."
14. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, p. 233.
15. Ibid., Bowl 1; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 11.
16. Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 5 and Bowl 26.
17. Ibid., Bowl 26. It is interesting to note that Zech 3:2 is in the Haftorah reading to the Torah reading that includes Num 9:23: Be-hea'lotkha. This connection may be purely coincidental, however, it may be behind the grouping of the verses in the Magic Bowls.
18. Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Exorcism," Bowl G; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9 and Bowl 12a and 12b; Kaufman, "Unique."
19. This does not mean that they always appear at the very end of the text; sometimes, apparently if there was additional room on the bowl's surface, the author would repeat the incantation. The quotations would, in these cases, be at the end of the incantation, but not at the end of the text.
20. Gordon, ArOr 9 (1937), Bowl J; Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 1 and Bowl 7; Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, Bowl 1; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 3, Bowl 12, bowl 16, and Bowl 26; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 3 and Bowl 12a; Geller, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," Bowl C; Isbell, "New Aramaic," Bowl I, Pt. III.
21. Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," Bowl C; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 5; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 11; Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, Corpus, Bowl 66.
22. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 13.

23. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, Bowl 14; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26.
24. Ibid.
25. Eg.: Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 7; Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," Bowl E and Bowl F; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 6.
26. Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," Bowl C; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 3; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9.
27. For details see Appendix C.
28. Gordon, ArOr 6 (1937), Bowl H; Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 11 and Fragmentary Bowl 1932.620; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 2, Bowl 10, Bowl 14 and Bowl 27.
29. Eg.: Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," Bowl B, Bowl E and Bowl F; Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 11.
30. Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 2 and Bowl 27.
31. Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 11.
32. Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Exorcism," Bowl G; Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 7.
33. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9; Kaufman, "Unique."
34. See Appendix B, Naveh and Shaked, Bowl 9 for detailed information.
35. Kaufman, "Unique," p. 172.

Chapter V

The Magical Function of the Biblical Material

The magical significance of the Biblical material in the Bowls must be analyzed according to two criteria: function and content. The use of Biblical quotations and references clearly filled some conscious magical function within the Bowl incantations; they somehow contributed to the effectiveness of the magic. The question of content is directly related to that of function: how does the choice of Bible verse or reference help fulfill its destined magical function? Can the actual content of a Bible verse explain its use in Magic Bowl magic?

I will begin my discussion of the magical significance of the Biblical material in the Bowls, by listing what I feel are the main magical functions of the Biblical quotations and references. I will present examples of each magical function from the Magic Bowl texts.

I have already indicated in the survey of the main issues in Magic Bowl scholarship, that the inclusion of Biblical material in magic spells was a way of harnessing the holy power of the Bible, and thus of God, to work in magic.¹ Though this statement is true enough in a general way, the use of Biblical quotations and references in the

Magic Bowl incantations show that their inclusion had many different and more specific magical functions.

A) The Magical Function of the Biblical References

The magical functions of the Biblical references are less varied than that of the quotations. They have three magical functions:

1. The Biblical references are clearly used as typological precedents to the magic at hand. Many of the Biblical references recall God's great feats in the past; these feats show His great powers of creation, salvation and revelation: the creation of the world, the parting of the Red Sea, Noah in the Ark. Other references show God's feats of powerful destruction and punishment aimed against His enemies: the bans against Sodom and Gomorrah, the bans of Leviathan and Mt. Hermon.

These typological precedents function in a magic spell as a kind of sympathetic magic; they invoke the divine power to imitate His former feats of salvation and/or destruction. Just as He once saved Noah in the Ark, so may He now save the client of the Bowl from evil; just as He once destroyed the evil cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, so may He now destroy the enemy..

2. Biblical references can be used simply to refer to magical traditions associated with certain Biblical characters. In this case, the references do not function as typological precedents. The most numerous of this kind of reference are to the magic "seal rings" of certain Biblical characters. The Bowl incantations make reference to traditions that Adam, Noah and especially Solomon, possessed magic "seal rings" upon which was carved the Ineffable Name. The Name rendered them powerful magical devices that protected against demons.

A reference to Saul in Gordon, ArOr 9 (1937), Bowl H, falls into this category, recalling a tradition that the King of Israel was pestered by a lilith; this reference probably refers to a legend associated with I Sam 18:10.

3. Biblical references are also used in the Bowl incantations to specify certain ~~magic~~ Names or categories. The reference to the sons of Adam by Eve in Montgomery's Bowl 13 is such a reference. It specifies that the spell indicates only the sons that Adam and Eve had together, not the sons Adam may have had with other wives. This specification would be important in a spell against demons, as there was a tradition that Adam sired demon children by succubi. The reference to the Name revealed in the burning bush, in Gordon's ArOr 9 (1937), Bowl H, is likewise a

reference of specification, indicating which divine Name is intended. The reference to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in a divine epithet in Montgomery's Bowl 8, is also a reference of specification.

One extremely interesting observation rises from the examination of these Biblical references and their magical functions: God Himself is always the powerful figure in all of the typological precedents. No human Biblical character is ever held up as a powerful typological precedent. Though Biblical characters such as Solomon and Moses are referred to, it is not these characters that render the reference magically powerful; rather, it is the Name of God on Solomon's seal ring and in Moses' burning bush, that gives the references their magical power. This reticence to use a human Biblical figure as a typological precedent is striking when we recall Moses' many magical acts explicitly related in Exodus, and his widespread and commonly accepted reputation as a magician among the educated pagans of antiquity.² No magical act wrought through the hands of Moses is ever referred to in the Aramaic Bowls. Though God is not directly mentioned in the references to Leviathan, Mt. Hermon and Sodom and Gomorrah, it is clearly He who brings about their subjugation and destruction. God Himself is the powerful agent in the Biblical references.

The recollection of God's powerful acts in the past, lends magic power to the magical event at hand: just as God defeated evil and protected His people in the past, so shall He do now by means of the Bowl incantation.

B) The Magical Function of the Biblical Quotations

The magical functions of the quotations show more variety than those of the references. Of course, the Biblical quotations, like the references, add to the magical power of the spell. However, they do so in different ways, often depending upon the actual content of the quoted Bible verses.

Before beginning to outline the different magical functions of the quotations, it is necessary to point out that in a few instances a quoted verse, or a reference to a verse, has no real magical function in the incantation. For instance, the reference to Esther 1:1 in Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 10, does not have a magical function; "the sorceries of the 127 provinces" is probably merely an inclusive phrase meaning "all of the sorceries in the world." Likewise, the quotation of Isa 40:12 in Naveh and Shaked's Bowls 12a and 12b is part of a divine epithet: "...in the name of He 'who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand'." Though this verse may have a certain magical significance, referring

to God's powerful act of creation, it has no distinct magical function in these Bowls, being only a part of a divine epithet.

I will now list the different magical functions of the Biblical quotations in the Bowl incantations, providing examples of each.

1. The quotation is used as a divine name of power. It is clear that in Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 1, Isa 6:3 is used, not simply as a quotation, but as a divine name of power. The quotation of this verse at the end of the incantation is introduced by bšwm. This indicates that the verse was perceived as a powerful divine name, or epithet. Ex 3:14's 'hyh 'sr 'hyh is used in a similar way in many Bowl texts.³

2. Quotations are used in magical formulae. Gordon has pointed out how the two verses Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1 are quoted together as a kind of magical formula. They are cited together, first a word from Deut 6:4, followed by a word from Ps 91:1, and so on.⁴

3. Quotations are used as magical liturgy. I have already called attention to the important place of liturgical phrases in the Magic Bowl incantations. Some Biblical

quotations may have been perceived as containing special magical power, due to their place in the liturgy. The Mishnah tells us that Deut 6:4, the Shema, and Num 6:24-26, the Priestly Blessing, were part of the liturgy in the Second Temple period.⁵ Other verses quoted in the Bowls that later became part of the liturgy are Isa 6:3, the Kedushah, Num 9:23 and 10:35, verses read during the Torah reading ritual, and Ex 15, the Song of the Sea.⁶ Due to their dual nature, being both liturgical and Biblical quotations, these verses may have been regarded as powerful magic prayers.

4. There is enough evidence to conclude that many quotations were chosen due to their magical numerological significance. The virtues and powers of certain numbers has always held an important place in the magical practices of all peoples. Jewish magic is no exception. In Jewish magic, the numbers three, seven, and nine were viewed as having special magical powers, though other numbers too, such as 60 or 72, gained magical significance in certain circles.⁷ The Biblical quotations in the Magic Bowls often fit numerological specifications. Many of the verses in the Bowls repeat key words of magical significance three or more times. The Tetragrammaton, as Gordon points out, appears four times in Num 9:23.⁸ The word qdws, "holy," appears three times in Isa 6:3. The Tetragrammaton appears

three times in Zech 3:2 and in Num 6:24-26. Deut 6:4 contains three names of God: the Tetragrammaton twice, and 'lhynw once.

The way some Magic Bowl texts group quotations together seems to have had special numerological significance. Montgomery's Bowl 5, for instance, quotes Num 9:23 and Zech 3:2 together: the Tetragrammaton appears a total of seven times in the two. Montgomery's Bowl 26 quotes Deut 6:4, Num 9:23 and Zech 3:2 together: the Tetragrammaton appears in the three a total of nine times.

Sometimes the number of Biblical quotations in a Bowl text shows numerological significance. Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9 has nine full Biblical quotations. Several Bowls quote three or more verses.⁹

Not all of the Biblical quotations in the Magic Bowl incantations show numerological significance; however, it is clear that some verses do. The verses with numerological significance are, for the most part, those in which the name of God is repeated a key number of times; the multiple presence of the name of God lent additional magical power to the quotation, and thus to the incantation.

5. Like the Biblical references, the Biblical quotations were used as typological precedents to the magic at hand. As typological precedents, the content of the

Biblical quotations, what they actually said, had an important magical function: just as God protected Israel in a verse, so should He now protect the client; just as He rebuked the powers of evil in a verse, so should He now rebuke them.¹⁰ Many of the Biblical quotations in the Bowls have this magical function: Ex 15:7, Num 9:23, Isa 44:25, Ezek 21:21-23, Hos 2:4-6, Zech 3:2, Pss 121:7 and 125:2, and Cant 3:7-8. Like the Biblical references, the quotations are used as typological precedents of both God's salvation of Israel, and His destruction of His enemies. Used as typological precedents, the quotation function as a sort of sympathetic magic: God is invoked through the precedents to imitate His Biblical actions in the magic at hand.

6. Quotations are also used as a way of indirectly coercing God into fulfilling a magic task. To my knowledge, there is no Magic Bowl incantation in which the God of Israel is commanded, in second person, to do any action. The authors of the Bowls may have felt a reluctance to directly command God to guard Israel, or to destroy demons. Instead, they quoted Bible verses that functioned as indirect, third person, commands.

A basic concept underlying this magical function of the quotations is the ultimate truth and reality of the words of the Torah. The statements in the Torah are true and

real; if they have not yet come to pass, then they will in the future. God means to fulfill and actualize His holy word.

The Biblical quotations used as typological precedents listed above, could have been used as indirect commands to God. However, the quotations of Biblical blessings and curses are the most obvious examples of the indirect coercion of God to act in the magic at hand. Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9 quotes nine curses from the Torah and the Prophets: these curses tell in great detail how God will afflict His enemies and the enemies of Israel. The content of these curses is intended to apply to the personal enemy of the Bowl's client. By quoting these curses, the client is invoking God to fulfill the curses in His own Torah against a specific enemy. This is a way of indirectly coercing God to act in the client's behalf.

The Biblical blessings that are quoted have an identical function, however, they invoke God to protect the client, rather than punish his enemies.

Quotations from the Bible used as indirect commands to God would spare an author, and a client, the discomfort of directly commanding the all-powerful God.

7. The quotations may have functioned as a kind of "magic seal." The magical action of "sealing" was very important

in Magic Bowl magic. This importance is reflected in the frequent mention of the famous "seal rings" of God, Adam, Noah and Solomon,¹¹ as well as in the actual words of the incantations. The act of "sealing" is mentioned in many Magic Bowl texts.¹² Judging from the usage of the term, "sealing" seems to mean protecting through magic: "...this Bowl is designated for the sealing of the home of this Geyonai the son of Mamai....," reads Montgomery's Bowl 8.

The emphasis on magical "sealing," coupled with the usual configuration of Biblical quotations in the Bowl incantations, has led me to a hypothesis of a possible magical function of the Biblical quotations. We recall that most Biblical quotations appear either at the beginning or at the end of the incantations. Perhaps they were regarded as "holy seals" of words of the Torah which sealed off the incantation at its beginning and/or end. Just as the houses of the clients were "sealed" by the incantation, so was the incantation "sealed" by the words of the Bible. However, the quotations are never referred to as "seals" in the texts; this remains but a fanciful hypothesis.

Footnotes

Chapter V

The Magical Functions of Biblical Quotations
and References in the Magic Bowl Incantations

1. Isbell, "Story," p. 14; Kaufman, "Unique," p. 172; Montgomery, Nippur, p. 62; Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 108.
2. See Gager, Moses, Ch. 4, especially p. 159.
3. Eg. Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 8, Bowl 11, Bowl 18 and Bowl 29; Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Exorcism," Bowl G. I did not include 'hyh 'sr 'hyh in my study as it is not a full quotation.
4. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, p. 233.
5. See Mishnah Tamid 5:1. See discussion in Daniel Patte, Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975), pp. 81-86.
6. The Kedushah was a part of the liturgy in the Talmudic period. See A.Z. Idelsohn, Jewish Liturgy and Its Development (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1932), p. 31.
7. See Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, pp. 117-120.
8. Gordon, ArOr 9 (1937), p. 92.
9. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, Bowl 1; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 11; Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, Corpus, Bowl 66.
10. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, p. 236, for the use of Zech 3:2 as a typological precedent.
11. For a discussion of the "sealing" motif see Levine, "Magical Bowls," pp. 364-368.
12. Eg. Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 8, Bowl 22 and Bowl 23; Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 3.

Chapter VI

The Magical Function and Significance of the Individual References and Quotations

The magical function and significance of each Biblical reference and quotation will now be examined. I will follow the order of the list of references and quotations in Appendix C without referring to the individual Magic Bowl texts in which they appear; if the reader wishes to check in which texts the material appears, I refer him to Appendices B and C.

The magical function and significance of the Biblical material in the Bowls, will be examined in several ways. First, the immediate Biblical context, and the actual content, of a quotation or reference will be examined for magical significance. Secondly, various other works will be examined to see if the presence of the same references and quotations therein, can reveal something about their magical significance. These other works include Pseudepigraphical works, and other Jewish and non-Jewish magic texts. Lastly, I will survey the interpretations of the verses used in the Magic Bowls, appearing in Jewish midrashic and aggadic traditions. Often, an interpretation

of a verse in the Midrashim can shed light on its magical significance.

Before beginning, a short methodological digression is in order. Part of this study consists of listing the appearance of the Biblical material used in the Bowls, in other types of magical literature and in the Midrashim. Most of these works are not contemporary with the Magic Bowls. Some date from over a thousand years later.¹ I do not intend to ascribe any kind of generic relationship between any two texts containing the same Biblical reference or magical tradition. The historical development of the magical traditions surrounding different Biblical verses and references is beyond the limits of this thesis. I bring examples from these works, only to shed light on the magical significance of the Biblical material in question, and to determine its prominence in magic.

A) The Biblical References

1. Solomon

References to King Solomon are the most numerous Biblical references in the Magic Bowl incantations, appearing twelve times in nine Bowl texts. These references do not recall an actual Biblical event; rather, they refer to a non-Biblical magical tradition connected with the Biblical

king. Eleven of the references to Solomon call him "son of David," a term denoting much more than the king's patronymic. Apparently, the term "son of David" was a title primarily associated with a figure whose role is that of demon exorcist.² Solomon is, thus, invoked in the Bowls in his capacity as demon exorcist.

It is not surprising that Solomon is referred to so many times in the Magic Bowl texts, as he enjoyed a prestigious reputation as a wise man, magician and sorcerer from the post-Biblical period through the Middle Ages.³ The roots of the legend of Solomon the magician are in the Biblical account of Solomon's wisdom, I Kings 5:9-14. Though no magic act is attributed to Solomon in this passage, his superior wisdom is stressed: the king's great wisdom causes him to be viewed as an authority on many subjects. Kings come from all over the world, bearing gifts to Solomon on account of his wisdom.

Other literature of the Hellenistic period clearly understands the Biblical account of Solomon's wisdom, as referring to his magical prowess and to his abilities to subjugate demons.⁴ Josephus states quite explicitly, that part of the wisdom that God vouchsafed Solomon was "... the knowledge of the art used against the demons for the benefit and healing of all men."⁵ The Targum Sheni to Esther states that Solomon had dominion over all devils and spirits of

the night. The Apocalypse of Adam relates that Solomon had an army of demons at his command.⁶ The beginning of Sefer ha-Razim tells how Solomon was heir to a book that gave him power over spirits and demons.⁷

The Testament of Solomon, a pseudepigraphal Palestinian work dated from the first or second century A.D.,⁸ portrays Solomon as a demon master par excellence: by means of a magic ring he subjugates the myriad noxious spirits of the air, who are forced to help him build the Temple. Solomon's wonderful ring, which is described in the Testament of Solomon as being engraved with a "magic seal,"⁹ appears again and again coupled with the name of its master in the Jewish and non-Jewish literary texts and artifacts of late antiquity. The Magic Bowls studied in this thesis refer to the seal ring of Solomon nine times. They specify that the "seal" on the ring was none other than the "Great Ineffable Name of God." Solomon is able to make magic against the demons with this seal.¹⁰ The Mandaic Magic Bowls¹¹ and the Syriac Magic Bowls¹² also invoke the seal ring of Solomon as a protection against the demons.

A picture of Solomon on horseback, piercing a lilith with a spear, is a common motif on non-Jewish Hellenistic amulets.¹³ Duling mentions a Jewish literary amulet dating from the first century B.C., in which the seal of Solomon is invoked as protection for a newborn infant.¹⁴ The

Magical Papyri also show evidence of Solomon's magical reputation. Solomon is referred to twice in the Greek Papyri, once as the author of a "trance spell,"¹⁵ and once in a "tested charm" for those possessed by demons.¹⁶ In the latter, "the seal which Solomon placed on the tongue of Jeremiah" is invoked as having special power against demons. The fame of Solomon as magician and demon binder continued throughout the Middle Ages in Judaism, Christianity and in Islam.¹⁷ Four Syriac Christian charms published by Gollancz invoke the ring of Solomon for protection.¹⁸

Jewish aggadic and midrashic sources contain many references to Solomon's role as demon subjugator. An oft-repeated aggadah tells how Solomon subjugated the demon Asmodeus with his magic seal ring, forcing him to disclose the whereabouts of the legendary shamir stone, needed for the construction of the Temple altar.¹⁹ This aggadah ends with a didactic moral point: because Solomon sinned, he remained afraid of demons, even though he had the power to command them at will. Because of his fear, he set 60 guards about his bed every night. Cant 3:7-8 is supplied as a proof-text.²⁰ One tradition attributes the authorship of Ps 91, the demon Psalm, to Solomon.²¹

In later Islamic and Jewish Kabbalistic literature, an early legend identifying the Queen of Sheba as a she-

demon, was expanded. Solomon's relationship with the Queen is portrayed according to this identification.²²

The references to Solomon and his seal ring in the Magic Bowl incantations are but one example of the larger international tradition of regarding Solomon as an expert magician and commander of demons. The references to Solomon's seal ring in the Bowls function as a kind of typological precedent; they call down the power of the seal ring, upon which is engraved God's name, to protect the client from demons.

Again, it is remarkable that Solomon himself is not invoked in the Bowl incantations: only his seal ring, and in three cases his "jinee" are invoked. In the Bowls, it is the seal ring with God's name on it, not Solomon himself, that possesses the power to ward off and control demons.

