

A Jewish Aramaic Amulet on Papyrus (Strasbourg, Papyrus hébreu 2)

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1. Introduction

While the majority of the extant Jewish textual magical objects from late antiquity are inscribed upon metal lamellae and earthenware bowls, it is evident that Jewish magicians used a wide range of materials as writing surfaces.¹ An examination of the instructions found in the recipe books preserved in the Cairo Genizah, and in such texts as *Sefer ha-Razim* (“The Book of Mysteries”) or *Harba de-Moshe* (“The Sword of Moses”), reveals an expansive repertoire of materials employed in the creation of performative amulets. This repertoire includes materials such as leather, vellum, parchment, papyrus, paper, cloth, clay sherds, different kinds of metal (silver, bronze or copper, gold and lead), leaves, glass, egg-shells,

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1 For recent surveys of the published corpora of Jewish Palestinian lamellae and Jewish Babylonian incantation bowls, see Gideon Bohak, “Jewish Amulets, Magic Bowls, and Manuals in Aramaic and Hebrew”, in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 388–415; Yuval Harari, *Jewish Magic: Before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2017), pp. 216–255. For a detailed study of all the published and unpublished Jewish amulets from late antiquity, see Rivka Elitzur-Leiman, *Jewish Metal Amulets from Late Antiquity* (PhD diss., Tel Aviv University, 2022 [Heb.]).

animal bones, etc.² Many of these writing surfaces must have been used by the Jewish magicians of late antiquity, but most of those which happen to be organic rotted and vanished long ago.³

The prominence of metal lamellae and earthenware bowls within the archaeological record of ancient Jewish magic may therefore be quite misleading. Although these artifacts undoubtedly provide substantial evidence of Jewish magical practice in late-antique Palestine and Babylonia, they cannot offer a comprehensive representation of the diverse and dynamic nature of Jewish magical praxis.⁴ One of the most intriguing enigmas in this context is the near absence of evidence documenting the writing of Aramaic and Hebrew incantations on papyrus, which was widely used for writing in late antiquity. This absence is even more glaring when juxtaposed with the abundance of Greek, Demotic and Coptic magical papyri originating from Roman and Byzantine Egypt.⁵ Moreover, even outside Egypt some papyri have been found, including some written

- 2 See, for example, Harari, *Jewish Magic: Before the Rise of Kabbalah*, pp. 226–227, and the fuller survey by Bill Rebigier, “‘Write on Three Ribs of a Sheep’: Writing Materials in Ancient and Mediaeval Jewish Magic”, in *Jewish Manuscript Cultures: New Perspectives*, ed. Irina Wandrey (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 339–359.
- 3 For the general absence of Jewish magical texts inscribed on perishable organic materials, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 149, 165. For rare exceptions, see, for example, the inscribed human skulls published by Dan Levene, “Calvariae Magicae: The Berlin, Philadelphia and Moussaieff Skulls”, *Orientalia* 75 (2006), pp. 359–379.
- 4 For further elaboration on this point, see Gideon Bohak, “Babylonian Jewish Magic in Late Antiquity: Beyond the Incantation Bowls”, in *Studies in Honor of Shaul Shaked*, eds. Yohanan Friedmann and Etan Kohlberg (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2019), pp. 70–122.
- 5 For recent surveys of this large field, see William M. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 18.5 (1995), pp. 3380–3684; Theodore S. de Bruyn and Jitse H. F. Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets”, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 48 (2011), pp. 163–216; Jacco Dieleman, “The Greco-Egyptian Magical Papyri”, in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 283–321; Roxanne B. Sarrazin, “Catalogue des textes magiques coptes”, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 63 (2017), pp. 367–408.

in Aramaic and Hebrew, which again raises the question of the rarity of Aramaic and Hebrew magical papyri.⁶