2. The Creation

The creation of the world was an event to which magical significance was commonly attributed in most Western magical traditions.²³ The Magic Bowls refer to the creation of the world five times, apart from in divine epithets. The creation is mentioned many more times in the divine epithets, but I have not listed these occurrences.²⁴

It is natural that the creation of the world should be an important magical motif. The creation is a power-

charged event, the time when God revealed His ultimate power and established order out of chaos. The fight of the divine power with the monsters of chaos was a key ingredient of the creation story in Ancient Near Eastern mythology.²⁵ This defeat of the monsters of chaos made the creation event a perfect typological precedent for magical acts: just as the divine power defeated those monsters and ordered the earth at the beginning of all things, so shall he now subjugate evil and restore order.

Ancient Babylonian and Egyptian mythology linked the creation of the world with magic.²⁶ The Babylonian incantation against toothache known as "The Legend of the Worm," begins by a recapitulation of the order of creation.²⁷ The famous "Eighth Book of Moses" in the Greek Magical Papyri²⁸ contains a long, pagan creation account, reminiscent of Gnostic texts. The Coptic Magical Papyri likewise refer to the creation in a magic spell.²⁹ In Medieval Christian magic, the cosmological first part of the Gospel of John was often cited in amulets and charms.³⁰ Three Christian Syriac spells published by Gollancz begin with accounts of the creation, citing from Genesis and the Gospel of John.³¹ Schrire shows that Gen 1:1-5, in an abbreviated form, was used as an agent of power in Medieval amulets.³² The Sefer Yetzirah, an early Medieval Jewish theurgic mystical text, describes the creation of the world

occurring through magical permutations of the Hebrew alphabet.³³

It is interesting to note that while the Magic Bowl incantations refer to the creation of the world, they do not, as might be expected, use the creation as a typological precedent of the magic at hand. In this respect, the use of the creation motif in the Magic Bowl incantations is quite unlike its use in the other magic texts and artifacts outlined above.

Instead, the five references to creation in the Bowl's appear to function as idioms meaning "the beginning of all time." In these references, various things, the Ineffable Name, a spell, a seal, knowledge of the name, are said to have existed "since the days of creation." The creation seems to be held up as the first point in time in which the present order of things existed. The actual powerful divine act of creation is not invoked; rather, the Name and the seal existing from the days of creation, are the powerful invoked elements. At no place in the Magic Bowl incantations, to my knowledge, is there a reference to the divine act of creation, apart from in some divine epithets and liturgical phrases.³⁴ The use of the creation motif only as an idiomatic designation of time in the Bowl incantations could indicate a reticence to associate the divine creation of the world with magic. Whether or not

this reticence existed, God's creation of the world is not used as a typological precedent to the magic of the Bowls.

3. The Red Sea

The Biblical account of the parting of the Red Sea, told in Ex 14 and 15, tells of an event in which God reveals His power for the salvation of Israel and for the destruction of His, and her, enemies. The divine miracle of the parting of the Sea, initiated by Moses himself who strikes the waters with his staff, is an event that begs use as a typological precedent to magical salvation and punishment of inimical forces.

The Red Sea motif has a two-fold significance in later magical and midrashic literature: on the one hand, the parting of the Red Sea is a typological precedent of the salvation of Israel and the punishment of her enemies; on the other hand, the Red Sea is portrayed as a hot-bed of destructive demonic and magical activity.

The Greek Magical Papyri use the Red Sea motif as a typological precedent of salvation and protection in a spell against the demons.³⁵ There are references in the Syriac Incantation Bowls,³⁶ and in Gollancz's Syriac charms,³⁷ to the parting of the Red Sea as an act of divine salvation. The Jewish midrashic literature perceives the parting of the Red Sea as a time when God revealed Himself as a warrior

for Israel's salvation,³⁸ and as a typological precedent for all future divine acts of salvation.

Other sources show the connection of the Red Sea with demons. In the Testament of Solomon,³⁹ a dangerous demon is trapped in the Red Sea. Apparently, relates the Testament, demons were trapped in the waters of the Red Sea when the waters fell back into the dry seabed, at the time of the miracle. Other sources tell that the Red Sea is the dwelling place of Lilith, Adam's demon wife.⁴⁰ The Red Sea was seen in Medieval Jewish sources as the place of death of the evil Egyptian sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres, who tried in vain to save themselves from the waters of the Sea by using magic charms and conjurations.⁴¹ The Red Sea, then, is viewed in the literature both as an event and as a place: as an event it signifies a time of revelation of God's powers of salvation and punishment; as a place, it is perceived as having connections with demons and sorceries.

There are three references to the Red Sea in the Aramaic Bowl incantations. One of them seems to refer to the divine event of salvation: "By the Red Sea Thou hast split." Another is addressed to the demons, and seems to reflect the tradition that the Red Sea was the watering hole for demons and black magicians: "By the Red Sea he will keep you distant..." The third reference is very unclear; its magical significance cannot be determined:

"...he removed his chariot to the Red Sea." Only in the first example is the Red Sea motif used as a typological precedent of salvation.

4. Leviathan

The great monster Leviathan is referred to six times in three Magic Bowl texts: "the spell of Leviathan" and "the ban of Leviathan" are mentioned in each. In the Bible, the Leviathan appears in five passages: Isa 27:1, Ps 74:14 and 104:26, and Job 3:8 and 40:25. In all of these Biblical sources, Leviathan is portrayed as a fierce, powerful monster, that God in some way subdues.⁴² Scholars generally agree that the Leviathan motif in the Bible was taken over from an ancient Canaanite myth: the subjugation of the monster of chaos, Yam, by the god, Baal, at the creation of the world,⁴³ leading to the subsequent establishment of natural order.

The Leviathan appears extensively in post-Biblical Jewish and Christian sources as a symbol of evil.⁴⁴ The Canaanite myth of the subjugation of the evil monster of chaos at the beginning of time, was preserved in Rabbinic literature, as well as in the Biblical sources mentioned above. A tradition preserved in Baba Batra 75a and in Pesikta' de Rab Kahana', 29, 188a-b, tells of a contest between the angels and monsters at the time of creation.

An account in a later source, Midrash Alphabetot, 98, tells how Gabriel receives an order from God to drag out Leviathan from the Great Sea. While following orders, Gabriel is swallowed up, and God Himself must come and slay the monster in front of the pious.⁴⁵

In spite of Leviathan's prolific appearance in post-Biblical Jewish and Christian literature, it does not appear regularly in magical literature, outside of the Magic Bowls. I was able to discover only one reference to Leviathan in a Syriac charm, where God's subjugation of Leviathan in Ps 74:13-14 is held up as the typological prototype of God binding the evil serpent.⁴⁶

The references to the ban and the spell of Leviathan in the Magic Bowl incantations are a clear case of the use of a Biblical event as a typological precedent: just as God suppressed Leviathan, so should He now defeat the demonic forces of evil. The references in the Bowls preserve a mythological remnant of the ancient Canaanite story of Yam and Baal. In all three Bowls, the references to Leviathan are introduced by "the spell of the Sea," or ym. This connection between Leviathan and Yam shows that the Canaanite myth is probably the ultimate source of this reference.

Though the Leviathan himself is a frequent figure in post-Biblical Jewish and Christian literature, I was unable to discover any traditions of bans or spells associated

with him. The references to the ban and spell of Leviathan in the Bowl texts, must refer to some primordial magic curse that was directed against Leviathan, or Yam, in the battle of creation. Job 3:8 suggests the existence of a tradition of a primordial curse. The RSV translation reads: "Let those curse it who curse the day, who are skilled to rouse up Leviathan." W.F. Albright,⁴⁷ E.A. Speiser,⁴⁸ and G.R. Driver⁴⁹ read ym, "sea," in place of M.T. reading ywm, "day." They hold that this verse refers to the primordial battle of Canaanite myth. If this is the case, then the verse tells of a primordial curse directed against Yam, the monster. E.A. Speiser discusses the word used for curse in Job 3:8, and comes to the conclusion that the verb 'rr' specifies a kind of magical protective curse.⁵⁰

If this be true, then there may have been a tradition in which God's subjugation of Leviathan was effected by a kind of magical curse. Hints of this magical curse are present in Job 3:8 and in the Magic Bowl incantations. This primordial curse is now invoked against the demons: God's powerful curse against evil at the creation of the world is a typological precedent to the magic at hand.

5. Mt. Hermon

The "ban of Mt. Hermon" is referred to in three Magic Bowl texts, together with the "ban of Leviathan." In the

Bible, though Mt. Hermon is mentioned many times,⁵¹ it is never associated with magic or with a ban or curse. Neither does Mt. Hermon appear as a motif in any magical literature outside of the Magic Bowls.

What tradition does the "ban of Mt. Hermon" actually refer to? Montgomery holds that this reference is to a tradition preserved in Enoch, Chapter 6.⁵² In Enoch 6, the rebel angels exchange oaths and curses before they descend to possess the daughters of the sons of men. We are told that the mountain upon which they exchanged the oaths and curses was subsequently called, "Hermon," a play on the Hebrew root "hrm," meaning "curse," or "ban."

To my mind, Montgomery's identification of the source of the ban of Mt. Hermon tradition is problematic. Unlike the curse of Leviathan, the curses of the rebel angels were not directed against the powers of evil; rather, they were supporting the powers of evil, binding the angels together to execute sin. It seems highly unlikely that a magical ban originally supportive of evil, would be invoked against demons. The "ban of Mt. Hermon" referred to in the Bowls probably does not reflect the tradition in Enoch 6. Yet there appear to be no other traditions that associate Mt. Hermon with curses or bans. It may be that the "ban of Mt. Hermon" refers to God's subsequent punishment of the rebel angels for their evil lust. It may be, too, that Mt. Hermon

was confused with Mt. Ebal, from the top of which curses were pronounced in Deut 27 and 28. There is, however, no evidence to support either of these guesses.

Whatever the tradition behind the "ban of Mt. Hermon," the ban is used in the Bowls as a typological precedent, as was the ban of Leviathan the monster.

6. Sodom and Gomorrah

The destruction of the twin cities of sin, Sodom and Gomorrah, in Gen 19 is commonly perceived as a typology of God's destruction of the sinful, throughout Jewish and Christian literature. Even in the Bible itself, the prophets hold up Sodom and Gomorrah as archetypes of sin and its consequences.⁵³ It is natural that the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah should enjoy such typological prestige: unlike the Flood, also a revelation of God's destructive wrath against sinners, the destruction that befell Sodom and Gomorrah could happen again. God had not promised Abraham, as He had Noah, never again to destroy human sinners in this way.

I was unable to discover any magical or demonic traditions associated with Sodom and Gomorrah in Jewish midrashic literature. Though many sources discuss the exact nature of the sins committed by the inhabitants of the twin

cities,⁵⁴ nowhere is black magic or fraternizing with demons listed as one of their sins.

The reference to Sodom and Gomorrah in two Magic Bowl texts, serves as a typological precedent of God's destruction of evil. Other magic texts use Sodom and Gomorrah as a typological precedent in magic spells. An amulet published by Naveh and Shaked invokes "Abraxas the great angel who overturned Sodom and Gomorrah."⁵⁵ Sefer ha-Razim refers to the destruction of the twin cities in a spell to destroy a fortified wall: "Let it be overturned like Sodom and Gomorrah!"⁵⁶ The use of the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah in Sefer ha-Razim shows how a typological precedent can be used in sympathetic magic: the wall is invoked to imitate Sodom and Gomorrah and to be overturned, just as they were. The Greek Magical Papyri refer to Sodom and Gomorrah in a love charm. God's destruction of the cities is recalled, then the sulfur that God rained upon them is invoked to rain upon the beloved woman until she yield to the lover. Again, the reference functions in sympathetic magic: just as the cities were burned, so shall the woman burn with lust until her defenses collapse.⁵⁷ A spell against an abscess preserved in the Talmud⁵⁸ may also show the use of the typological precedent in sympathetic magic. The spell invokes two angels who come from the "land of Sodom." Then the abscess is ordered to be "cut down, to

be healed, to be overthrown." Apparently, the two angels from the land of Sodom, perhaps identified with the angels who visited Lot in Gen 18, are experts in "overturning" due to their first-hand experience at the city. The overthrown Sodom is thus used as a typological precedent in sympathetic magic to "overthrow" an abscess.

The reference to Sodom and Gomorrah probably has sympathetic value in the Magic Bowl incantations as well: the demons will imitate the action of the twin cities, and thus be overthrown.

7. Noah and the Ark

Noah and the Ark are mentioned twice in the Magic Bowl texts. They are used as typological precedents: the Ark is a symbol of God's salvation and protection. Just as God saved Noah and his family in the Ark, so shall He save the clients of the Bowls. The only other magic texts which make reference to Noah and the Ark are the Syriac spells published by Gollancz. Four of these spells use Noah and/or the Ark as magical typologies of salvation and protection.⁵⁹

One of the references to Noah in the Bowl texts mentions the "seal with which Noah sealed the Ark." We have seen that "sealing" was a kind of magical protection from demons. In the Biblical account of Noah and the Ark, Noah has no dealings with demons or with magic. However,

magical traditions were associated with Noah in post-Biblical literature. In Jubilees, Chapter 10, Noah and his family are polluted by evil spirits; God teaches Noah how to bind and control these spirits, who are forced to impart their secret knowledge of healing to him.⁶⁰ The reference to the "seal with which Noah sealed the Ark" in the Bowl text, could well reflect this tradition.

The Raya Mehemna relates another demonic tradition associated with Noah and the Ark: while a man sleeps, he is attacked by demons who overpower his limbs, just as the waters of the Flood overwhelmed the earth. His heart, however, is protected, just as Noah and his wife and all who entered with him into the Ark were protected.⁶¹ However, this reference may be purely metaphorical, rather than reflect an actual tradition. An interpretation of Ps 91 in Midrash Tehillim relates how Noah could tread on scorpions and serpents while he was in the Ark; he was protected by God and no harm ever came to him.⁶² The inclusion of this aggadah in the interpretation of Ps 91, the "demon Psalm," may show a traditional association between Noah and demonic activity. Though it presents no direct connection between Noah and demons, Noah is the possessor of secret magical knowledge in Sefer ha-Razim.⁶³

These post-Biblical traditions indicate that the references to Noah and the Ark in the Magic Bowls can be

seen as typological precedents, not only of God's salvation, but of His protection against demons.

8. Adam

Adam, the first man, is referred to twice in the Magic Bowl incantations. One of these references is a reference of specification. It occurs in a difficult passage in Montgomery's Bowl 13: "...the sons of Adam whom he begat on Eve."⁶⁴ This phrase is probably used to specify that Adam's human children are referred to in the incantation, not the demon children he fathered on demonesses, according to aggadic tradition.⁶⁵

The other reference to Adam recalls "the seal with which Adam sealed his son Seth." Again, we have the recollection of a seal tradition. Like the seal of Solomon and the seal of Noah, the seal of Adam was used to protect from demons.

The figures of Adam and Seth are amply discussed throughout Jewish aggadic and midrashic literature; nowhere, however, have I been able to discover a tradition in which Adam seals his son Seth. Perhaps, however, the "seal" refers to the mark of circumcision. A tradition appearing in Midrash Tehillim 9.7 and in Avot de-Rabbi Natan Ch.2, lists Adam and Seth as two of the men who were born circumcised. In some traditions, circumcision was regarded as protection

from demons: in a legend cited by Trachtenberg, Lilith complains that she can only attack boys before the time of their circumcision. The implication is that they are protected from her machinations after that ritual has taken place.⁶⁶

However, if indeed circumcision is regarded as an anti-demonic device, nowhere is it referred to as a "seal" in these traditions. The only place, to my knowledge, where it is called "seal" is in the Birkat ha-Mazon: here it is called "your covenant which you have sealed in our flesh." This reference, however, is neither magical, nor anti-demonic.

Though Adam is used as a typological figure in many Christian and Jewish magic spells,⁶⁷ in none was I able to find reference to a seal. One similar tradition is in the Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam.⁶⁸ In the Apocalypse, Adam imparts secret, eternal knowledge to Seth, knowledge that makes ~~he~~ who possesses it baptized in holy baptism. A Jewish version of this tradition, minus the reference to "holy baptism," is preserved in the Zohar, where it tells how Adam imparted the "true teachings" of the Torah to Seth.⁶⁹ A Gnostic amulet described by Goodenough is inscribed with the name of Seth the son of Adam.⁷⁰ Likewise, the Mandaic Magic Bowls, a product of the Mandaic Gnostic religion, list Seth as a divine power, or Uthra.⁷¹

Thus, the only motifs similar to "the seal with which Adam sealed his son Seth" are in Gnostic literature and artifacts, and perhaps in Jewish traditions of the mark of circumcision.

9. Saul

The one reference to Saul in the Bowl incantations is an allusion to an aggadic tradition. I Sam 18:10 tells how an "evil spirit from God" fell upon Saul while David was playing the harp for him. Pseudo-Philo interprets this "evil spirit from God" to be an evil demon; David rebukes this demon through his music.⁷² The reference in the Magic Bowl to "the lilith that was sent against Saul," probably reflects this exegetical tradition of I Sam 18:10.

10. Moses and the Burning Bush

Without doubt, Moses was perceived as a great magician in late antiquity. He is represented as a master of magic and miracle in Hellenistic Jewish sources,⁷³ three pseudepigraphal magic books attributed to Moses are named in the Greek Magical Papyri,⁷⁴ he is invoked in Syriac⁷⁵ and Mandaic⁷⁶ Magic Bowl incantations. Six of Gollancz's Syriac charms use Moses and his staff as a magical typology.⁷⁷ A midrashic source relates that Moses was the author of the "demon Psalm," Ps 91.⁷⁸

Moses' reputation as a magician has Biblical antecedents. The story of the Exodus emphasizes Moses' power to work miraculous acts using the power of God, acts which could easily be understood as magical. With so much emphasis on Moses' superior powers, both in the Bible and in magical literature, it is surprising that Moses is only referred to once in the Aramaic Magic Bowl incantations. And here it is not Moses himself who is referred to, nor his great feats of power, but rather the reference is to "the Ineffable Name that was revealed to Moses in the burning bush." It is an intriguing question why Moses and his wondrous acts were not used as typological precedents in the Magic Bowls. Probably, as was the case with the references to Solomon, the Bowl texts evince a reluctance to attribute protective powers to a human being, even a super-human being like Moses. This reluctance may have a polemical origin; perhaps it was a way in which the Jews who used the Magic Bowls distinguished their magic from that of their Christian neighbors who invoked the powers of Jesus in their magic. Perhaps, too, this reluctance reflects a kind of self-imposed censorship: it just wasn't proper to connect the name of he who received the Torah from God, with a magical amulet. If, however, the Jews of Babylonia had no religious qualms about using Magic Bowls in the first place, it stands to reason that they would see

no problem in using the name of Moses in magic. Whatever the reason may be, it is clear that the agent of power invoked through this reference is not Moses, but the Ineffable Name revealed in the bush.

The burning bush and the name revealed in it appear elsewhere with magical significance. The burning bush is a central motif in a spell against a fever described in the Talmud.⁷⁹ The Zohar relates that Moses protected himself from hosts of inimical angels while he ascended to heaven, by saying the name that had been revealed to him in the burning bush.⁸⁰

This Biblical reference is a reference of specification, specifying which name of God is intended by the author.

11. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

The patriarchs are only referred to once in the Magic Bowl incantations, in a divine epithet. This reference, like that to Moses and the burning bush, is a reference of specification, specifying a certain name of God.

Contemporary magical literature and artifacts show that the patriarchs were associated with magical traditions. They are referred to many times in the Greek Magical Papyri.⁸¹ Most of these references consist of divine epithets, however, sometimes the patriarchs are invoked as

if they were gods!⁸² A Coptic charm published by Goodenough contains an anecdote about Abraham and Melchizedek.⁸³ Bonner reports that amulets have been discovered, engraved with a representation of the sacrifice of Isaac.⁸⁴ From all appearances, however, the patriarchs did not play an important part in the magic of the Bowls.

12. David

Apart from mention of his name in Solomon's title, "son of David," David is referred to only once in the Aramaic Magic Bowls. We have seen that the term "son of David" is a title for someone with skills as a demon exorcist.⁸⁵ It does not, therefore, count as a Biblical reference. The one true reference to David appears in a mutilated line of Montgomery's Bowl 14. The name "David" appears, followed by a reference to "the Psalm of the Red Sea." A lacuna in the text makes the reading difficult. Perhaps this reference is to a Psalm of David, or, in error, to the Song of the Sea.⁸⁶

David's musical talents are associated with demons and magic in other sources. We have already seen how Pseudo-Philo has David chase away Saul's demons with his harp music.⁸⁷ Kropp's Coptic Magical Papyri invoke David's musical abilities again and again.⁸⁸ Naveh and Shaked's

Amulet 4 reads: "sing for David."⁸⁹ Perhaps the reference in Montgomery's Bowl 14 reflects these traditions, viewing David's music as a magical prophylactic.

The tradition of David's music as a magical prophylactic may have its roots in the syncretistic identification of David and Orpheus. Orpheus, the mythical Greek musician, whose lyre music was so sweet that it charmed the wild beasts, was a key figure in a Hellenistic mystery cult of late antiquity. In this mystery cult, the music of Orpheus was a symbol of the power of divine song over the savagery of the physical body. The Biblical character, David, took on some of the characteristics of Orpheus in Jewish art of the Hellenistic period. In the frescoes of Dura-Europos, David is portrayed as Orpheus playing his lyre among subdued wild beasts.⁹⁰

Magic and music were closely allied in the Greek mind. Thus, Orpheus the musician became known as Orpheus the magician in popular Greek religion. Several Greek and Hellenistic magic texts cite spells in the name of Orpheus.⁹¹

It may be that the association of the powers of magic and of music connected with Orpheus, was transferred to David.

Conclusion

Most of the Biblical references in the Magic Bowl incantations appear in other Jewish and/or non-Jewish magical and anti-demonic traditions. Two characteristics distinguish the use of Biblical references in the Aramaic Magic Bowls:

1) the Bowl texts never refer to the magical or powerful acts of human Biblical characters; 2) no human Biblical character is invoked like a god. In the Magic Bowl incantations God Himself is always the agent who imparts power to the magic at hand.

B. Reference to Biblical Verses

I have included three references to Biblical verses in my list of Biblical elements in the Bowls. These references are not full, or necessarily accurate, quotations; however, it is clear that the authors included them with a conscious Biblical verse in mind.

1. Lev 26:27 - "... and you shall have no power to stand before your enemies."
- Jer 8:4 - "...when men fall, do they not rise again? If one turns away, does he not return?"
- Amos 8:14 - "...they shall fall, and never rise again."

Naveh and Shaked hold that inaccurate references to these verses occur in their Bowl 9, line 5: "they shall

fall and not arise," referring to Jer 8:4 and/or Amos 8:14, and "there will be no power for them to stand up," to Lev 26:37.⁹² It is clear, in this case, that the author had an actual Biblical text in mind, for he introduces the reference with a verse citation formula: "may the following verse apply to him."

The magical function of these references is an indirect command to God; God is called upon to fulfill the verses in question, directing their content against a specific enemy. This enemy shall be caused to fall and arise no more, nor shall he have any power to stand.

The Biblical contexts of Jer 8:4 and Amos 8:14 do not reveal any magical significance. In Amos 8:4, falling and not arising again is a punishment for apostasy, i.e., swearing by pagan gods.⁹³ In Jer 8:4, the action is a metaphor for the unusual behavior of the people of Israel, who sin and do not wish to repent.⁹⁴ Lev 26:37 is one of the curses to be placed upon any Jew who does not keep the Law. He who does not keep the Law "shall have no power to stand."

I was unable to discover references to these verses in any other body of magic literature or artifacts; furthermore, the Midrashim reveal no magical or demonic traditions associated with these verses. They were chosen for use in Bowl 9 due to their content: the author wanted

the actions specified in the verses to happen to his enemy. Lev 26:37 was chosen because it is one of the archetypal curses in the Torah, making it especially powerful.

2. Ps 115:5-6 - "They have mouths, but do not speak; eyes, but do not see. They have ears, but do not hear; noses, but do not smell."

A reference to these verses occurs in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 6, line 4. This incantation is a charm for silencing the enemies of a certain Berik-Yehabya, the son of Mama. The reference functions as a typological precedent with a sympathetic magical effect: just as the idols in the Psalm cannot see or hear, so shall the enemies of the client be blinded and deafened.

Ps 115 is a liturgical poem, in which the omnipotence of God is contrasted with the ineffectuality of heathen idols.⁹⁵ The actual Biblical context does not, however, seem to be of importance in the Bowl incantation. Rather, it is the content of the verse that renders it magically effective.

I have discovered no magical traditions associated with these verses in the midrashic literature.

3. Esther 1:1 - "...one hundred and twenty-seven provinces."

The reference to Esther 1:1 in Gordon's Bowl 10 has no magical function; rather, it is a reference of specification indicating that the incantation is directed against certain spells, i.e., those of "the one hundred and twenty seven provinces." This reference is probably used as an idiom meaning the spells "of the entire civilized world."

C. The Biblical Quotations

1. Ex 15:7 - "In the greatness of thy majesty thou overthrowest thy adversaries; thou sendest forth thy fury, it consumes them like stubble."

Ex 15:7 is a verse from the Song of the Sea; this poem praises God as the agent of Israel's salvation and His triumph over Israel's enemies. In this Song, God is pictured as a warrior who fights for Israel.⁹⁶ I was unable to discover any midrashic interpretations of this verse that reveal magical traditions. The interpretations focus on the aspect of God's destruction of Israel's enemies. The Mekhilta of Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai says: "This verse tells us that whoever rises against Israel, rises also against the Holy One, blessed be He." The Mekhilta⁹⁷ then applies the verse to a list of the traditional enemies of Israel, both past and future. The intention is obvious: just as

God destroyed the Egyptians in His wrath at the Sea, so did He and will He destroy all Israel's enemies.

Though there appear to be no magical traditions associated with Ex 15:7 in the Midrashim, verses from the chapter were often used in Jewish and Christian magic spells of the Middle Ages. Schrire notes the frequent use of verses from Ex 15 in Hebrew Medieval amulets.⁹⁸ The Medieval Sefer Gematriot tells that Ex 15 is good in all sorts of spells: to have a prayer answered, to have a sweet voice, against an enemy, to be victorious in war.⁹⁹ A Talmudic passage relates the custom of reciting Ex 15:26 over a wound for healing purposes.¹⁰⁰ The same verse appears in an amulet published by Naveh and Shaked.¹⁰¹ A Syriac charm quotes Ex 15:16 in a spell to bind the mouth of a dog.¹⁰² Judging from this evidence, Ex 15 had a healthy place in magical traditions, even if this is not reflected in the Midrashim.

Ex 15 was used in magic because of its account of God's glorious triumph over His, and Israel's, enemies. Verses from this chapter were used as typological precedents in magic: just as God triumphed over Israel's enemies by the Sea, so shall He do again. Verse 15:7 is especially well-placed in a Magic Bowl incantation: it directs God's consuming anger, with which He destroyed the Egyptians, against those eternal enemies of mankind, the demons.

The Song of the Sea is recited daily in the morning prayers, as part of the Pesuke de-Zimra; the Song's place in the liturgy probably added to its magical prestige.

2. Ex 22:23 - "And my wrath will burn, and I will kill you with the sword, and your wives shall become widows and your children fatherless."

There is no evidence of Ex 22:23 being used in magic spells, outside of its appearance in one Magic Bowl text, nor of a magical tradition associated with it in the Midrashim. However, the Biblical context, and the content of the verse shed light on its magical significance in the Bowl incantation.

Ex 22:23 appears in a list of four sins which are punishable by death: Ex 22:17-23. The list begins, significantly, with the law against witchcraft: "Thou shalt not allow a witch to live." Ex 22:23 indicates the punishment for the fourth sin on the list, the oppression of strangers.

The use of Ex 22:23 in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9, is an example of the use of a Biblical quotation as an indirect way of commanding God. The author invokes God to fulfill the curse specified in the verse, against his enemy.

3. Lev 26:29: - "You shall eat the flesh of our sons, and you shall eat the flesh of your daughters."

Lev 26:29, also in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9, is another example of using a Biblical quotation to indirectly command God. Lev 26:29 is one of the curses to be leveled against the Jew who does not fulfill the Law, listed in Lev 26:14-45. The author of the Bowl incantation intends to invoke God to fulfill His Torah by applying the content of the verse to his enemy. Lev 26:29 is not used in any other magic literature; neither are there any magical traditions associated with it in the Misrashim.

4. Num 6:24-26
The Priestly Blessing
- "The Lord bless you and keep you; The Lord make his face shine upon you and be gracious to you; The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace."

The Priestly Blessing is quoted in only one Magic Bowl text. However, other sources show it was widely viewed as very effective in protective magic. Assuredly, its popularity was due to the actual content of the verses: Num 6:24-26 is a blessing that explicitly ensures that God will bless, be gracious to, and protect Israel. The place of the Priestly Blessing in the liturgy at an early period enhanced its magical reputation even more.¹⁰³

Two recently discovered silver amulets dating from the seventh century B.C., are inscribed with the Priestly Blessing in Paleo-Hebrew script. Besides being unequivocal

evidence for the very early use of Biblical quotations in Jewish protective magic, these amulets represent the earliest known Bible text!¹⁰⁴ The Blessing continued to be a favorite quotation in Medieval Jewish amulets.¹⁰⁵ The Sefer Gematriot reports that the verse has the power to drive off demons and evil spirits.¹⁰⁶ A Genizah fragment published by Naveh and Shaked, also shows the use of Num 6:24 in a magical amulet.¹⁰⁷

Many sources in the Midrashim discuss the effectiveness of the Priestly Blessing as a protection from all kinds of evil in general, and from the demons in particular. The general principle behind the use of the blessing as a protection is expressed in Ba-Midbar Rabbah: "Rabbi Isaac says, 'If one is blessed, is he not protected? And if he is protected, is he not blessed?'"¹⁰⁸ Thus, a divine blessing, like a two-sided coin, both grants benefits and protects from evil.

There are three main midrashic traditions of the Priestly Blessing used as an anti-demonic device. The first tradition consists of a detailed list of the benefits accrued from each verse of the Priestly Blessing. It takes the form of a running commentary on verses 24-26. The earliest source for this tradition is the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Torah. The Targum reads: "May the Lord bless you in all your dealings, and may He protect you from liliths and

tremblings and the sons of impurity (probably a kind of demon), and the sons of the morning and demons and night demons." The Targum's exhaustive list of demons reads somewhat like similar lists in the Magic Bowl incantations. This midrashic tradition appears, in more or less the same form in many other sources. However, rather than supply an exhaustive list of demons, other sources only specify protection from demons in general, called mzyqyn.¹⁰⁹ In four of these sources, the Priestly Blessing is associated with two other verses that are considered to protect against demons. Both of these verses appear as quotations in Magic Bowl incantations: Ps 91:7 and 121:7.¹¹⁰

The Priestly Blessing is used as a proof-text in a second anti-demonic midrashic tradition. This tradition states that demons were not able to harm humans after the completion of the Mishkan.¹¹¹

Many Midrashim comment on the numerological significance of the Priestly Blessing. These discussions begin in the Talmud.¹¹² The Priestly Blessing lent itself admirably to numerological speculation: its three verses contain three, seven, and five words respectively. The name of God appears in it three times. In the Talmud, Rabbi Hisda and Rabbi the son of Rabbi Huna, use the Blessing to decide a numerological problem concerning the "danger of pairs" superstition.¹¹³ A widespread anti-demonic

numerological tradition is the connection of the Priestly Blessing with Cant 3:7-8, another quotation appearing in the Magic Bowls. Indeed, Num 6:24-26 and Cant 3:7-8 are associated in the Bowls themselves: Jeruzalmi's Bowl text, published in Isbell's Corpus as Bowl 66, quotes both Biblical sources. According to this tradition, the 60 warriors who protect the bed of Solomon in Cant 3:7 are none other than the 60 letters of the Priestly Blessing.¹¹⁴

These midrashic traditions show that the Priestly Blessing was regarded as a potent anti-demonic weapon, well placed in a Magic Bowl incantation. The quotation of the Blessing in the Magic Bowl was a way of invoking God's protection for the client. Furthermore, the numerological characteristics of the Blessing enhanced its prestige: the significant number of words in each verse, the name of God appearing three times, and the 60 letters conveniently corresponding to the 60 warriors in Cant 3:7.

5. Num 9:23 - "At the command of the Lord they encamped, and at the command of the Lord they set out; they kept the charge of the Lord, at the command of the Lord through Moses."

To my knowledge, Num 9:23 is not used in a magic spell in any source, Jewish or Christian, outside of the Magic Bowls. The interpretations of the verse in the Midrashim do not associate it with any magical or anti-

demonic traditions. Nor do they shed light on the magical function of the verse.

The content of the verse, however, explains why it was regarded as being magically effective in the Magic Bowl incantations. This verse specifies that Israel travelled through the wilderness by the will of God.¹¹⁵ The power of God directly both protected and directed Israel, throughout her 40 years in the desert. The verse was regarded as a magical typological precedent: just as God's power protected Israel all of those years in the desert, so shall He now protect the client of the bowl.

On the other hand, the verse may have been intended to apply to the demons, rather than to Israel. Viewed this way, the verse would have a different typological significance: just as God has the power to guide Israel wherever He willed, so has He the power to make the demons go wherever He wills, i.e., away from the client!

Numerological aspects of this verse added to its magical potency: the word smr appears twice, 'l py yhwh appears three times, and yhwh alone, four times, occurring every three words.

6. Num 10:35 - "And whenever the ark set out, Moses said, 'Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee'."

In Num 10:35, Moses addresses God as a warrior, exhorting Him to drive away His enemies.¹¹⁶ Though this verse is quoted only once in the Magic Bowl incantations, it is familiar to Jewish and Samaritan magic.¹¹⁷ The Medieval Sefer Gematriot sees it as effective for safety on a journey.¹¹⁸

The magical function of this quotation is probably an indirect command to God to attack and subjugate the enemies, i.e., the demons. The translation of the verse in the Targumim, and its interpretations in the Midrashim, suggest its use as an indirect command.

First of all, the explicit meaning of the verse is that God is called upon to defeat His enemies. A number of Midrashim on Num 10:35 explain that God's enemies are identical with Israel's enemies. Thus the verse exhorts God to drive away Israel's enemies as well.¹¹⁹ Other interpretations in the Targumim and Midrashim focus on a theological problem: how can it be that Moses is able to command God? The different sources solve this problem in different ways. A tradition in Sifre and Sifre Zuta¹²⁰ points out that in Num 9:23 Israel travels at God's command, while in Num 10:35, Moses commands God to arise. This apparent contradiction is solved by saying that God and Moses worked together as a team. A mashal is presented to explain this in Sifre: just as a king does not want to

travel without his beloved, and will request that his beloved participate in his commands, so it was with God and Moses.

A more daring tradition in Pesikta' de-Rav Kahana,¹²¹ and in Midrash Tehillim¹²² solves the problem through an interpretation of Moses' title 'yś 'lhym. Just as a husband, 'yś, can either establish or nullify the vows of his wife, so did Moses have some power to direct God's actions. Num 10:35 follows as a proof-text.

The translations of the verse in Targum Neofyti and in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan show an awareness of this theological problem. Neofyti neutralizes Moses' command to God by inserting bb'w, "please," after qwm. Thus, in Neofyti Moses remembers his manners while addressing the Almighty. Pseudo-Jonathan neutralizes the command even more by eliminating the imperative qwm altogether. It reads: "...Moses...would pray seeking mercy before the Lord and thus he said: 'May the Word of the Lord be revealed in the might of your anger and shatter...your enemies'."

These midrashic sources show an awareness of the problem inherent in the explicit meaning of the verse: Moses commands an omnipotent, supreme God. The verse was probably used in the Magic Bowl text, precisely because of its explicit meaning. If Moses commands God in the verse, then the author of the Bowl can indirectly command God by quoting the verse.

Two other characteristics of this verse could have contributed to its use in magic. The verse is recited in the liturgy, when the ark is opened before the reading of the Torah. Its place in the liturgy may have enhanced its magical prestige. Furthermore, this verse is set off by the famous inverted nuns in the Torah text. Perhaps this peculiarity made it magically interesting.

7. Deut 6:4 - "Hear O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord."

Deut 6:4, the first verse of the Shema, occupied a central place in Jewish liturgy from very early times. The discussions of the laws of the recital of the Shema in the Mishnah, Berakhot, attest to an already developed liturgical tradition in the Mishnaic period.¹²³ Probably due to its ancient and central place in the liturgy, Deut 6:4 was an important verse in Jewish protective magic from very early times. A tradition in Meg 3a tells us that the recitation of the Shema helps anyone who is frightened in the night by demons or by bad dreams. R. Isaac likens the recitation of the Shema upon retiring, to a "two-edged sword."¹²³ "Sword" is a term used in Hellenistic magic to refer to an effective, protective magic spell.¹²⁴ The Geonic Jewish magic text, The Sword of Moses, bears witness to this meaning of the word "sword." Perhaps when R. Isaac calls the Shema a "sword," he refers to its protective

effectiveness. Both Schrire¹²⁵ and Budge¹²⁶ report the use of Deut 6:4 in magical amulets. The Mahzor Vitri lists Deut 6:4 as a verse effective against fevers.¹²⁷ The Zohar relates that this verse protects from enemies.¹²⁸ Trachtenberg reports that, in the Middle Ages, an elaborate scheme of prayer grew up around the nocturnal recitation of the Shema to reinforce its protective powers against the demons.¹²⁹ Deut 6:4 is one of the verses contained in the mezuzah and in tefillin, both of which were regarded in Talmudic times and later, as amulets protecting against demons.¹³⁰

Deut 6:4 appears four times in Magic Bowl incantations, twice alone, and twice with Ps 91.1 as a magical formula. The importance of the verse in the Liturgy, and its well-attested traditional anti-demonic powers, are enough to account for its inclusion in a Magic Bowl text. The verse also has numerological significance. The Alphabet of Rabbi Akiva reports that Deut 6:4 is one of the verses in the Torah that shows that God is always praised in threes, even though He is one.¹³¹ This tradition probably has in mind the three names of God in the verse: yhwh appears twice, and 'lhynw once. Doubtless, these three names added to the verse's magic powers.

8. Deut 28:22 - "The Lord will smite you with consumption and with fever, inflammation and fiery heat, and with drought, and

with blasting, and with mildew, and they shall pursue you until you perish."

9. Deut 28:28 - "The Lord will smite you with madness and blindness and confusion of mind."
10. Deut 28:35 - "The Lord will smite you on the knees and on the legs with grievous boils of which you cannot be healed, from the soles of your foot to the crown of your head."
11. Deut 29:19 - "The Lord would not pardon him, but rather the anger of the Lord and his jealousy would smoke against that man, and the curses written in this book would settle upon him, and the Lord would blot out his name from under the heaven."