At present, the small corpus of Aramaic and Hebrew magical papyri consists of only a handful of fragmentary texts, none of which can definitively be categorized as a “finished product”. One papyrus from Oxyrhynchus – which contains the concluding part of an adjuration of a demon, the title of a formula “for a dog that bites so-and-so”, and probably the beginning of another formula – may be a part of a compilation of magical recipes designed for various purposes.⁷ However, the overall format of the fragment, and the presence of fold lines, may suggest its use as an amulet.⁸ To this fragment, we may add a group of five small Aramaic fragments discovered alongside several fragments of a Coptic magical codex and thirteen fragments of Greek magical papyri.⁹ Due to the fragmentary and poorly preserved condition of these fragments, the most confident assertion that one can make is that they contain Jewish magical texts written by one or more bilingual (Aramaic and Greek) scribes who collaborated within the framework of a “multilingual magical workshop”.¹⁰ However, it is unclear whether any of the Aramaic fragments was intended to serve as an amulet. The same holds true for one more diminutive scrap of papyrus, on which only the remains of five Hebrew words in two lines of text are extant on the recto, with two lines of *charaktêres* on the verso.¹¹

6 For papyri found outside Egypt, see Hannah M. Cotton, Walter E. H. Cockle and Fergus G. B. Millar, “The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey”, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995), pp. 214–235.

7 See Mark Geller, “An Aramaic Incantation from Oxyrhynchus”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 58 (1985), pp. 96–98. For the *Editio princeps*, see Arthur E. Cowley, “Notes on Hebrew Papyrus Fragments from Oxyrhynchus”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1915), pp. 209–213, and cf. Colette Sirat, *Les Papyrus en caractères hébraïques trouvés en Égypte* (Paris: CNRS, 1985), p. 121 and Pl. 76. See also Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 166–167.

8 As was argued by Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 166–167.

9 Paolo Marrassini, “I frammenti aramaici”, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 29 (1979), pp. 125–130.

10 Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 167–168.

11 See Sirat, *Les Papyrus en caractères hébraïques*, p. 106 and Pl. 32 and 33, and Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 168.

Given the scarcity of papyri among Jewish magical texts, we take the opportunity to introduce new and conclusive evidence of a late-antique Aramaic amulet inscribed on papyrus, which is now housed at the Strasbourg National and University Library (Papyrus hébreu 2).¹² As noted below, the text on this amulet is quite short, and each of its constituent elements is already attested in previously published Jewish amulets from late antiquity. Nevertheless, their presence here serves to confirm that papyrus-based amulets were not fundamentally distinct from the well-established Jewish tradition of inscribing amulets on metal lamellae.¹³ Therefore, the significance of the present contribution lies less in the nature of the text, which is quite standard, but in its virtue as the first known Aramaic amulet written on papyrus.

In the Strasbourg library, the amulet is a part of a small collection of papyrus fragments sometimes said to have come from the Cairo Genizah, and is therefore also included in the Friedberg Genizah Project.¹⁴ However, this amulet is hardly likely to have originated in the Cairo Genizah, for several different reasons: First, the Cairo Genizah was in use from the early-eleventh century onwards, and by that time paper has replaced papyrus as the standard writing material in Egypt, and there are very few papyrus fragments among the ca. 300,000 fragments found in the Cairo Genizah.¹⁵ Moreover, the rare exceptions consist of manuscripts which were of some importance, and therefore were preserved for several centuries, but not of ephemeral documents such as an amulet for a named

12 This amulet was briefly mentioned by Paul B. Fenton, “Une xylographie arabe médiévale à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg”, *Arabica* 50 (2003), pp. 114–117, on p. 115.

13 The corpus of Jewish amulets from late antiquity exhibits amulets of varying length, including some that are much longer than the Strasbourg amulet, and some that are quite close to it in length. For a bronze amulet with a very similar arrangement of text and magic *caractères*, see C. Thomas McCollough and Beth Glazier-McDonald, “An Aramaic Bronze Amulet from Sepphoris”, *Atiqot* 28 (1996), pp. 161–165.