These verses are all quoted only once in the Bowls, in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9. The three verses from Deut 28 are curses that will come upon those Jews who do not fulfill the Law, listed in Deut 28:15-69. Deut 29:19 is in the section immediately after the list of curses, in which Moses adjures Israel to obey the Covenant.¹³² Like Ex 22:23 and Lev 26:29, these curses are leveled against the enemy of Bowl 9's client. By citing these verses, and requesting that their contents be applied to his enemy, the client is indirectly commanding God to fulfill the words of the Torah.

I have discovered no evidence of the use of these verses in other magic texts, nor any magical or anti-demonic traditions associated with them in the Midrashim. Without

doubt, numerological considerations added to the magical force of these verses. Deut 28:22, 28 and 35 each begin with the phrase "the Lord will smite." This powerful phrase is, thus, repeated three times. The number of curses with which God will smite the sinner, also has numerological significance: Deut 28:22 lists seven curses, Deut 28:28 lists three, while Deut 28:35 lists one. The name of God appear three times in Deut 29:19. Doubtless these numerological characteristics made these verses attractive.

12. Isa 6:3 - "Holy, holy holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory."

Isa 6:3 is quoted in only one Magic Bowl text. Outside of the Magic Bowls, however, the verse was important in magical and mystical texts. Scholem reports that Isa 6:3 is used extensively in the Merkavah hymns.¹³³ The verse is quoted in a Coptic exorcism charm,¹³⁴ and in two Syriac charms published by Gollancz.¹³⁵

The magical significance of Isa 6:3 is multi-faceted. First of all, the word qdws is repeated three times. Secondly, the verse emphasizes the all-embracing power of God, who fills the whole earth with His glory. This emphasis on God's omnipotence and omnipresence renders the verse magically powerful. Furthermore, the verse has an important place in the liturgy, being the key verse in the Kedushah prayer.

The Midrashim tell us again and again that this verse is the song that the heavenly angels sing to God in heaven.¹³⁶ Since the verse occurs in Isaiah's divine vision, it often is discussed in speculative Midrashim on the nature of the visions of different prophets.¹³⁷ The connection of Isa 6:3 with these visionary and speculative traditions probably added to its magical power.

13. Isa 40:12 - "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?"

This verse appears in two Magic Bowls in a divine epithet; though I am not analyzing divine epithets in this study, I chose to discuss Isa 40:12, as it is the one epithet that appears as a full quotation. No other divine epithet in the Bowls consists of an entire quoted verse.

Isa 40:12 is used as a divine epithet in other magic texts: in Sefer ha-Razim,¹³⁸ and in an amulet published by Naveh and Shaked.¹³⁹ It is used as a proof text in the Shi'ur Qomah.¹⁴⁰

Probably, this verse was used as an epithet in magic texts because of its emphasis on God's omnipotence¹⁴¹ and omniscience, and His role as creator of the world. We see this emphasis in midrashic sources. Aggadat Bereshit relates: "He created the entire world and took advice from

no one."¹⁴² Isa 40:12 follows as a proof-text. A tradition in Midrash Tehillim interprets this verse to show that God knows about everything on earth, from the depths of the sea, to the heavens, and that He is all-powerful.¹⁴³ A verse that stressed God's omnipotence and omniscience, His power over nature, would beg use in magic.

14. Isa 44:25 - "Who frustrates the omens of liars, and makes fools of diviners; who turns wise men back, and makes their knowledge foolish."

Isa 44:25 tells us that types of magicians are one group of people whom God will confound with His power.¹⁴⁴ In the verse, magicians are perceived as God's enemies. The verse appears in one Magic Bowl text. Its magical function is clear: the verse is used as a typological precedent of God's behavior towards His enemies. Just as God frustrates liars and diviners, so shall He frustrate the Bowl client's enemies.

I was unable to find the use of this verse in any other magic text. However, an interpretation of Num 23:14-16 uses Isa 44:25 as a proof-text to demonstrate how the holy power in the Urim and Tummin, and in the act of repentance, frustrates the power of evil magicians like Balaam.¹⁴⁵ Here then, is one tradition that associates the verse with the defeat of evil magic.

15. Jer 2:1-3 - "The word of the Lord came to me saying: 'Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem, Thus says the Lord, "I remember the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness in a land not sown. Israel was holy to the Lord, the first fruits of his harvest. All who ate of it became guilty; evil came upon them," says the Lord.'"

Jer 2:1-3 are quoted in Kaufman's unique Magic Bowl text, that consists only of Biblical quotations. The Targum of Jer 2:2 is quoted after the Hebrew text. To my knowledge, none of these verses appear in any other magic texts.

If this Bowl is indeed a Magic Bowl, and if the inscription is an incantation, as Kaufman believes,¹⁴⁶ then the magical function of these verses is evident. Jer 2:1 is merely an introductory formula introducing God's speech, and has no magical significance. Jer 2:2 and 2:3 both emphasize God's protecting power and His love of Israel. In Jer 2:2, marriage imagery describes the relationship between God and Israel during her travels in the wilderness: here God leads Israel safely through a wild land. An interpretation of Jer 2:2 in Midrash Tehillim¹⁴⁷ relates that the verse shows how Israel's wilderness experience was characterized by God's loving-kindness. The loving-kindness that accumulated during that time was paid out to Israel later, during the Exile. Thus, says this Midrash, God will

continue to be merciful to Israel because of the wilderness experience.

Jer 2:3 emphasizes God's protection of Israel and His destruction of her enemies. The verse metaphorically refers to Israel's enemies as "those who eat the first fruits," the "first fruits" being a symbol of Israel.¹⁴⁸ Both Targum Jonathan and Midrash Tehillim¹⁴⁹ elaborate on the identification of the eaters of the first fruits. The Targum expands and explains the original Biblical metaphor in its translation: just as a man who eats of the first fruits is liable to punishment by death, so are those who afflict Israel. The Zohar uses this verse as a proof-text to a statement that Israel is protected by holiness, and thus no evil thing can come near her.¹⁵⁰

Clearly the content of these two verses causes them to be cited as typological precedents of God's protection of Israel. God is invoked to continue protecting and loving Israel, as He did in the past.

16. Ezek 21:21-23 - "'Cut sharply to the right and left where your edge is directed. I also will clap my hands, and I will satisfy my fury; I the Lord have spoken.' The word of the Lord came to me saying..."

Ezek 21:21-23 are three verses of what is called "the Song of the Sword." Here the sword, and God's clapping His hands together, are symbols of God's punishing wrath.¹⁵¹

The only appearance of these verses in any magic text is in Kaufman's unique Magic Bowl. Kaufman comments on the magical function of these verses: he notes that the Biblical context of the verses is magically relevant, as the passage precedes a discussion of the divination performed by the king of Babylon. Furthermore, the first four words of Ezek 21:21 have distinctly magical properties: each word begins with the letter heh and ends with yod, the first two letters of the Tetragrammaton. Kaufman also holds that the action of clapping the hands together is a prophylactic magical action. He finds a parallel in Berakhot 55b, where holding the left thumb in the right hand and the right thumb in the left hand is a protection against the evil eye.¹⁵²

The midrashic interpretations of the verses show them to be highly significant for use in protective magic. Two sources interpret the verses as revealing God's great powers of destruction directed against the enemies of Israel.¹⁵³ In these sources, the sword is a symbol for the destruction of enemies. Another tradition claims that these verses show God's complete power over all creation.¹⁵⁴ God claps His hands together to tell the world, "The world I created, I created with my two hands alone, and now I shall return it to chaos."¹⁵⁵ These verses are perfect as typological precedents used in magic to invoke God's wrath against one's enemies.

The symbol of the "sword" in these verses, could have been highly significant for magic. We have seen that the term "sword" was a symbol for a particularly effective magic spell in Hellenistic magic.¹⁵⁶ Ezek 21:21-23 may have been chosen to be used in a Magic Bowl incantation, due to the sword motif they contain.

17. Hosea 2:4-6 - "Plead with your mother, plead - for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband - that she put away her harlotry from her face, and her adultery from between her breasts; lest I strip her naked and make her as in the day she was born, and make her like a wilderness, and set her like a parched land, and slay her with thirst. Upon her children also I will have no pity, because they are children of harlotry."

Hosea 2:4-6 describes the relationship between God and Israel with the metaphor of divorce. These verses are unattested in any magic text outside of Montgomery's Bowl 26; here they are quoted at the end of the incantation. Though there are large lacunae in the incantation text at this point, enough of the verse has been preserved to be clearly identifiable. No midrashic interpretations of these verses shed light on their magical significance. However, their magical function is clear from their context within the Bowl incantation.

The theme of Hosea 2:4-6 is God's metaphoric divorce from Israel. Immediately preceding the quotation, the Bowl

incantation adjures the she-demons to be divorced: "...flee from their presence, and take thy divorce and thy separation and thy writ of dismissal. [I have divorced] thee [even as demons write] divorces for their wives..." The verses from Hosea are clearly used as typological precedents to the divorce of the she-demons. The quotation invokes God to divorce the she-demons and render them naked and powerless, as is the symbolic woman described in the verses.

18. Micah 7:16-17 - "The nations shall see and be ashamed of all their might; they shall lay their hands on their mouths; their ears shall be deaf; they shall lick the dust like a serpent, like the crawling things of the earth; they shall come trembling out of their strongholds, they shall turn in dread to the Lord our God, and they shall fear because of thee."

In Micah 7:16 the vanquishing of the nations is seen as Israel's salvation.¹⁵⁷ The verse stresses the nations' fear of, and self-abasing submission to, the God of Israel. This verse does not appear in any magic text except in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9. To my knowledge, there are no midrashic traditions that shed light on the magical significance of the verses. However, it seems clear that, like the other quotations in Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9, Micah 7:16-17 are quoted as an indirect command to God. The verse citation formula preceding the quotation invokes God to fulfill the

Holy Scripture by vanquishing the client's enemies as He promised to vanquish the nations in Micah 7.

19. Zech 3:2 - "And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?'"

Zech 3:2 is the most prolific quotation in the Magic Bowl incantations, appearing eight times. Surprisingly, this verse is not well-attested in other magic literature. Naveh and Shaked publish one amulet in which the verse appears.¹⁵⁸ Gollancz lists one Syriac charm that quotes Zech 3:2; surprisingly this spell is not an exorcism, but a spell to prevent nose bleeds.¹⁵⁹

Three sources in the Talmud show that Zech 3:2 was regarded as a prophylactic verse in Talmudic times. In Berakhot 51a the verse is used as a foil to the power of the Angel of Death. In Sanhedrin 93b, an interpretation of the verse tells how Joshua the High Priest was protected in the fiery furnace. Kiddushin 81b tells how Satan himself tells Rabbi Pelimo that a sure-fire method to keep him away is to quote Zech 3:2.

It is not difficult to account for the frequent use of Zech 3:2 in the Magic Bowl incantations. As Gordon observed, it is quoted often because it established a Biblical precedent whereby God rebukes Satan.¹⁶⁰ The repetition of "the Lord rebuke you," and the triple

appearance of the Tetragrammaton added to its magical reputation.

The magical significance of Zech 3:2 may have been enhanced because it contains a conversation between the angel of God and Satan. Conversations between the demons, and the powers of good are sometimes recorded in Magic Bowl incantations.¹⁶¹ Usually, however, these conversations are not Biblical quotations. These conversations had a magical function in the incantation. Perhaps the conversation element in Zech 3:2 made it especially attractive.

20. Ps 69:24 - "Let their eyes be darkened, so that they cannot see; and make their loins tremble continually."
21. Ps 69:26 - "May their camp be a desolation, let no one dwell in their tents."

Ps 69 is the lament of an individual who is praying for God to deliver him from his enemies. The Psalm calls down several curses upon the enemies;¹⁶² verses 24 and 26 are two of these curses. Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9 is the only magic text in which these verses appear. Again, the author of Bowl 9 is invoking God to fulfill the curses specified in these verses against his personal enemy. The verses are thus used as indirect commands to God.

A similar tradition appears in Esther Rabbah, 7.9, where R. Aibu applies these verses to all of Israel's traditional enemies.

- 22. Ps 91:1 - "He who dwells in the shelter of the Most High, who abides in the shadow of the Almighty."
- 23. Ps 91:7 - "A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand; but it will not come near you."
- 24. Ps 91:10 - "No evil shall befall you, no scourge come near your tent."

Ps 91:1 appears twice in Magic Bowl incantations as part of a magical formula with Deut 6:4. Ps 91:7 and 10 appear once each, in Gordon's ArOr 6, Bowl C.

Both magical and midrashic sources evince the extensive use of verses from Ps 91 as anti-demonic weapons. The Psalm is called "the song against evil occurrences" in the Talmud. Many Talmudic passages discuss the protective power of Ps 91 against demons, bad dreams, the evil impulse.¹⁶³ Later Midrashim make frequent reference to the anti-demonic properties of Ps 91, or use verses from it as proof-texts in "demon speculation" discussions. These sources are too many to survey here.¹⁶⁴ Midrash Tehillim to Psalms 78 and 91 abounds with all sorts of such "demon speculation" traditions.¹⁶⁵

The Psalm was a favorite in magic texts. Schrire and Budge show the extensive use of verses from Ps 91 in magical amulets.¹⁶⁶ A Geniza fragment published by Naveh and Shaked quotes Ps 91.¹⁶⁷ The Medieval Sefer Shimush Tehillim lists Ps 91 as good against all kinds of evil.¹⁶⁸

The Psalm is quoted in a Syriac Christian charm against weapons and implements of war.¹⁶⁹

This Psalm was probably connected with demons even in Biblical times. A.A. Anderson, in his commentary on the Psalm, suggests that the "terror of the night" in Ps 91:5 was originally intended as a reference to demonic powers.¹⁷⁰

The widespread reputation of Ps 91 as a weapon against demons is more than enough to account for the quotation of its verses in the Magic Bowls. The content of the quoted verses is intended to apply to the demons ("a thousand may fall at your side...") and to the client ("no evil shall befall you").

25. Ps 121:7 - "The Lord will keep you from all evil; he will keep your life."

Ps 121:7 is one of a series of divine blessings listed in Ps 121.¹⁷¹ The verse is quoted in one Magic Bowl text. Schrire and Budge both note that verses from Ps 121 are often found in magical amulets.¹⁷² A midrashic tradition shows that Ps 121:7 was regarded as effective for protection against demons.¹⁷³ In this tradition, Ps 121:7 is used as a proof-text to an interpretation of Num 6:24: "...and keep you," in Num 6:24, is interpreted as meaning, "keep you from demons." Ps 121:7 follows as a proof-text to support this interpretation. "The Lord will keep you,"

in Ps 121:7, was thus interpreted as meaning "to keep you from demons."

The quotation of this verse in a Magic Bowl incantation invokes the divine blessing and protection promised by the Psalm, upon the client of the Bowl. Montgomery notes that the repetition of the verb smr made the verse especially magically effective.¹⁷⁴

26. Ps 125:2 - "As the mountains are round Jerusalem, so the Lord is round his people, from this time forth and for evermore."

Ps 125 is a supplication of the people for divine deliverance from national enemies. Verse 2 is a metaphor, showing that God's protection of His people is as permanent as the hills that surround Jerusalem. This verse, emphasizing God's protection of Israel, is perfectly at place in a Magic Bowl incantation. It appears in one Magic Bowl text. I have not been able to discover any midrashic traditions associating this verse with magic; neither does the verse appear in any other magic text. The verse invokes God's continued protection of Israel.

27. Cant 3:7-8 - "Behold it is the litter of Solomon! About it are sixty mighty men of the mighty men of Israel, all girt with swords and expert in war, each with his sword at his thigh, against alarms by night."

Cant 3:7-8 appears in none of the magic literature examined, outside of the Magic Bowls. However, demonic associations with these verses appear in many Midrashim. Kraus holds that the term "alarms by night" meant "demons" or "evil spirits" according to the original Biblical meaning of the text.¹⁷⁵ Whether or not this is the accurate original Biblical meaning, numerous midrashic traditions associate these verses with demons. There are three main midrashic traditions that connect Cant 3:7-8 with demons. The first is a tradition we have already seen in connection with Num 6:24-26: the sixty warriors that surround the bed of Solomon are the sixty letters of the Priestly Blessing, which protects Israel from demons.¹⁷⁶ Another midrashic tradition tells us why Solomon needed protection by night. As we have seen, Solomon was considered to have the power to subjugate demons through his magic seal ring. If so, then why did he need to have his bed guarded at night? An early form of this tradition appears in Gittin 68b and in Midrash Tehillim 78.12. These sources tell of Solomon's long contest with Ashmodai, the king of the demons. Even though Solomon is given the seal ring which gives him power over Ashmodai, he nevertheless remains in fear of him and thus surrounds his bed with sixty warriors nightly. A moralistic development of this tradition appears in four other sources.¹⁷⁷ These sources emphasize that Solomon feared

the demons only after he sinned; before he sinned he was fearless before them. The moral message of this tradition is unambiguous: if sin left King Solomon open to the fear of demons, how much more so will it do to the average man.

Another exegetical tradition to verse 8 focuses on the word "sword." The Targum to Cant 3:7-8¹⁷⁸ translates "sword" metaphorically as "the words of the Torah that are taken up as a sword." The sword, the protective weapon held by the sixty warriors, is nothing less than the words of the Torah. The translation continues, rendering "alarms by night" as "the demons and spirits that come by night." The words of the Torah thus, function as a weapon against the demons. A similar tradition in Tanhuma¹⁷⁹ tells that each letter in the Priestly Blessing has the power of a "sword" against the demons.

The two verses from Canticles function as a typological precedent in the magic spell: just as Solomon protected his bed from demons with sixty warriors, so shall the client be protected from demons with the magical incantation.

Conclusion

This survey has shown in detail, the magical significance and function of each Biblical reference and quotation appearing in the Magic Bowls. Several aspects of

the use of Biblical references and quotations should now be clear. First of all, their most common magical function is that of Biblical typological precedent to the magic at hand. The quotations are also frequently used to indirectly command God to fulfill the requirements of the magic. Furthermore, the parallel material in the magic texts and the Midrashim shows clearly that there were developed magical traditions associated with many of the Biblical figures and verses; in this case the appearance of these quotations and references in the Magic Bowl texts represents just one small part of a broader magical tradition.

On the other side of the coin, it is significant to note that not all of the verses quoted in the Bowls are used in established magical traditions. This shows that the authors of the Magic Bowls did not always follow a rigid, traditional formula when composing or copying an incantation. Though, most often, the authors did choose quotations with time-honored magical reputations, like Zech 3:2, or Cant 3:7-8, other verses without documented magical prestige were chosen as well. This shows an attitude of individualistic flexibility regarding the quotation of verses: any verse that could be made applicable to the magic at hand could be used. The very fact that most of the Bible verses quoted in the corpus of the Aramaic Magic Bowls appear therein only once, bears witness to this attitude of

individualistic flexibility. The flexible quotation of verses may bear witness to a ~~higher~~ level of learning than is normally associated with Magic Bowl authors. In order to quote applicable verses, the authors had to have a certain degree of familiarity with the Bible.

Another important observation resulting from my survey of this material, is that both the Biblical references and quotations are Theocentric. No human Biblical character is ever invoked as a power in and of himself; every Biblical quotation, apart from Cant 3:7-8, contains God's name, or directly describes a protecting or punishing action of God.

Footnotes

Chapter VI

The Magical Function and Significance of the
Individual References and Quotations

1. Eg. the Syriac charms in Hermann Gollancz, The Book of Protection: Being a Collection of Charms, (London: Oxford University Press, 1912) and the amulets in T. Schrire, Hebrew Amulets: Their Decipherment and Interpretation (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), as well as many of the Midrashim are much later than the Aramaic Magic Bowls.
2. D.C. Duling, "Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David," HTR 68 (1975), p. 235.
3. See James B. Pritchard, ed., Solomon and Sheba (London: Phaidon Press, 1974), especially Ch. III and IV.
4. See D.C. Duling, "The Testament of Solomon," in The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Vol. I - Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday & Co, 1983), pp. 944-951; and Pritchard, *Ibid.*
5. Flavius Josephus, Antiquities, 8.2.5, quoted in Duling, *Ibid.*, p. 947.
6. James M. Robinson, ed., The Nag Hammadi Library in English (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 261.
7. Morgan, Book of Mysteries, p. 19.
8. See Duling, "Testament," pp. 935-942 for a discussion of the date.
9. *Ibid.*, 1.7.
10. Eg. Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), Bowl B.
11. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, Texts 21 and 24.

12. Hamilton, Syriac Incantation Bowls, Bowl 6; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 34.
13. Bonner, Graeco-Egyptian Amulets, pp. 208-209; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, p. 227.
14. Duling, "Testament," p. 948.
15. Betz, GMP, PGM IV 850-929, p. 55.
16. Ibid., PGM IV 3007-86, pp. 96-97.
17. See Duling, "Testament," Introduction; Pritchard, Solomon and Sheba, Ch. III and IV.
18. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charms 35, 38, 40 and 41.
19. The earliest version of this aggadah appears to be in Gittin 68a-b. It also appears in Midrash Tehillim 78.12.
20. Ibid. Also in Cant Rabbah I.1.10; Pesikta' de Rav Kahana 5.3; Pesikta' Rabbati 15.3.
21. Ba-Midbar Rabbah 12.3.
22. Pritchard, Solomon and Sheba, especially pp. 78-84 and Ch. IV.
23. Barb, "Survival," p. 122; Hull, Hellenistic Magic, p. 45.
24. Eg. in Gordon, Orientalia X, Bowl 11; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowls 2 and 27; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 6.
25. See Gordon, "Leviathan."
26. Hull, Hellenistic Magic, p. 45.
27. R.C. Thompson, Semitic Magic: Its Origins and Development (1908; reprint ed., New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971,) pp. lxiii-lxiv.
28. Betz, GMP, PGM XIII 1-343, p. 172, especially line 160 on.
29. Kropp, Koptische, Vol. I, R17 line XVI, p. 77.

30. Barb, "Survival," p. 122.
31. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex B, Charms 4 and 5; Codex C, Charm 1.
32. Schrire, Hebrew Amulets, see pp. 125-133 for index of Bible verses used in amulets.
33. Gershom Scholem, On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism (New York: Schocken Books, 1965), pp. 166-168; 170-178.
34. See footnote 24 above for location of the creation motif in divine epithets. See Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 6, for liturgical phrase: d'mr whyh.
35. Betz, GMP, PGM IV 3007-86, line 3055, p. 96.
36. Hamilton, Syriac Incantation Bowls, Bowl 6; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 34.
37. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 40.
38. Eg. Yalkut Shimoni 246; Mekhilta' to Ex 14 and 15.
39. Duling, "Testament," 6.5-7.
40. Alphabet of Ben Sira 23a-b, 33a-b; summarized in Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1928), Vol. V, p. 87.
41. Sources listed in Ginzberg, Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 10, footnote 53.
42. For a detailed discussion of these sources see Gordon, "Leviathan," pp. 1-3.
43. Ibid., p. 2; Grabbe, "Text of Job," p. 35; Greenfield, "Notes," p. 151; Montgomery, Nippur, p. 125.
44. For information on Leviathan in post-Biblical literature see: Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. V, pp. 42-57; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. V, Ch. 1 and 2; Gordon, "Leviathan;" Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. "Leviathan."

45. Summarized in Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. V, p. 43.
46. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 37.
47. W.F. Albright, Review of Das Buch Hiob, JBL 57 (1938), p. 227.
48. E.A. Speiser, "An Angelic 'Curse': Exodus 14:20," JAOS 80 (1960), pp. 198-200.
49. Driver, "Problems in the Text of Job," p. 72.
50. Speiser, "Curse," p. 200.
51. Eg. Deut 3:8; Josh 12:1, 13:11; Jud 3:3; I Chron 5:23.
52. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 126.
53. Eg. Isa 1:9, 13:19; Jer 23:14, 49:18; Amos 4:11; Zeph 2:9.
54. See Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. I, pp. 245-257, for summary of sources.
55. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, G6, p. 231.
56. Morgan, Book of Mysteries, p. 28.
Margaliot, Sefer ha-Razim, p. 70.
57. Betz, GMP, PGM XXXVI 295-311, p. 276.
58. BT Shab 67a.
59. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 15 and 31. Codex C, Charm 6 and 27.
60. O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Vol. II - Expansions of the Old Testament, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday & Co, 1985), p. 75.
61. Zohar, Raya Mehemna, 3.122a.
62. Midrash Tehillim 91.8.
63. Morgan, Book of Mysteries, p. 17.
64. For Montgomery's commentary see Nippur, p. 180.

65. Alphabet of Ben Sira 23a-b, 33a-b; summarized in Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. V, p. 87.
66. See Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 37.
67. Eg. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex B, Charm 4; Codex C, Charm 3 and 6; Morgan, Book of Mysteries, p. 70; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, G5, p. 227.
68. Robinson, Nag Hammadi, p. 264.
69. Zohar Hadash, Noah, 29b; cited in Ginzberg, Legends, Vol. V; p. 187.
70. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, p. 165.
71. Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantations, p. 64.
72. Pseudo-Philo, Liber antiquitatum biblicarum 60; cited in Duling, "Testament," p. 945.
73. See Gager, Moses; Hull, Hellenistic Magic, pp. 31-33 for sources.
74. Betz, GMP, PGM VII 619-27, p. 135, "Diadem of Moses;" PGM XIII 343-646, p. 182, "Eighth or Holy Book of Moses;" PGM XIII 646-734, p. 189, "The Eighth Hidden Book of Moses;" PGM XIII 1-343, p. 172, "The Unique or Eighth Book of Moses," "The Key of Moses."
75. Hamilton, Syriac Incantation Bowls, Bowls 6 and 7.
76. McCullough, Royal Ontario Museum, Bowl D.
77. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 22, 35, 38, 40 and 51; Codex C, Charm 9.
78. Ba-Midbar Rabbah 12.3.
79. BT Shab 67a.
80. Zohar 2.58a.
81. Eg. Betz, GMP, PGM XXIIb 1-28, p. 261; PGM XXXV 1-42, p. 268; PGM XIII 972, p. 194.
82. Eg. PGM I 195-222, p. 8; PGM XIII 815, p. 191; PGM XIII 977, p. 194.

83. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, p. 165.
84. Bonner, Graeco-Egyptian Amulets, p. 226.
85. See Duling, "Son of David."
86. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 184.
87. Pseudo-Philo, Liber antiquitatum biblicarum 60; cited in Duling, "Testament," p. 945.
88. See Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. II, p. 167; Kropp, Koptische, D and E.
89. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, P. 57.
90. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols, Vol. V, p. 105; Vol. IX, pp. 89-104.
91. W.K.C. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1966), pp. 17-19, 39.
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95. Mitchell Dahood, Psalms, in 3 vols., Anchor Bible Series, (New York: Doubleday & Co, 1966-1970), Vol. III, pp. 138-143.
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97. Mekhilta' de-Shimon Bar Yohai to Ex 15:7.
98. Schrire, Hebrew Amulets, pp. 124-123 for index of Biblical verses used in amulets.

99. Cited in Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, pp. 110-111.
100. BT San 101a.
101. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Amulet 13, p. 99.
102. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 21.
103. See Daniel Patte, Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975), pp. 81-82, for discussion of the Priestly Blessing in the liturgy.
104. "Biblical Passage Deciphered From 2,600-Year-Old Amulet," New York Times, 21 June, 1986, p. 50.
105. See Budge, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 220; Schrire, Hebrew Amulets, pp. 132-134.
106. Cited in Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 110.
107. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, G7, pp. 237-238.
108. Ba-Midbar Rabbah 11.5; also in Midrash ha-Gadol to Num 6:24-26.
109. Pesikta' Rabbati 5.10; Lekah Tov Vol. II, p. 92; Ba-Midbar Rabbah 12.3; Sifre Zuta Naso 6.24; Sifre Naso 40.40.
110. Pesikta' Rabbati 5.10; Lekah Tov Vol. II, p. 92; Sifre Zuta Naso 6.24; Sifre Naso 40.40.
111. Midrash Tehillim 91.5; Pesikta' Rabbati 5.10.
112. Eg. BT San 101b; Meg 23a; Pes 110a.
113. BT Pes 110a.
114. Cant Rabbah III.7.1; Midrash Haserot ve-Yiterot, Num 6:24-26; Ba-Midbar Rabbah 11.3, 14.18.
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116. Ibid., p. 79.

117. See Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, p. 151 for references.
118. Cited in Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 110.
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120. Sifre and Sifre Zuta, Ibid.
121. Pesikta' de Rav-Kahana' 51.9.
122. Midrash Tehillim 90.5.
123. Cited in The Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. "Shema."
124. Betz, GMP, p. 69, footnote 216; Brier, Ancient Egyptian Magic, p. 255.
125. Schrire, Hebrew Amulets, pp. 133-134.
126. Budge, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 219.
127. Cited in The Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. "Bibliomancy."
128. Cited in Ibid., s.v. "Shema."
129. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 156.
130. Ibid., pp. 145-150. According to Trachtenberg, the mezuzah continued to be regarded as an amulet that protected against demons throughout the Middle Ages; tefillin, however, were only viewed as such in the Talmudic period.
131. "Alfa Beta de-Rabbi Akiva," Jellinek, p. 17.
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133. Scholem, Gnosticism, p. 21.
134. Kropp, Koptische, Vol I, p. 65.
135. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 24; Codex B, Charm 4.
136. Eg. BT Hul 91b; Zohar 1.71, and many other sources.
137. Eg. BT Hag 13b.

138. Morgan, Book of Mysteries, p. 42, line 225.
139. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and-Magic Bowls, Amulet 15, p. 105.
140. Cohen, Shi'ur Qomah, p. 113, lines 107-108.
141. Edward J. Young, The Book of Isaiah, in 3 vols., (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1965-1972), Vol II, p. 44.
142. Aggadat Bereshit, Ch. 21 - Ketuvim.
143. Midrash Tehillim 95.2.
144. Young, Isaiah, Vol. III, pp. 188-189.
145. Ba-Midbar Rabbah 20.20
146. Kaufman, "Unique," p. 172.
147. Midrash Tehillim 36.7 and 119.5.
148. Thompson, Jeremiah, p. 164.
149. Midrash Tehillim 14.4.
150. Zohar 2.225b.
151. Walther Zimmerli, Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, in 2 vols., trans. James D. Martin and Ronald E. Clements, Hermeneia Series, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979-1983), pp. 426-435.
152. Kaufman, "Unique," p. 172.
153. Midrash Tehillim 31.6 and 78.19; BT San 95b.
154. Midrash Tehillim, 137.3; Seder Eliyahu Rabbah ch. 30 (28).
155. Midrash Tehillim, Ibid.
156. Betz, GMP, p. 69, footnote 216; Brier, Ancient Egyptian Magic, p. 225.
157. James L. Mays, Micah: A Commentary (London: SCM Press, 1976), p. 165.

158. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Amulet 1, p. 41.
159. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 49.
160. Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, p. 236.
161. Eg. Gordon, ArOr 9 (1939), p. 97; Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowls 12a and 12b.
162. Dahood, Psalms, Vol. II, pp. 153-166.
163. Eg. BT Shev 15b, Ber 5a and 55b, San 103a; Jer Shab 6:8, Eruv 10.26.
164. Eg. Midrash Tehillim 104.3; Yalkut Shimoni 842; Sifre Zuta Naso 6.24; Pesikta' de-Rav Kahana 1.5; Ba-Midbar Rabbah 12.3; Pesikta' Rabbati 5.10.
165. Midrash Tehillim to Pss 78 and 91.
166. Budge, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 219; Schrire, Hebrew Amulets, pp. 75, 127-128, and 133.
167. Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, G7, p. 238.
168. Cited in The Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. "Bibliomancy."
169. Gollancz, Book of Protection, Codex A, Charm 9.
170. A.A. Anderson, The Book of Psalms, in 2 vols., The Century Bible Series, (London: Oliphant's, 1972), p. 657.
171. Dahood, Psalms, Vol. III, p. 199.
172. Budge, Amulets and Superstitions, p. 219; Schrire, Hebrew Amulets, p. 75.
173. Sifre Naso 40.40; Lekah Tov Vol. II, p. 92.
174. Montgomery, Nippur, p. 140.
175. Cited in Marvin H. Pope, Song of Songs, Anchor Bible Series, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1977), p. 435.
176. Cant Rabbah III.7.1; Midrash Haseerot ve-Yiterot to Cant 3:7-8; Ba-Midbar Rabbah 11.3, 14.18.

177. Shemot Rabbah 30.16; Cant Rabbah I.1.10; Pesikta' Rabbati 15.3; Pesikta' de-Rav Kahana 5.3
178. Alexander Sperber, ed., The Bible in Aramaic (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959-1973), to Cant 3:7-8.
179. Tanhuma Naso 16.

PART III

THE MAGIC BOWLS AND TALMUDIC JUDAISM

Chapter VII

The Magic Bowls and Midrash

It is my feeling that this study of Biblical quotations and references in the Aramaic Magic Bowls sheds light on certain historical questions concerning the place of Jewish magic within Talmudic Judaism. It is impossible to enter into a full investigation of this question at this time, for a thorough investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I would like to briefly outline the historical issues that I feel are illuminated by my examination of the Biblical material in the Bowls. While discussing these issues, I will refer back to the issues of scholarly debate outlined in the introductory chapters.

Based upon my detailed survey and analysis of the magical significance and function of the Biblical material in the Bowls, it is my firm opinion that the Magic Bowls are closer to Rabbinic Judaism than has hitherto been held. We recall scholars' main opinions on the presence of magic in Talmudic Jewish society.¹ One group of scholars held there was a clear-cut division between the religious beliefs of the educated, elite class, i.e., the Rabbis, and the uneducated common throng: only the latter practiced magic. Another group of scholars held that belief in magic was not

a class-restricted phenomenon; the Rabbis as well as the common people believed in, and practiced magic. However, even Jacob Neusner, perhaps the most vocal member of this group, differentiated between the magic of the Rabbis and that of the Magic Bowls; the former, according to Neusner, was a higher sort of magic, being based upon the "holy words of Torah."

The Magic Bowls that contain Biblical material prove, to the contrary, that there are important similarities between what Neusner calls "the magic of the Rabbis," and the magic of the Bowls. Of the 103 Aramaic Bowl texts surveyed for this study, 43 contain Biblical references and quotations: thus, almost half contain magical elements based on the words of the Torah. I will now examine certain aspects of the use of Biblical material in the Magic Bowls that show that the magic of the Bowls could very well have sprung from the same cultural and intellectual background as Rabbinic Judaism.

No scholar has yet compared the use of Biblical material in magic texts and in Midrash; such a study would, no doubt, prove to be of great interest. I have discovered that there are many similarities between the use of Biblical material in the Magic Bowls, and in Midrash. By similarities, I do not mean only parallels in content, or identical motifs, such as Solomon appearing in both as a

master of demons. There is a deeper, more fundamental, similarity than this: the basic attitude towards the Bible and the exegetical method used in the Magic Bowls and in Midrash, are often identical.

However, before discussing these similarities, it is necessary to emphasize two important differences. Midrash and magic texts are basically two different literary genres, with two completely different purposes. Though a magic text may use midrashic method, the two are utterly different intellectual enterprises. Midrash is revelatory and expository; its purpose is to reveal the truth, that is, God's word,² using whatever methods and standards are current in its time. Midrash, though it may include a variety of literary forms and genres, is, in itself an essentially exegetical genre. Without the Bible, or an equivalent holy text, there would be no Midrash.

Magic, on the other hand, is coercive in purpose. The aim of Jewish magic is not to reveal God, or to discover His ways, but to manipulate what already has been revealed about Him. Magic uses revelation as a divine tool of power. Though a magic text may use exegetical method and midrashic sources,³ it in itself is not essentially exegetical. Thus, whereas Midrash is inquisitive regarding God, magic is entrepreneurial.

There are three kinds of similarities between the use of Biblical material in the Magic Bowls and in Rabbinic Midrash: A) basic concepts; B) method; and C) content.

A. Basic Concepts

The central concept behind Rabbinic Midrash and the use of Biblical material in magic, is the holiness and ultimate truth of the Bible. Without a doubt, the Rabbis saw their midrashic interpretations of the Bible text as revealing the holy, living God.⁴ As God is holy, so is His book. The Bible is quoted in the Magic Bowls precisely because it was regarded as being holy, its holiness lending it magical power.⁵

Another basic concept shared by the Magic Bowls and Rabbinic Midrash, is that the holiness of the Bible makes it a healer and protector of Israel. I will discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, how sources in the Talmud show the use of Biblical verses to heal wounds and diseases.⁶ Many midrashic sources emphasize that the Torah protects Israel from various calamities. A few examples must suffice. We have already seen how the words of the Torah are called "a sword" against different kinds of demons in the Targum to the Song of Songs.⁷ Ba-Midbar Rabbah 12.3

relates that occupying oneself with the Torah is a shield against demons:

Rabbi Shimon ben Lakhish explained: "The Holy One, blessed be He, says: 'I shall forge a weapon for all who trade in the truth of Torah.'" Rabbi Shimon ben Yohai said, "The truth of the Torah is the weapon of he who possesses it... The Holy One, blessed be He, gave Israel at Sinai a weapon..."

The Zohar also relates that the study of Torah is a shield against the demons.⁸ Many other sources in the Midrashim stress that the Torah is a protector, either in and of itself, or through its fulfillment, or through studying it.⁹

The Magic Bowl incantations are not, like many of these midrashic sources, reflective conceptual documents. Nowhere does a Magic Bowl text explicitly say that the Biblical references and/or quotations in it are protecting, holy agents. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the "Torah" itself is never invoked as a protector in the incantations. However, it is certain that the concept of the Torah as a healer and protector of Israel is behind the use of Biblical material in the Bowls.

Yet another concept shared by the Magic Bowls and Rabbinic Midrash is the sanctity of God's names. We have seen how the often multiple occurrence of the divine name was a key magical ingredient in the Biblical verses quoted in the Bowls. The divine name was regarded as a charged

battery of holy power. Speculation on divine names is a frequent topic of Talmudic and midrashic literature.¹⁰

These sources often present the name of God as a powerful protector of Israel.¹¹

A very central concept shared by the Magic Bowls and the Midrashim, is that the words of the Bible are meant to be fulfilled. God can, and intends to, actualize what He has said He would do. We have seen how Biblical verses were quoted in the Magic Bowl texts with the intention of indirectly coercing God to fulfill His own word. This concept of the eventual and inevitable fulfillment of the words of Scripture, is also central to Midrash and in the liturgy.

B)

Method

Some of the exegetical methods of Rabbinic Midrash are reflected in the use of the Biblical material in the Magic Bowls. We have seen how references to Biblical events, and some Biblical quotations, are used as typological precedents in the Bowl incantations: they were used as powerful prototypes to the magic at hand. Now the use of Biblical events and characters as typological prototypes is a feature of Rabbinic midrashic method.¹² Great Biblical events were held up as typological prototypes of similar

subsequent events: the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the sin of the Golden Calf, the parting of the Red Sea. Similarly, Biblical characters were viewed as prototypes of their kind: Esau the wicked, Pharaoh the wicked, Abraham the faithful, Jacob the righteous, and so on.