14 See <https://fjms.genizah.org>.

15 See Sirat, *Les Papyrus en caractères hébraïques*, p. 19; Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), p. 210.

individual.¹⁶ Second, of the nine fragments listed in the Strasbourg collection as Hebrew papyri, only one more fragment, Papyrus 1, is indeed written on papyrus, and consists of a list of *materia medica* in Judaeo-Arabic, including זרניך אחר, “red arsenic”.¹⁷ All the other fragments are written on parchment or paper, and probably did come from the Cairo Genizah, together with other Strasbourg manuscripts that clearly came from there.¹⁸ Third, the Greek personal name Dorothea, which appears in our text, and its male counterpart, Dorotheus, were extremely popular among Jews in late antiquity (as shall be noted below), but are unattested among the thousands of Jewish names documented in the Cairo Genizah.¹⁹ Fourth, the letter forms – and especially the wavy down-stroke of the *beth*,

- 16 The most famous of these is T-S 6 H 9-21, a papyrus codex with Hebrew liturgical texts, for which see Rebecca J. W. Jefferson, “T-S 6H9 – 21, the papyrus codex rebound”, Genizah Research Unit, Fragment of the Month, July 2009 (<https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.48228>). Another papyrus fragment is found in T-S AS 213.38, which consists of a group of scraps, one of which is written on papyrus. Both in the Bodleian Library (Oxford) and in the Erzherzog Rainer collection of the Austrian National Library (Vienna), there are Hebrew, Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic papyri which are catalogued as Genizah fragments, but probably came from elsewhere. For the recurrent confusion between fragments from the Ben Ezra synagogue (*the* Genizah) and fragments that came from other sources, see now Rebecca J. W. Jefferson, “Deconstructing ‘the Cairo Genizah’”, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 108 (2018), pp. 422–448.
- 17 To the best of our knowledge, this fragment has never been published. For papyri carrying texts in Judaeo-Arabic, see esp. Joshua Blau and Simon Hopkins, “Judaeo-Arabic Papyri – Collected, Edited, Translated and Analysed”, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987), pp. 87–160.
- 18 See Fenton, “Une xylographie arabe médiévale”, for a block-printed Arabic amulet that probably came from the Cairo Genizah, but cf. Simcha Emanuel, “The European Genizah: Its Character and the History of Its Study”, *Materia Giudaica* 24 (2019), p. 603, n. 87, for a Strasbourg fragment which is classified as having come from the Cairo Genizah, but probably came from one of the European genizot.
- 19 There is no comprehensive prosopography of the Cairo Genizah, but one may search for specific personal names on the Friedberg Genizah Project website, as well as in the index cards of Prof. Shlomo Dov Goitein, which are available online (<https://genizalab.princeton.edu/resources/goiteins-index-cards>), and in the index of Shlomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–1993).

the “hook” shape of the *waw*, the unusual execution of the medial *mem* and the curved final *nun* – are paralleled in other Hebrew-script documents from late antiquity.²⁰ We therefore suggest that this amulet did not come from the Cairo Genizah, but is a part of the Strasbourg library’s large collection of Egyptian papyri, acquired mainly in the early 1900s.²¹

2. Description

The newly introduced source, Strasbourg Papyrus 2 (P. hébr. 2), comprises a single papyrus folio, whose maximum dimensions are 63 mm (width) by 128 mm (height). Its state of preservation is less than ideal, with at least a quarter of the folio missing, and the remaining portion displaying significant deterioration. The original right and bottom margins seem to be nearly fully preserved, while the left margin is badly damaged, although the outlines of its border can still be discerned. The fold lines and the pattern of destruction indicate that the amulet was first folded vertically, in the middle, and then folded several times horizontally, from the bottom to the top, so that the top left part, which was most exposed to the elements, suffered the most.

The recto displays the remnants of 14 lines of text, inscribed in black ink against the fibers. With the exception of a few intact words, most of the words are either partially preserved or broken. In its current state, it is impossible to ascertain if the first preserved line marks the beginning of the text or if there were one or more additional lines above it, possibly reading קמיע טוב “A proper amulet”. The scribe appears to indicate the end of the text with an arrowhead symbol pointing upwards at the end of line 14. The verso is entirely blank.