The method of applying Bible verses, sometimes out of context, to different situations is another method shared by both. Since the Rabbis perceived the Bible to be one, whole book, they would interpret Torah verses as applying to characters and events in other parts of the Bible.¹³ A similar way of applying verses to new situations is evident in the Magic Bowl incantations: Montgomery's Bowl 26 quotes Hosea 2:4-6. This passage tells of Hosea's intentions to divorce his metaphoric wife. On an allegorical level, the passage refers to God's rejection of Israel because of her sins. In the Bowl text, however, the verse is reinterpreted as referring to the divorce of demons, making it a useful verse for a Magic Bowl incantation. The original context of the verse, as well as its allegorical meaning, is ignored.

The importance of certain numbers is another shared method. We have seen how many of the quoted verses repeat key words, mostly the name of God, three, five, or nine times. The use of numerology in interpretation is a widespread Rabbinic exegetical method that took many forms.¹⁴

C)

Content

My survey of the Biblical references and quotations used in the Bowls, in midrashic literature has demonstrated one important fact: in many cases the Biblical material in the Bowls is but part of a wider aggadic or exegetical tradition. Solomon is not a magical figure in the Magic Bowls alone; the story of his dealings with demons appears in many aggadic Midrashim. Demonic associations with Ps 91 and with Cant 3:7-8 likewise appear throughout midrashic literature. The Priestly Blessing and Deut 6:4 are reputed to have protective powers against demons in Rabbinic sources, as well as in the Magic Bowls. Thus, many of the Biblical references and quotations in the Bowls sprang from Jewish aggadic traditions shared by the Rabbinic Midrashim.

It is true that some of the Biblical references, and many of the verses in the Bowls do not have any parallel aggadic or exegetical traditions in the Midrashim. As I have stated above, a certain individualistic creativity was allowed in the selection of Biblical material for Magic Bowl incantations. These exceptions, however, in no way contradict the fact that most of the Biblical references and quotations used in the Bowls evince magical or anti-demonic traditions in the Midrashim.

The use of verse citation formulae, though infrequent in the Bowls, is another element shared by the Magic Bowl texts and Midrash.¹⁵

Isaac Heinemann has commented that only in Rabbinic halakhic and aggadic Bible commentaries do we see the typical characteristics of Midrash: other Jewish literature of late antiquity, such as the Sefarim ha-Hitsonim, lacks midrashic qualities.¹⁶ Now, the Magic Bowl incantations represent a completely different genre from Rabbinic Midrash, and have a completely different purpose. Because the purpose of magic is not exegetical, the Magic Bowl texts do lack many typical midrashic literary characteristics. However, there is enough similarity in the use of Biblical material to show that in all probability Magic Bowl magic and Rabbinic Midrash sprang from the same cultural and intellectual background. To my mind, both are representatives of the "Rabbinic mind-set," that Heinemann calls "organic thinking"¹⁷: an associative and intuitive, as opposed to intellectual and systematic, way of thinking.

It is noteworthy however, that of all the Magic Bowl incantations that include Biblical material, some are more like Midrash than others. Naveh and Shaked's Bowl 9, with its four verse citation formulae, and its application of Biblical curses to the client's enemies, is the most midrashic of all the Bowl texts I have examined.

The relationship between the use of the Bible in magic and Midrash is an area where further study is warranted. Judging from the similarities in basic concepts, method and content outlined above, Midrash and Magic Bowl magic shared a common cultural background.

Footnotes

Chapter VII

The Magic Bowls and Talmudic Judaism

1. See Ch. III, Section D above.
2. Yitshak Heinemann, Darke ha-Aggadah, 3rd edition, (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1970), p. 4.
3. See Goldin, "Magic of Magic," p. 124-125 for examples and discussion.
4. Heinemann, Aggadah, p. 11.
5. Eg. Kaufman, "Unique," p. 172.
6. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 107.
7. Sperber, Bible in Aramaic, to Cant 3:7-8
8. Zohar 2.58a.
9. Eg. Shemot Rabah 32.6; Urbach Sages, Vol. I, pp. 473, 484, 611-612.
10. See Urbach, *Ibid.*, Ch. VII, for a slightly apologetic discussion of speculation on divine names.
11. Eg. Midrash Tehillim 36.8, cited in Urbach, *Ibid.*, p. 133.
12. See Heinemann, Aggadah, pp. 75, 149.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 182, 186.
15. Verse citation formulae appear in Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), Bowl C; Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 3; and, Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9.
16. Heinemann, Aggadah, p. 11
17. *Ibid.*, Ch. 1, for discussion of the concept of "organic thinking."

Chapter VIII

The Quotation of Biblical Verses
in the
Jewish Magic of Late Antiquity

Further similarities between the Magic Bowls and Rabbinic Literature can be seen in an examination of the quotation of Biblical verses in Jewish magic texts of late antiquity. The extant corpus of Jewish magical works of late antiquity consists of texts and artifacts. The texts include: Sefer ha-Razim,¹ The Sword of Moses,² The Testament of Solomon,³ the Shi'ur Qomah,⁴ and other Merkavah Mysticism texts.⁵ The Talmud is not, of course, a magic text, yet it contains much information about the Jewish magic of the period. The Jewish magical artifacts include the Aramaic Magic Bowls, and magical amulets.⁶

While reading these texts and artifacts as background material for my work, I discovered an interesting phenomenon: there is a distinct difference between the way that Biblical quotations are used in the magic texts on one hand, and in the magical artifacts, on the other.

It is my opinion that the use of Biblical quotations in this material shows that, at least in this one respect, the magic of the Magic Bowl is closer to Talmudic Judaism

than has hitherto been thought. I will now present a brief survey of the texts and artifacts, focusing on their use of Biblical quotations.

A)

The Artifacts

The extant Jewish magical artifacts of late antiquity are the Magic Bowls and magical amulets. It has been the aim of this thesis to demonstrate that a substantial number of Magic Bowl texts contain Biblical quotations. Not only do Biblical quotations appear in the Bowl texts, but they are used as agents of magical power. The Biblical quotations themselves, being holy words of Torah, effect the protective magic by bringing God's holy power to the magic at hand.

This exact same use of Biblical quotations is evident in the Jewish charms and amulets published by Naveh and Shaked. Many of these amulets use Biblical quotations like the Magic Bowls. Only a few examples must suffice: Cant 8:6-7 is cited in a love charm.⁷ Job 38:13 and Jer 10:10 are cited in a protective amulet.⁸ Ps 94:1 is quoted in another protective amulet.⁹ One long amulet of 38 lines consists of almost nothing but Biblical quotations, like Kaufman's "unique" Magic Bowl.¹⁰ I have not engaged in an in-depth comparison of the use of Biblical quotations in the Magic Bowls and in these amulets; however, it appears

that, without a doubt, the magical functions of the quotations are the same in both.

B)

The Texts

Biblical quotations are used quite differently in the Jewish magic texts. I am not including the Talmud in this category, as it is not essentially a magic text. I will discuss it separately below. But first I will briefly survey each Jewish magic text of the period in question, highlighting the use of Biblical quotations.

1. Sefer ha-Razim

Sefer ha-Razim is a Hebrew magic work dating from between the first and fifth centuries A.D.¹¹ The work has a two-fold nature: on the one hand, it consists of magic spells for various needs and occasions; on the other hand, these spells are placed in a cosmological literary framework that bears similarities to ascent literature. This literary framework consists of a description of the seven heavens, and the names of the various angels that dwell in each. Mordechai Margaliot has demonstrated that, without a doubt, the source of the spells in the "Sefer ha-Razim" is the Greek Magical Papyri.¹²

Sefer ha-Razim contains a wealth of Biblical phraseology, quotations and epithets.¹³ However, a close reading of the text reveals a striking fact: though Biblical quotations do appear in the cosmological literary framework, there are no Biblical quotations used in the actual magic spells.¹⁴ This is not to say that there is no Biblical material in the spells; there are Biblical epithets, references and allusions.¹⁵ But the Bible is never actually quoted in the magic spells themselves. Biblical quotations, thus, are not used as magical agents of divine power, as they were in the Magic Bowls and amulets.

This remarkable phenomenon could be due to the pagan origin of the spells; if the author, or authors, were aware that their source was pagan, they may have been reluctant to include actual quotations of the holy Bible in the spells. It could be, too, that the artifacts and this text simply represent two different magical traditions, one of which used Biblical quotations in magic, and one of which did not.

2. The Sword of Moses

The Geonic magic text, The Sword of Moses,¹⁶ contains a series of magic spells, the main magical ingredient of which is the recitation of magical holy names. There are only a few Biblical quotations in the Sword. These

quotations never appear in the magic spells themselves. In his appendix to the text, Gaster lists spells from the Sword that he holds are like the Magic Bowl incantations. None of these, however, contain Biblical quotations.

3. The Testament of Solomon

The Testament of Solomon is a first - second century work that belongs to the corpus of apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature.¹⁷ It is a long narrative, telling of King Solomon's subjugation of numerous types of demons during the building of the Temple. It reads like an encyclopedia of demonology; the appearance, provenance, and noxious habits of all kinds of demons are described in great detail. Though the Testament is not a collection of magic spells, but rather a narrative, many spells for protection against demons are included in the work.¹⁸ None of these spells contain any Biblical quotations; indeed, there is only one Biblical quotation, Ps 118:22, in the entire work.¹⁹

4. The Shi'ur Qomah

The Shi'ur Qomah is one of the Merkavah Mysticism texts dating from the Geonic period. It is an example of practical, theurgic mysticism, as opposed to theoretical, exegetical mysticism.²⁰ This is not the place for a full

discussion of the magical elements in Merkavah Mysticism.²¹ It must suffice to state that the Shi'ur, as well as other practical Merkavah texts, are not collections of magic spells like Sefer ha-Razim or The Sword of Moses. Rather, the Shi'ur is a manual of meditative technique.²² Magic names and numbers are set out in a semi-liturgical context for the purpose of entering into a sort of meditative trance.²³ The magic in the Shi'ur is, thus, a kind of meditative magic, the goal of which is to produce divine visions.

Martin Cohen devotes an entire chapter of his book on the Shi'ur to its use of Bible verses.²⁴ He shows that Biblical texts are used in three ways: as proof-texts, as liturgy, and as a source of information.²⁵ Biblical quotations are never used in the Shi'ur as devices of magical divine power, as they are in the Bowls.

5. Other Merkavah Texts

I have not read through all of the extant Merkavah texts myself, but as they are representatives of a kind of Jewish magic in the period in question, they are worthy of mention. Gershom Scholem considers a magical, theurgic element to be basic to the Merkavah texts.²⁶ He lists the entire corpus of these texts,²⁷ dating them in the first - tenth centuries A.D..²⁸ Scholem sees many magical elements in the Merkavah texts.²⁹ The magic of these texts is mostly

a meditative magic, the purpose of which is to enable the initiate to enter into a trance-like, visionary state.

-- While in this state, the initiate "rises" through the palaces of heaven and ultimately beholds the glory of God perched upon His throne.³⁰

The magical elements in the texts consist mostly of magic names of power, that enable the initiate to rise safely to his ultimate goal. Biblical quotations appear in these texts. Isa 6:3, the Kedushah, appears over and over again, used as a doxology.³¹ The Biblical verses used in these texts are liturgical, rather than magical in function. They appear in long hymns of praise to God.³² The use of Biblical quotations in these theurgic texts, is, thus, very different from their use in the Magic Bowls and amulets.

Conclusion

Though more thorough research is needed before a definitive conclusion can be reached, it appears that the use of Biblical quotations in the artifacts, and in Jewish magic texts of late antiquity was quite different. It is only in the artifacts that quotations are essential parts of magic spells, having a specifically magical function and power.

C)

The Talmud

The Talmud contains a wealth of information about the supernatural beliefs and magical practices of the Jews of the period. I have already outlined the opinions of scholars as to the historical significance of this kind of information, and will not repeat myself unduly here. Suffice it to say, that Judah Goldin is correct in pointing out a certain ambiguity in the Talmud's attitude towards magic: the practice of magic was both forbidden and allowed, depending upon its purpose.³³

Unfortunately, this is not the place for a thorough analysis of the magical beliefs and practices preserved in the Talmud. However, the spells, charms, aggadot and folklore preserved therein, leave no doubt that magic and superstition were an integral part of the Rabbinic world view.³⁴ For example, a source in Sanhedrin 66b-67a lists various kinds of sorceries, giving the penalty for each. This source seriously differentiates between real magic, which uses demons and enchantment, and sleight-of-hand tricks, which merely creates illusions. Detailed descriptions of magical acts are included. It is clear that the author of this source firmly believed in the reality of magic.

Many other sources reflect a belief in magic: birds can be made to speak through magic,³⁵ dropsy and other diseases can be caused by magic,³⁶ eating vegetables from the bunch made by the gardener opens you to the dangers of magic.³⁷ Instructions are given for the fabrication of an amulet to make one wise.³⁸ It is permitted to carry amulets on the Sabbath if they are "expert" amulets; referring either to the amulet's proven prophylactic qualities, or perhaps to its having been prepared by an expert.³⁹ Many magical remedies are given for various ailments.⁴⁰ Instructions are given in Shabat 66b-67a for the correct recitation of a healing incantation: the name of the patient's mother must be included and all knots must be on the left side.

Numerous anecdotes in the Talmud tell of the activities of those who work magic acts; some of these are rabbis. Rabbi Hanina and Rabbi Oshaia create a calf by means of the "Laws of Creation" and eat it.⁴¹ In Hullin 105b, a certain witch holds a ship through a spell; however, she has no control over two rabbis who know how to protect themselves from noxious magic: they do not clean themselves with potsherds, they do not crush lice upon their clothing, and they steadfastly refrain from eating vegetables from the bunch made by the gardener!

A moralistic anecdote in Kiddushin 39b proves that he who is tempted to transgress, but does not, is rewarded. The hero of this anecdote, Rabbi Hanina ben Pappi, performs a magic spell in order to render himself undesirable to a matron who apparently wants to lead him into sexual sin. Through magic, he makes his body covered with loathsome boils and scabs; the matron, however, is not put off. She, too, is adept at magic; she "does something," and ben Pappi is healed! The Rabbi then hides himself in a place where she will not dare to seek him: a notoriously demon-infested bathhouse. He is rewarded by God for his resistance to immorality by being protected from the demons, even though he stays all night in the bathhouse! This anecdote is interesting as the hero is rewarded, even though he himself performed magic, albeit, for a worthy cause!

Other magical lore appears in the Talmud: divination,⁴² dream interpretation,⁴³ speculation on the holy names of God.⁴⁴ Sophisticated systems of angeology and demonology were clearly an integral part of Talmudic belief.⁴⁵

We have seen how Jewish magic texts of the Talmudic and Geonic periods refrained from using Biblical quotations in magic spells. In the Talmud, however, there is evidence of this practice. A discussion in Shevouth 15b centers on whether or not the words of the Torah can be used for

healing. It is decided that it is permitted to use the words of the Torah for protection, but not for healing. This very prohibition against the use of the words of the Torah for healing, is sufficient evidence that such a practice existed at the time.⁴⁶ Indeed, in spite of the prohibition, there is evidence that the Torah was used for healing purposes.⁴⁷

The Mishnah, Sanhedrin 11.1 states that anyone who whispers Ex 15:26 over a wound has no position in the world to come. The gemara comments: "This statement is prohibited only if the one who says it spits."⁴⁸ Apparently, whispering the verse over a wound was permitted without spitting. The recitation of Bible verses was commonly used to ward off dangers and bad dreams.⁴⁹ I have noted in my comments on the magical use of Zech 3:2, that that verse is cited to ward off evil powers in two Talmudic sources.⁵⁰

In Shabat 67a an actual healing incantation to combat fever is preserved; it uses Biblical quotations from Ex 3 as magical elements. This source tells us both the incantation, and the magical praxis of the spell. A twisted white string must be tied to a thorn bush with the appropriate recitation of verses from Ex 3. The bush that was burned and not consumed appears to have the magical function of a typological precedent in the spell: though

the one afflicted with fever burns, he should not be consumed.⁵¹

One magical incantation against demons preserved in the Talmud is worthy of mention, though it contains no Biblical material. This short incantation in Shabbat 67a, reads like a Magic Bowl incantation: "Against a demon one should say, 'Thou wast closed up; closed up wast thou. Cursed, broken and destroyed be Bar Tit, Bar Tame, Bar Tina...'" This incantation is the closest to a Magic Bowl incantation of any in the Talmud.

In the Talmud, then, we have the only evidence outside of the artifacts, of Biblical quotations being used in magical practices.

Footnotes

Chapter VIII

The Quotation of Biblical Verses in the
Jewish Magic of Late Antiquity

1. Mārgaliot, Sefer ha-Razim; Morgan, Book of Mysteries.
2. Gaster, Sword.
3. Duling, "Testament."
4. Cohen, Shi'ur Qomah.
5. See descriptions in Scholem, Gnosticism.
6. See amulets and Genizah fragments published by Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls.
7. Ibid., G3, p. 221.
8. Ibid., Amulet 4, p. 55.
9. Ibid., Amulet 12, p. 95
10. Ibid., G7, p. 237.
11. Margaliot, Sefer ha-Razim, p. 23.
12. See Ibid., Ch. 1.
13. Goldin, "Magic of Magic," p. 136.
14. Morgan, Book of Mysteries, p. 9.
15. See the "sixth firmament," Ibid., p. 80, for example of high Biblical content in the Sefer ha-Razim.
16. Gaster, Sword, Vol. I, p. 311.
17. Duling, "Testament," p. 955.
18. Eg. Ibid., Ch. 18.
19. Ibid., 23:4.

20. Cohen, Shi'ur Qomah, pp. 2-4.
21. See Scholem, Gnosticism; Scholem, Major Trends, Ch. 2, for full treatment and discussion.
22. Cohen, Shi'ur Qomah, p. 10.
23. Ibid., pp. 167-168.
24. Ibid., Ch. 5.v.
25. Ibid., p. 123.
26. Scholem, Gnosticism, p. 75.
27. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
28. Scholem, Major Trends, pp. 40-41.
29. Such as chiromancy and physiognomy; Ibid., p. 48.
30. Ibid., pp. 49-51.
31. Ibid., p. 60.
32. Ibid. Also: Scholem, Gnosticism, Ch. 4.
33. Goldin, "Magic of Magic," pp. 117-119.
34. In this I agree with Neusner, Jews in Babylonia.
35. BT Hul 139b.
36. BT Shab 33a.
37. BT Hul 105b.
38. BT Shab 90b.
39. Ibid., 61b.
40. Ibid., 66b-67a; Git 67b, 70a.
41. BT San 67b.
42. EG BT San 101a; Hag 15a-b; Hul 95b; Git 58a.
43. A lengthy discussion of dream interpretation appears in BT Bérakhot.

44. Eg. BT Kid 71a.
45. See Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, Ch. 4 and 6; Neusner, Jews in Babylonia, Vol. 4, pp. 334-338.
46. Trachtenberg, Ibid., p. 202.
47. Ibid., p. 107
48. BT San 101a.
49. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic, p. 108.
50. BT Ber 51a; Kid 81b.
51. Judah Goldin discusses this source in "Magic of Magic," pp. 124-125.

Chapter IX

Final Conclusions

As I summarized in my review of scholarly issues connected with the Magic Bowls, scholars have concentrated on finding parallels between the magic of the Bowls and that of the Greek Magical Papyri and the extra-Talmudic Jewish magic texts. My findings, however, suggest that the magic of the Bowls has more in common with Rabbinic literature and magic, than with these texts.

If this is true, then the use of Biblical references and quotations in the Magic Bowls is relevant to our understanding of Jewish society in the Talmudic period. Naveh and Shaked maintain that, in most cases, the artifacts with Biblical quotations are examples of a popular practice and a superficial level of learning. Now if the Rabbis used Biblical quotations in their magic practice, and if the use of the Biblical material in the Bowls reflects a Rabbinic mind-set, then this assertion of Naveh and Shaked must be challenged. The facts suggests that those educated elite known as "the Rabbis" participated in the same popular tradition of using the Bible in magic, as did the common people who made and used the Bowls. Neusner is correct in seeing magic beliefs as an integral part of Rabbinic culture;

probably, says Neusner, it was just as integral to a Rabbi's character to use the Torah against demons, as it was to learn legal sayings for court actions.¹

Furthermore, the similarities between the use of Biblical quotations in the Talmud and the Magic Bowls challenges Neusner's assertion that there were two co-existing systems of Jewish magic in Talmudic Babylonia: that of the Rabbis, whose magic was executed through the holy words of the Torah, and that of the Magic Bowl magicians.² I feel that there is no evidence for the existence of two such systems. Judging from all evidence, the Magic Bowls that contain Biblical material and the magic in the Talmud are but two different expressions of the same popular culture.

The Aramaic Magic Bowl incantations can be perceived as artifactual evidence of the Rabbinic view of the Bible as the holy and powerful word of God.

After the Geonic period, all Jewish magic texts quote Biblical verses in magic spells. the Medieval Sefer Raziel, the Sefer Shimush Tehillim, the Mahzor Vitri, all show extensive use of Biblical quotations in actual magic charms. The reluctance to use Biblical quotations in actual magic spells, shown by the Geonic magic texts, did not survive into the Middle Ages.

In my Introduction, I mentioned that modern historians of religion are often troubled by the presence of magical elements in the Christianity and Judaism of earlier times. Certainly, scholars like E.E. Urbach and Saul Lieberman were more troubled by the magical material in the Talmud, than the Rabbis themselves. For although it is clear that the Rabbis, in accordance with their age and culture, believed in the reality and power of magic, they never perceived themselves as practicing it. In my Introduction, I defined magic as any religious element that is manipulative, that coerces a divine power to effect and change human reality. This academic definition may be correct to an objective historian of religion. To the Rabbis, and to many other Jews, and Christians for that matter, throughout the ages, this definition of magic is inaccurate.

The manipulation of divine power, the coercion of God to do ones will, this was seen as but part of man's natural religious impulse towards his creator. Manipulation of God, in whatever form that was permitted by the religious authorities, was not magic. Only divine manipulation forbidden by the authorities was seen as magic, and this alone was condemned.

Although I, a historian of religion, have persisted in calling the use of Biblical verses and references in the

Magic Bowls, "magical," their authors, like the Rabbis, saw nothing wrong with using the Bible in protective amulets. To them, this practice was not "magic." The Magic Bowls are, thus, sadly misnamed!

Before concluding, I must note one crucial difference between the magic of the Bowls and the Talmud. The incantations in the Magic Bowls are eclectic; they invoke the powers of pagan gods from all nations of the world. Again, I note that this eclecticism rarely, if ever, becomes syncretism: the God of Israel is never identified with pagan gods in the same way as He is in the Greek Magical Papyri, and other non-Jewish magic texts. In the Talmud, however, there is no evidence of eclecticism. Nowhere, to my knowledge, are any pagan gods invoked in healing spells in the Talmud. The Talmud completely rejected pagan elements in its magic. Whatever protective or healing magic was allowed was considered to be completely Jewish, and not an imitation of the ways of the pagans.

Footnotes

Chapter IX

Final Conclusions

1. Neusner, Jews in Babylonia, Vol. IV, p. 338.
2. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 245.

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APPENDIX A

Listed below is the total number of Aramaic Magic Bowls examined for my study, and the publications in which the Bowls appear. I have counted only Aramaic Bowl texts; some of the publications listed here include Mandaic and Syriac texts as well, but these have not been indicated.

<u>Number of Texts</u>	<u>Author and Publication</u>
30	Montgomery, <u>Nippur</u> , Bowls 1-30.
12	Naveh and Shaked, <u>Amulets and Magic Bowls</u> , Bowls 2-9; 11-13. (Counting 12a and 12b separately).
11	Gordon, <u>Orientalia</u> X, Bowls 1-11.
11	Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, <u>Corpus</u> , Bowls 18, 63-72.
6	Gordon, "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," <u>ArOr</u> 6, Bowls A-F.
5	Gordon, <u>ArOr</u> 9, Bowls H-L.
5	Layard, <u>Among the Ruins</u> , Bowls 1-5.
4	Geller, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," Bowls A-D.
2	Gordon, <u>Biblical and Near Eastern Studies</u> , Bowls I and II.
2	Isbell, "New Aramaic," Bowls 1 and 2.
2	McCullough, <u>Royal Ontario Museum</u> , Bowls A and B.
2	Obermann, "Two Magic Bowls," Bowls 1 and 2.

- 1 Geller, "Two Incantation Bowls,"
Bowl B.
- 1 Gordon, "Exorcism," ArOr 6, Bowl G.
- 1 Gordon, Orientalia XX, Bowl 1.
- 1 Gordon, AASOR 14.
- 1 Harviainen, "Borsippa."
- 1 Hyvernath, in Gordon, "Istanbul and
Baghdad Museums," ArOr 6, p. 331.
- 1 Kaufman, "Unique."
- 1 Myhrmann, in Montgomery, Nippur,
duplicate of Bowl 7.
- 1 Yamauchi, "Aramaic Magic Bowls."
- 2 Fragmentary texts in Gordon,
Orientalia X, Nos. 1932.619 and 620,
p. 279.

Total 103

APPENDIX B

Listed below are all the Bowls in which I found Biblical quotations and references suitable for my study. A profile of the Biblical quotations and/or references in each Bowl is provided. It must be noted that these Bowls contain other Biblical elements besides those listed here; these profiles should not be regarded as representative of all of the Biblical material in the Bowls.

The profiles of the Bowls are arranged according to author and publication. When more than one publication is listed for a given author, they will be listed chronologically, according to the date of publication. I have followed the individual author's translations and readings of the texts, except for Biblical verses; for these I follow the Revised Standard Version translation. I have included the texts of the quoted verses both as they are in the Masoretic text, and as they appear in the Magic Bowls. Whenever there is a difference between the verse enumeration in the Revised Standard Version and the Masoretic Text, I have followed the latter.

I. Cyrus H. Gordon

1) AASOR 14 (1934)

A) Bowl 1

-- line 8 - "...the Ineffable Name from the
six days of Creation..."

"...שם מפורש מיששית ימ(י) בר(א)ש(י)ח..."

Biblical reference: the Creation

2) ArOr 6 (1934), "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums"

A) Bowl A

-- line 1 - "...the seal ring of King
Solomon, son of David to which
no one can go and before which
nobody stands ..."

"...היא עיזקתא דשלמה מלכה בר דויד דאניש
לא מצי מזילה לאתם ואינש קדמה לא קאים..."

Biblical reference: Solomon

B) Bowl B

-- line 4 - "...and with the seal ring of
King Solomon, the son of David,
who worked spells on male demons
and female liliths ..."

"...ובעיזקתא דשלמוה מלכא בר דויד דעבד
עינדתא בשידי דיכרי ובליליתא ניקבתא..."

Biblical reference: Solomon

C) Bowl C

-- line 9 - Ps 91:7, 10: "A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand; but it will not come near you... No evil shall befall you, no scourge come near your tent."

"...יפל מצדך אלף ורובה מימינך אליך לא - M.T.
יגש...לא-תאנה אליך רעה ונגע לא-יקרב באהלך"
"...יפול מצדך אלף ורובה מימינך אליך לא -
יגשו...לא תאונה אליך רעה ונגע לא יקרב
"(באהלך)"

Quoted verses: Ps 91:7,10. Introduced by verse citation formula; at end of incantation.

D) Bowl E

-- line 4 - "...and with the seal ring of Aspanadas-Dewa, the jinee of King Solomon the son of David and with the seal ring of King Solomon the son of David..."

"...ובעיצקתיה דאספנדס דינא גינאא דישלומה -
מלכה בר דאויד ובעיצקתיה דישלומה מלכה בר
דאויד..."

-- line 8 - Same as line 4.

Biblical reference: Solomon

E) Bowl F

Duplicate of Bowl E above.

Biblical reference: Solomon

3) ArOr 6 (1934), "Exorcism"

A) Bowl G

-- line 10 - Ps 125:2: "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people, from this time forth and for evermore."

"ירושלם הרים סביב לה ויהוה סביב לעמו" - M.T.

מעטה ועד-עולם"

"...יר(ו)שלים הרים סב(י)ב לא(!) מעטה(!) -

ואהיה סב(י)ב לעמו מעתה ועד עולם..."

-- line 10 - "... I shall bring you up to the Ark..."

"...אסיקך לתכוחא..." -

Quoted verses: Ps 125: 2

Biblical reference: Noah and the Ark

4) ArOr 9 (1937)

A) Bowl H

-- line 6 - "...and PRGWS the lilith that was sent against Saul, son of Kish..."

"...ופרגוס ליליתא דאישתדרת על שאול בר קיש..." -

-- line 17 - "...by ... the Ineffable Name that was revealed to Moses in the bush..."

"...שם מפורש דאיתגלי למשה באסנה בהדין סמאדר..." -

Biblical reference: Saul son of Kish
Moses and the Burning Bush

B) Bowl J

-- line 10 - Num 9:23: "At the command of the Lord they encamped, and at the command of the Lord they set out; they kept the charge of the Lord, at the command of the Lord by Moses."

"על-פי יהוה יחנו ועל-פי יהוה יסעו את-
משמרת יהוה שמרו על-פי יהוה ביד-משה"
"... (על פי יהוה) יחנו ועל פי יהוה יסעו
את משמרת יהוה שמרו (על פי יהוה ביד משה)..."

Quoted verses: Num 9:23. At end of incantation.

5) Orientalia X (1941)

A) Bowl 1

-- line 5 - Isa 6:3: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory."

"קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא כל-
הארץ כבודו"
"...קדוש קדוש קדוש יהוה צבאות מלא
כול הארץ כבודו..."

Quoted verses: Isa 6:3. At end of incantation.

B) Bowl 2

-- line 7 - "...by the Red Sea thou hast split..."

"...על ימה דסוף בזאתה..."

Biblical reference: the Red Sea

C) Bowl 7

-- line 4 - "...every spirit male or female, that has ... come to a place that is not its place since the days of creation..."

 "...את כל הרוחות {וכל} הרוח בין זכר ובין
 נקיבא ש... יבא למקום שא(י) נו מקומו דימי
 בראשית..."

-- line 10 - Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to
 Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O
 Satan! The Lord who has chosen
 Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not
 this a brand plucked from the
 fire?'"

"ויאמר יהוה אל-השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן ויגער
 יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד מצל מאש"
 - M.T.
 "... ויאמר {ויאמר} יהוה אל השטן יגער {יהס} {יהס}
 יהוה בך השטן ויגער יהו {ו} בך {הב} הבחיר
 בירושולים הלא זה (א) וד {ד} מוצל..."

Quoted verses: Zech 3:2. At end of
 incantation.

Biblical reference: the Creation

D) Bowl 10

-- line 3 - "...the sorceries of the hundred
 and twenty seven provinces..."
 "...חרשי דמאה עסרין 'ושבע מדינתא..."

Biblical reference: Esther 1:1

E) Bowl 11

-- line 6 - "...I enchant you with the great
 incantation of the Sea and with
 the incantation of Leviathan the
 monster..."
 "...אשפנא עליכון באשפא רבא דימא ובאשפא
 דליויתון, תנינא..."

-- line 9 - "...I am going to bring down the decree of heaven upon you and the ban which I brought upon Mount (Hermon) and Leviathan the monster..."

מחיתנא עליכון גזירתא דישמיה ואחרומחא -
דאיתחית(?) עליכון(?) (חירמון) טורא ולליויתון
תנינא..."

-- line 17 - "...Bound are the demons with the bond of El Shaddai and with the sealing of King Solomon, son (of David)..."

אסירין דיוין... באיסורא דאל שדי -
ובחותמא דישלמו מלכא בר (דויד)..."

Biblical reference: Leviathan (twice)
Mt. Hermon
Solomon

F) Fragmentary Bowl No. 1932.619

-- line 13 - "...with the seal of King Solomon, the son of David..."

בעיזקתא דישלמו מלכא בר דויד..."

Biblical reference: Solomon

G) Fragmentary Bowl No. 1932.620

-- line 14 - "...with the signet of Solomon, son of David, the king of Israel..."

בעזקתיה דשלמוה בר דויד מלכא דישראל..."

-- line 14 - "...by the Red Sea He will keep
you distant, Oh bad sorceries..."

"...ימא דסוף הוא ירחיק יתכון חרשין בישין..." -

Biblical reference: the Red Sea
Solomon

6) Biblical and Near Eastern Studies

A) Bowl 1

-- line 1 - Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1 together as
part of magical formula.

"...שמע ישב ישראל בסתר..." -

-- line 11 - Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to
Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O
Satan! The Lord who has chosen
Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not
this a brand plucked from the
fire?'"

"ויאמר יהוה אל-הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן - M.T.
ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד
מצל מאש"

"...ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן -
יגער יהוה בך הבחיר בירושלים הלוא זה אוד
מוצל מאש..."

Quoted verses: Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1 together
at beginning of incantation.
Zech 3:2. At end of incantation.

II. James A. Montgomery

1) Nippur

A) Bowl 2

-- line 3 - "...I will lay a spell upon you,
the spell of the Sea and the
spell of the monster Leviathan..."

"...זויתאי אישפנא לכוון באישפא דימא ואישפא -
דליויתן תנינא..." -

-- line 6 - "...I will bring upon you the
curse and the proscription and
the ban which fell upon Mt. Hermon
and upon the monster Leviathan
and upon Sodom and upon
Gomorrah..."

"...מחיתנא עליכון שמתא וגזירתא ואחרמתא -
דאיתנח על חירמון טורא ועל ליויתן תנינא
ועל סדום ועל עמורא..."

Biblical reference: Leviathan
Mt. Hermon
Sodom and Gomorrah

B) Bowl 3

--line 12 - Zech 3:2 "And the Lord said to
Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O
Satan! The Lord who has chosen
Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not
this a brand plucked from the
fire?'"

"ויאמר יהוה אל-הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן - M.T.
ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה
אוד מצל מאש"
"...ויאמר יהוה אל הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן -
יגער יהוה בך הבחיר בירושלם (הלא זה אוד
מוצל מיאש...)..."

Quoted verses: Zech 3:2. Introduced by verse
introduction formula; at end
of incantation.

C) Bowl 5

-- line 5 - Num 9:23: "At the command of the Lord they encamped, and at the command of the Lord they set out; they kept the charge of the Lord, at the command of the Lord by Moses."

"על-פי יהוה יחנו ועל-פי יהוה יסעו אח- M.T.
משמרת יהוה שמרו על-פי יהוה ביד משה"
"על... על פי יהוה יחנו על פי יהוה יסעו אח -
משמרת יהוה שמרו על פי יהוה ביד משה..."

-- line 5 - Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?'"

"ויאמר יהוה אל-השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן - M.T.
ויגער יהוה בך הכחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד
מצל מאש"
"...ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן -
יגער יהוה בך הבוחיר בירושלים הלא זה אודו
מוצל מאש..."

Quoted verses: Num 9:23, Zech 3:2. At end of incantation.

D) Bowl 8

-- line 12 - "...I adjure you by the Strong One of Abraham, by the Rock of Isaac, by the Shaddai of Jacob..."

"משבענא לכין באביר אברהם בצור יצחק -
בשדי יעקב..."

Biblical reference: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

E) Bowl 10

-- line 3 - "...with that seal with which
the first Adam sealed Seth his
son and he was preserved from
demons..."

"...הוא חתמא דחתמה אדם קדמא לשם -
ברה ואיתנטיר מן ש(ידין)..."

-- line 5 - "...with that seal with which
Noah sealed the ark from the
waters of the deluge..."

"...הוא חתמא דחתמה נח לתיבותה מן מיה -
דטופנא..."

Biblical reference: Adam and Seth
Noah and the Ark

F) Bowl 11

-- line 9 - "...by the seal on which is carved
and engraved the Ineffable Name
since the days of the world, the
six days of creation..."

"...בעידוקתה דציר וגליף עלה שם מפורש מן
יומי עלמא ימי ששת ימי בראשית..."

Biblical reference: the Creation

G) Bowl 12

-- line 12 - Ps 121:7: "The Lord will keep
you from all evil; he will keep
your life."

"...יהוה ישמרך מכל-רע ישמר את-נפשך" - M.T.
"...יהוה ישמורכה מכול רע ישמור את נפשך..."

Quoted verses: Ps 121:7. At end of incantation.

H) Bowl 13

-- line 5 - "...before all the sons of Adam whom he begot by Eve, we will enter in before them..."

...באנפי כל בני אדם (דא) ולך ית חוה ניעול -
לקדמיהון..."

Biblical reference: Adam

I) Bowl 14

-- line 2 - "...in the name of ... who removed his chariot to the Red Sea ... David, the Psalm of the Red Sea..."

...בשום... דרחיק ית מרכבתיה על ימא דסוף... -
דויד מזמור ים סוף..."

Biblical reference: The Red Sea
David

J) Bowl 16

-- line 14 - Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?'"

"ויאמר יהוה אל-השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן - M.T.
ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד
מצל-פאש"

"...ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן -
יגער יהוה בך הבחיר בירושלים הלא זה אוד
מצל מיאש..."

Quoted verses: Zech 3:2. At end of incantation

K) Bowl 18

Duplicate of Bowl 11 above.

Biblical reference: the Creation

L) Bowl 26

-- line 1 - Deut 6:4: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord.

"שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד" - M.T.
"...שמע ישראל ייני אלהינו ייני אחד..." -

-- line 2 - Num 9:23: "At the command of the Lord they encamped, and at the command of the Lord they set out; they kept the charge of the Lord, at the command of the Lord by Moses."

"על-פי יהוה נחנו ועל-פי יהוה יסעו את-משמרת יהוה שמרו על-פי יהוה ביד-משה" - M.T.
"...על פי ייני יחנו ועל פי ייני יסעו ואת משמרת ייני שמרו על פי ייני בד משה..." -

-- line 3 - Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?'"

"ויואמר יהוה אל-הסטן יגער יהוה בך הסטן ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד מצל מאש" - M.T.
"...ויואמר ייני אל הסטן יגער ייני בך הסטן יגער ייני בך הכוחר בירושלים הלא זה אוד מוצל מאש..." -

-- line 7 -

Hos 2:4-6: "Plead with your mother, plead - for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband - that she put her harlotry from her face, and her adultery from between her breasts; lest I strip her naked and make her as in the day she was born, and make her like a wilderness, and set her like a parched land, and slay her with thirst. Upon her children also I will have no pity, because they are the children of harlotry.

- M.T. "ריבו באמכם ריבו כי-היא לא אשתי ואנכי לא אישה וחסר זנוניה מפניה ונאפופיה מבין שדיה. פן-אפשיטנה ערמה והצגתיה כיום הולדה ושמתייה כמדבר ושתה כארץ ציה והמתיה בצמא: ואת-בניה לא ארחם כי-בני זנונים המה" -
"...דוויב אימכם דובי כיריא לא אישתי א.ביגנא אישה...ואפיפתיה מיבין שד...פשיטנא...ותיהה כיום היולדה ושמתייה כ...בצמא...לא אירחים..."

Quoted verses: Deut 6:4, Num 9:23, and Zech 3:2 together at beginning of incantation.
Hos 2:4-6. At end of incantation.

M) Bowl 27

Duplicate of Bowl 2 above.

Biblical reference: Leviathan
Mt. Hermon
Sodom and Gomorrah

III. Naveh and Shaked

1) Amulets and Magic Bowls

A) Bowl 3

-- line 5 - Num 10:35: "And whenever the ark set out, Moses said, 'Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee.'"