3. Contents

Despite the amulet’s poor condition, its primary textual features remain distinguishable, and there is no doubt that it is an apotropaic incantation against “fever and shivering” (ll. 9–10). The incantation was prepared for the well-being of a male client, whose personal name, regrettably, has not

20 For these letter forms, as attested on the extant Aramaic and Hebrew papyri, see Edna Engel, “A Palaeographic Study of Oxford Ms. Heb. d.69 (P)”, *Lešonenu* 53 (1989), pp. 265–286 (Heb.), esp. pp. 279 and 285.

21 As was noted by Fenton, “Une xylographie arabe médiévale”.

survived, though his matronymic is mentioned twice: ברה דדורותיא [...] “[PN] son of Dorothea” (ll. 10–11; see also l. 3). If our interpretation of the amulet is correct, the text includes two invocations in the name of four or five angels (ll. 4–7) and in the name of the Hebrew divine epithet “Ehyeh Asher Ehyeh” (ll. 13–14). In between, we encounter a series of seven magical *charaktêres* (l. 8), a brief request (ll. 9–11), and a liturgical formula “Amen, Amen, Selah” (l. 12).

4. Text and Translation

In our edition of the text, letters with a circle above them אֲאֲא are only partly preserved; square brackets indicate missing letters, either restored [אאא] or left empty [...].

For fev[er ...]	1	לא[י]שׁ[תא ²² ...]
of P[N son]	2	דאמ׳שׁ[... ברה]
of Dor[othea ...]	3	דדור׳[ותיא ...]
In the name of [...]	4	בשם [...]
and Had[riel and ...]	5	והד׳[ריאל ו...]
and ‘Azq[iel ...]	6	ועזק׳[יאל ...]
from [...]	7	מ׳ן יה׳[...]
(seven magic <i>charaktêres</i>)	8	(seven magic <i>charaktêres</i>)
and from the pain of/and fever	9	ממחושׁ ד׳/וֹאֲשַׁתא
and shivering of [PN]	10	וער׳וית[א] ד׳[...]
son of Dorothea.	11	ברה דדורותיא
Amen, Amen, Selah.	12	אמן ²³ אמן סלה
In the name of Ehyeh	13	בשם אֲהִיֶה
Asher Ehyeh.	14	אשר ²⁴ אֲהִיֶה ׀

22 The reconstruction is uncertain, and see our comments below.

23 The *aleph* is distorted. It seems as if the scribe began to write a *beth* (for בשם?), and then tried to turn it into an *aleph*.

24 The lower part of the *resh* merged with unrelated traces of ink.



Fig. 1. Strasbourg, BnU, Papyrus hébreu 2 (Source: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg)
recto



Fig. 2. Strasbourg, BnU, Papyrus hébreu 2 (Source: Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg)
verso