"ויהי בנסע הארן ויאמר משה קומה יהוה ויפצו איביך וינסו משנאיך מפניך" - M.T.
"...וחיחי בין נסוע הארון וימר מושה קומא יהוה ויפוצו איבאך וינסו מ () מיפנך..." -

Quoted verses: Num 10:35. At end of incantation.

B) Bowl 5

-- line 4 - "...in case I do not know the name, it has already been explained to me at the time of the seven days of creation..."

"...דלא ידענא שמה כבר פירישו (לי) משבעה יומי בראשית..." -

Biblical reference: the Creation

C) Bowl 6

-- line 4 - "...in the same way as you have eyes but do not see, as you have ears but do not hear, so shall you give me a stone..."

"...כמה דעינין לכוון ולא חמתון אודנין לכוון ולא שמעיתון כן חיתנו לי אבן..." -

Biblical reference: Ps 115: 5-6

D) Bowl 9

-- line 5 - "they shall fall and not arise,
and there will be no power for
them to stand up..."

"...יפלו ולא י(ק)ומו ו(אל) תהה תקומא..." -

-- line 6 - Ps 69:24: "Let their eyes be
darkened, so that they cannot
see; and make their loins tremble
continually."

"תחשכנה עיניהם מראות ומתניהם תמיד המעד" - M.T.
"תחשכנא עיניהם מיראות ומותניהם תמיד
המעט..." -

-- line 6 - Ps 69:26: "May their camp be a
desolation, let no one dwell in
their tents."

"תהי-טירתם נשמה באהליהם אל-יהי ישב" - M.T.
"...תה טירתם לשמה ואו(הליה)ם אל יהי
יושב..." -

-- line 7 - Ex 22:23: "And my wrath will
burn, and I will kill you with
the sword, and your wives shall
become widows and your children
fatherless."

"וחרה אפי והרגתי אתכם בחרב והיו נשיכם
אלמנות ובניכם יתמים" - M.T.
"...וחרה אפי והרגתי איתכם בחרב והיו נשיכם
אלמנות ו(בני)כם יתומים..." -

-- line 8 - Deut 28:22: "The Lord will smite you with consumption and with fever, inflammation and fiery heat, and with drought, and with blasting, and with mildew, they shall pursue you until you perish."

"יככה יהוה בשחפת ובקדחת ובדלקת ובחרחר ובחרב ובשדפון ובירקון ורדפון עד אבדן" - M.T.
 "...יככה ייכי בשחפת ובקדחת ובדלקת ובחרחר ובחרב ובשדפון וב(ירקון) ורדפון (עד אוכל) דך..."

-- line 8 - Deut 28:35: "The Lord will smite you on the knees and on the legs with grievous boils of which you cannot be healed, from the soles of your foot to the crown of your head."

"יככה יהוה בשחין רע על-הברכים ועל-השקים אשר לא-תוכל להרפא מכף רגלך ועד קדקדך" - M.T.
 "...יככה ייכי (בשחין ר)ע על הברכים ועל השקים אשר לא {יו} יוכל להירפי מיכ(ף ר)גלך ועד קודקודך..."

-- line 9 - Deut 28:28: "The Lord will smite you with madness and blindness and confusion of mind."

"יככה יהוה בשגעון ובעיוון ונתמהון לבב" - M.T.
 "...יכ(ה) ייכי בשיגעון ובעיוון וב(תמהון לבב...)..."

-- line 9 - Lev 26:29: "You shall eat the flesh of your sons, and you shall eat the flesh of your daughters."

"ואכלתם בשר בניכם ובשר בנותיכם תאכלו" - M.T.
 "...ו(א)אכלתם ב(שר בני)כם וב(שר בנ)ותיכם תוכלו..."

-- line 10 - Mic 7:16-17: "The nations shall see and be ashamed of all their might; they shall lay their hands on their mouths; their ears shall be deaf; they shall lick the dust like a serpent, like the crawling things of the earth; they shall come trembling out of their strongholds, they shall turn in dread to the Lord our God, and they shall fear because of thee."

M.T. - "ויראו גוים ויבושו מכל גבורתם ישימו יד על-פה אזניהם תחרשנה ילחכו עפר כנחש כזחלי ארץ ירגזו ממסגרותיהם אל-יהוה אלהינו יפחדו ויראו ממך"
 - "...ויראו גוים ויבושו מיכל גבו(רתם יש) ימו י(ד על פ)ה ואוזניהם תחרשנה ילחכו (עפר) כנחש כזוח(לי) ארץ (ירגזו) מימסגרותיהם..."

-- line 11 - Deut 29:19: "The Lord would not pardon him, but rather the anger of the Lord and his jealousy would smoke against that man, and the curses written in this book would settle upon him, and the Lord would blot out his name from under heaven."

M.T. - "לא-יאבה יהוה סלח לו כי אז יעשן אף-יהוה וקנאתו באיש ההוא ורבעה בו כל-האלה הכתובה בספר הזה ומחה יהוה את-שמו מתחת השמים"
 - "...ו(א)לא י(אבה) ייני (סלוח לו) כי אז יעישן אף ייני וקנאתו באיש ההוא ו(רבעה) בו כל האלה הכתובה) בסיפר הז(ה ומחה) ייני את שמו מיתחת השמים..."

Quoted verses: Ps 69:24
 Ps 69:26
 Ex 22:23 Introduced by verse citation formula.
 Deut 28:22 Introduced by verse citation formula.

Deut 28:35,
Deut 28:28
Lev 26:29
Mic 7:16-17 Introduced by verse
citation formula.
Deut 29:19

Biblical reference: In line 5 a reference is
made to either Lev 26:37,
Jer 8:4 or Amos 8:14.
Introduced by verse
citation formula.

E) Bowl 11

-- line 5 - Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to
Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O
Satan! The Lord who has chosen
Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not
this a brand plucked from the
fire?'"

"ויאמר יהוה אל-השטן יגער יהוה בך השטן ויגער - M.T.
יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם הלוא זה אוד מצל מאש"
"...ויאמר יהוה אל השטן יגער יהוה בכא -
ה(סט)ן יגער יהוה בכא הבוחיר בירושלי של ם
(הלו) זה {אוד} אוד מוצל מ(אש)..."

-- line 6 - Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1 together as
part of magical formula.

"...שמע יושב ישראל בסתר יהוה עליון אלהינו -
בצל יהוה שדי אחד ימלונך..."

Quoted verses: Zech 3:2, Deut 6:4 and Ps 91:1
together at end of incantation.

F) Bowl 12a (alternate text of Bowl 12b)

-- line 7 - Isa 40:12 (in epithet): "...I
swear to you in the name of He
'who has measured the waters in
the hollow of his hand...!'"

"מי-מדד בשעלו מים ושמים בזרת חכך וכל בשלש - M.T.
עפר הארץ ושקל בפלס הרים וגבעות במאזניים"
"...ואנא מיסתבענא (לכוך) במי שמדד בשעולו -
מים..."

-- line 10 - Cant 3:7-8: "Behold it is the litter of Solomon! About it are sixty mighty men of the mighty men of Israel, all girt with swords and expert in war, each with his sword at his thigh, against alarms by night."

"הנה מטתו שלשלמה ששים גברים סביב לה - M.T.
מגברי ישראל: כלם אחזי חרב מלמדי מלחמה
איש חרבו על-ירכו מפחד בלילות"
"... () ששים גיבו (רים) (סביב לה מגבורי
ישראל) ל כו (לם אחוזי חרב) מלמדי מלחמה
(איש) חרבו על ירכו מיפחד בלילות..."

Quoted verses: Isa 40:12 (in epithet)
Cant 3:7-8. At end of
incantation.

G) Bowl 12b (alternate text of Bowl 12a)

-- line 10 - Isa 40:12: "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?"

"מי-מדד בשעלו מים ושמים בזרת חכך וכל בשלש - M.T.
עפר הארץ ושקל בפלס הרים וגבעות במאזנים"
"...ואנא מיש"ח בענא לכוך במי שמדד בשועולו -
מים ושמים בזרת חיכין וכל בשליש עפר הארץ
ושקל בפלס {ויגע} ויגבעות במאזנים..."

Quoted verses: Isa 40:12

H) Bowl 13

-- line 1 - Ex 15:7. "In the greatness of thy majesty thou overthrowest thy adversaries; thou sendest forth thy fury, it consumes them like stubble."

"וברכ גאונך תהרס קמין תשלח חרנך יאכלמו כקש" - M.T.
"...וברכ גאונך ת(רע)ץ קומך תשלח חרונך יכלמו כקש..." -

Quoted verses: Ex 15:7. At beginning of incantation.

IV. Jeruzalmi

1) In Isbell, Corpus

A) Bowl 18

-- line 9 - "...and of the signet ring of Solomon upon which is the great Ineffable Name..."

...ובעיקרתי דשלומו דעלוהי שם מפ(ו)רש -
רבה..."

Biblical reference: Solomon

B) Bowl.66

-- line 3 - Cant 3:7: "Behold it is the litter of Solomon! About it are sixty mighty men of the mighty men of Israel."

"הנה מטתו שלשלמה ששים גברים סביב לה - M.T.
מגברי ישראל"

...הנה מיטתו שלישלמו(ה) ששים גיבורים -
סב(ב) י(ב) לה מגיבורי ישראל..."

-- line 4 - Num 6:24-26: "The Lord bless you and keep you; The Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious to you; The Lord lift up his countenance upon you; and give you peace."

"יברכך יהוה וישמרך: יאר יהוה פניו אליך - M.T.
ויחנך: ישא יהוה פניו אליך וישם לך שלום"
...יברכך יהוה וישמרך יאר יהוה פנ(י)ו -
אליך ויחונך ישא יהוה פנ(י)ו אל(י)ך ויסים
לך שלום..."

-- line 5 - Isa 44:25: "Who frustrates the omens of liars, and makes fools of diviners; who turns wise men back, and makes their knowledge foolish."

"מפר אותות בדים וקסמים יהולל משיב חכמים - M.T.

אחור ודעתם יסכל"

"...מיפר אותות בית דין וקו(ס)מים -

"... (יהולל)

Quoted verses: Cant 3:7, Num 6:24-26, and Isa 44:25. Together at end of incantation.

V. Markham Geller

1) "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls"

Bowl C

-- line 12 - Zech 3:2: "And the Lord said to Satan, 'The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this a brand plucked from the fire?'"

"וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל יְגַעַר יְהוָה בֶּן הַשֹּׁטָן וַיִּגְעַר - M.T.

יְהוָה בֶּן הַבַּחַר בִּירוּשָׁלַם הַלּוֹא זֶה אוֹד מִצֵּל מֵאֵשׁ"

"...וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשֹּׁטָן יְגַעַר יְהוָה בֶּן הַשֹּׁטָן יְגַעַר -

יְהוָה בֶּן הַבּוֹחֵר בִּירוּשָׁלַם הַלּוֹא זֶה אוֹד מִצֵּל מִיֵּאֵשׁ..."

Quoted verses: Zech 3:2. At end of incantation.

VI. Hyvernat

1) In Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), p. 331.

Unnumbered Bowl

Duplicate of Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," Bowls E and F.

Biblical reference: Solomon

VII. Charles Isbell

1) "New Aramaic," BASOR 1976

Bowl I, Pt. III

-- line 3 - Deut 6:4: "Hear O Israel! The Lord our God is one Lord."

"שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד" - M.T.
"...שמע ישראל יהוה אלהנו יהוה אחד(ד...)..." -

Quoted verses: Deut 6:4. At end of section III of incantation.

VIII. Steven Kaufman

1) "Unique"

Unnumbered Bowl (consisting only of verses from the Bible and the Targum)

-- line 1 - Ezek 21:21-22: "Cut sharply to the right and left where your edge is directed. I also will clap my hands, and I will satisfy my fury; I the Lord have spoken."

"התאחד הימיני השימי השמילי אנה פניך מעדות: וגם-אני אכה כפי אל-כפי והנחת חמתי אני יהוה דברתי" - M.T.
"...התאחד הימיני השימי השמילי אנה פניך מועכות וגם אני אכה כפי אל כפי והנחת חמתי אני יהוה דברתי..." -

-- line 2 - Jer 2:2: "Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem. Thus says the Lord, 'I remember the devotion of your youth, your love as a bride, how you followed me in the wilderness, in a land not sown.'"

"הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם לאמר כה אמר יהוה זכרתי לך חסד נעורייך אהבת כלולותיך לכתך אחרי במדבר בארץ לא זרועה" - M.T.
"...הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם לאמר כה אמר יהוה זכרתי לך חסד נעורייך אהבת כלולותיך לכתך אחרי במדבר בארץ לא ז(ר)ו(ע)ה..." -

-- line 3 - Jer 2:2 Targum.

"...איזיל ירמיה נביאה ואתנבי קדם עמא דירושלם -
למימר כידנן אמר יהוה דכירנ(א) ל(כון) (מן) טבות
יומי קדם רחמת אבהתכון דהימינו במימרי ואזלו בחר תרין
שליחי בחר משה ואהרן במדברא ארכעין שנין בלא זודין
בארעא דלא מיזדרעא..."

-- line 6 - Jer 2:3: "Israel was holy to the
Lord, the first fruits of his
harvest. All who ate of it became
guilty; evil came upon them,
says the Lord."

- M.T. "קדש ישראל ליהוה ראשית תבואתה כל-אכליו
יאשמו רעה חבא אליהם נאם-יהוה
"...קדש ישראל ליהוה ראשית תבואתו כל
אכליו יאשמו (ר)עה תבוא אלהם נעם יהוה..."

-- line 7 - Jer 2:1 or Ezek 21:23: "The word
of the Lord came to me, saying."

- M.T. "ויהי דבר-יהוה אלי לאמר"
"...ויהי דבר יהוה אלי לאמר..."

-- line 8 - Jer 2:1 or Ezek 21:23 Targum.

"...והוה פיתגם נבוא(ה מ)ן קדם יהוה עמי למימר..."

Quoted verses: Ezek 21:21-23, Jer 2:1-3.
Targum of Jer 2:1-2, Ezek 21:23.

APPENDIX C

The Biblical quotations and references studied in this thesis are listed below, followed by a list of the Magic Bowl texts in which they appear.

Biblical References

I. Solomon

- 1) The seal ring of King Solomon the son of David
Gordon, "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," ArOr 6 (1934)
Bowl A
- 2) The seal ring of King Solomon the son of David
Gordon, "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," ArOr 6 (1934)
Bowl B
- 3) The jinee of King Solomon the son of David
The seal ring of King Solomon the son of David
Gordon, "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," ArOr 6 (1934)
Bowl E
- 4) The jinee of King Solomon the son of David
The seal ring of King Solomon the son of David
Gordon, "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums," ArOr 6 (1934)
Bowl F
- 5) The sealing of King Solomon the son of David
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl 11
- 6) The seal ring of King Solomon the son of David
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl No. 1932.619
- 7) The signet of Solomon the son of David
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl No. 1932.620

- 8) The signet ring of Solomon upon which is the great Name Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, Corpus
Bowl 18
- 9) The jinee of King Solomon the son of David
The seal ring of King Solomon the son of David
Hyvernath, in Gordon, "Istanbul and Baghdad Museums,"
ArOr 6 (1934)
Unnumbered Bowl p. 331.

II. The Creation

- 1) The Ineffable Name from the six days of creation
Gordon, AASOR 14 (1934)
Bowl 1
- 2) Every spirit since the days of creation
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl 7
- 3) The seal on which is carved the Ineffable Name since
the days of creation
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 11
- 4) The seal on which is carved the Ineffable Name since
the days of creation
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 18
- 5) The name already explained to me at the time of
creation
Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls
Bowl 5

III. The Red Sea

- 1) By the Red Sea thou hast split...
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl 2
- 2) By the Red Sea he will keep you distant
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl No. 1932.620

- 3) He removed his⁴ chariot to the Red Sea
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 14

IV. Leviathan

- 1) The incantation of Leviathan the monster and the
ban of Leviathan the monster
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl 11
- 2) The spell of the monster Leviathan and the ban of
the monster Leviathan
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 2
- 3) The spell of the monster Leviathan and the ban of
the monster Leviathan
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 27

V. Mt. Hermon

- 1) The ban of Mt. Hermon
Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl 11
- 2) The ban of Mt. Hermon
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 2
- 3) The ban of Mt. Hermon
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 27

VI. Sodom and Gommorah

- 1) The ban of Sodom and Gommorah
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 2
- 2) The ban of Sodom and Gommorah
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 27

VII. Noah and the Ark

- 1) I shall bring you up to the ark
Gordon, "Exorcism," ArOr 6 (1934)
Bowl G
- 2) The seal with which Noah sealed the ark
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 10

VIII. Adam

- 1) The seal with which Adam sealed Seth
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 10
- 2) The sons of Adam whom he begot by Eve
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 13

IX. Saul

- 1) The lilith that was sent against Saul son of Kish
Gordon, ArOr 9 (1937)
Bowl H

X. Moses and the Burning Bush

- 1) The Ineffable Name that was revealed to Moses in
the bush
Gordon, ArOr 9 (1937)
Bowl H

XI. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob

- 1) The Strong One of Abraham, the Rock of Isaac, the
Shaddai of Jacob
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 8

XII. David

- 1) David, the Psalm of the Red Sea
Montgomery, Nippur
Bowl 14

References to Biblical Verses

These verses are not fully quoted; however it is obvious that the authors included these references with Biblical verses in mind.

Lev 26:37

Perhaps in Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls
Bowl 9, line 5

Jer 8:4

Perhaps in Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls
Bowl 9, line 5

Amos 8:14

Perhaps in Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls
Bowl 9, line 5

Ps 115:5-6

Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls
Bowl 6, line 4

Esth 1:1

Gordon, Orientalia X (1941)
Bowl 10, line 3

Quotations of Biblical Verses

All verses marked with an "*" show that the verse is at the beginning of an incantation. All marked with "§", show that the verse is at the end of an incantation.

Ex 15:7

- * 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 13

Ex 22:23

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Lev 26:29

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Num 6:24-26

- § 1) Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, Corpus, Bowl 66

Num 9:23

- § 1) Gordon, ArOr 9 (1937), Bowl J
- § 2) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 5
- * 3) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26

Num 10:35

- § 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 3

Deut 6:4 (Alone)

- § 1) Isbell, "New Aramaic," Bowl I, Pt. III
- * 2) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26

Deut 6:4 (With Ps 91:1 in Magical Formula)

- * 1) Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, Bowl 1
- § 2) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 11

Deut 28:22

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Deut 28:28

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Deut 28:35

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Deut 29:19

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Isa 6:3

- § 1) Gordon, Orientalia X (1941), Bowl 1

Isa 40:12

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 12a
2) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 12b

Isa 44:25

- § 1) Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, Corpus, Bowl 66

Jer 2:1-3

- 1) Kaufman, "Unique"

Ezek 21:21-23

- 1) Kaufman, "Unique"

Hos 2:4-6

- § 1) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26

Mic 7:16-17

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Zech 3:2

- § 1) Geller, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," Bowl C
- § 2) Gordon, Biblical and Near Eastern Studies, Bowl 1
- § 3) Gordon, Orientalia X (1941), Bowl 7
- § 4) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 3
- § 5) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 5
- § 6) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 16
- * 7) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 26
- § 8) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 11

Ps 69:24

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Ps 69:26

- 1) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 9

Ps 91:1

Always appears with Deut 6:4 in magical formula; see listings for Deut 6:4.

Ps 91:7, 10

- § 1) Gordon, ArOr 6 (1934), Bowl C

Ps 121:7

- § 1) Montgomery, Nippur, Bowl 12

Ps 125:2

- 1) Gordon, ArOr-6 (1934) "Exorcism," Bowl G

Cant 3:7-8

- § 1) Jeruzalmi, in Isbell, Corpus, Bowl 66
§ 2) Naveh and Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls, Bowl 12a