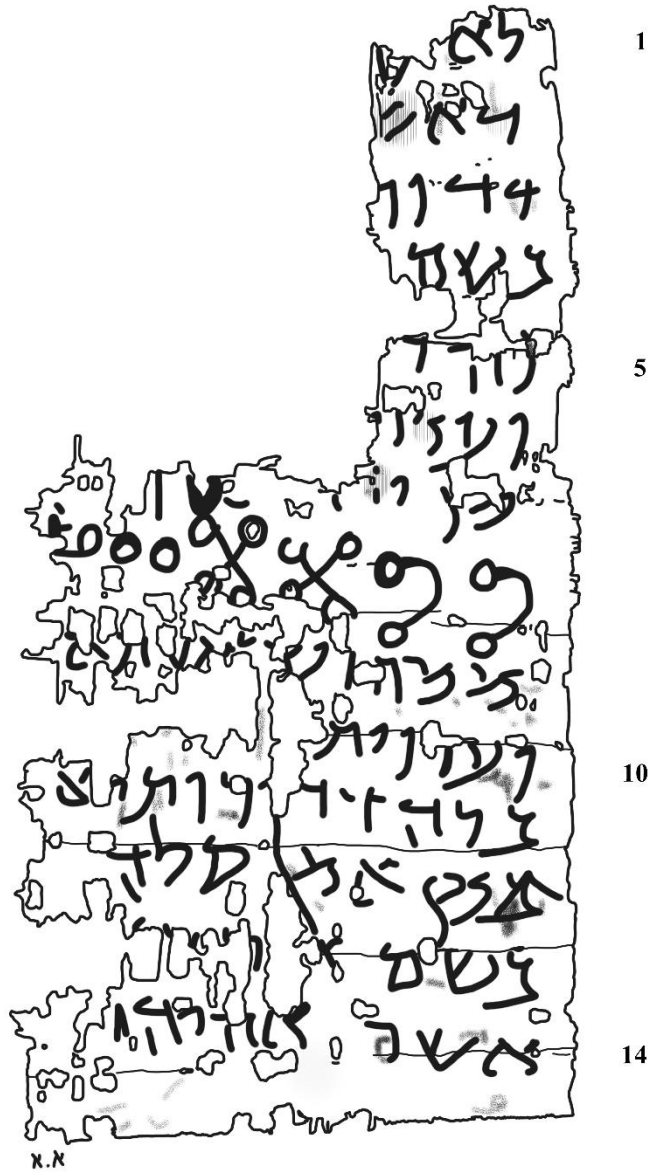


Fig. 3. Line-drawing of the amulet (produced by Ohad Abudraham)

5. Notes

Line 1. [... תא]ש[י] לא “for fev[er ...]”. The reading of the third letter and the reconstruction of the remaining text are uncertain. An alternative reading, [...] לא “no(t) ...”, is paleographically possible.

Lines 4–6. [...] והד[ריאל...] ועזק[יאל...] בשם “in the name of” + angel names. Such adjurations are quite common in ancient Jewish magical texts. E.g., בשם טרחיאל ... סגנתיאל (כרקטרס) געוירו רוחה בישתה מן נונ[ה] ברתה דמגלי “In the name of (angel names and permutations of the letters YHW) (*charakêres*) rebuke the evil spirit from Nonn[a] daughter of Megale” (Amulet 25: 1–5).²⁵ The angel Hadriel is well-attested in ancient Jewish magic,²⁶ but ‘Azqiel is hitherto unattested; a reading [תה]ועזק, “and the seal-ring,” is possible, but seems out of context here.

Line 8. (seven magic *charaktêres*). The use of magic symbols in the form of “ring letters”, derived from the Graeco-Egyptian magical tradition, is well attested within the Jewish magical tradition of late antiquity.²⁷ In this case, it seems as if the line of *charaktêres* disturbs the flow of the text, and may have been inscribed before the rest of the text.

Line 9. מחוש, “pain”, appears on other ancient Jewish amulets, for example, in a request to be saved and protected מכל מחוש ביש, “from every evil pain”.²⁸

Lines 9–10. [א] וְזֹאֲשָׁתָא וְעֲרִוּיָתָא “of/and fever and shivering”. This phrase, attested already in an Aramaic magical text from Qumran,²⁹ is extensively documented in Jewish (Aramaic and Hebrew), Syriac and Mandaic magical texts.³⁰

25 Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), p. 85.

26 See, for example, Mordecai Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Tel Aviv: Yediot Acharonot, 1966), p. 81 (Heb.).

27 See Gideon Bohak, “The *Charaktêres* in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic”, *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 47 (2011), pp. 25–44.

28 See Ohad Abudraham, “On Silver and Gold: Two Jewish Lamellae from Late Antiquity”, *Semitica* 64 (2022), pp. 131–158, p. 134, with further references to מחוש on p. 140.

29 Joseph Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 48 (1998), pp. 257–258.

30 For the identification of the pair with the cold stage of a malaria attack and potential

Line 10. [...]𐤓 “of [PN]”. For the assumed construction “(certain) illness of PN”, compare Mandaic magical texts: ‘**sir {qir} qirsh [u]mahrh dmahan brzaduia** “bound is the illness [and] sickness of Māhān son of Zādōy” (NLI94503: 21),³¹ **nitsar hazin qirsa dniundukt pt guntai** “may this illness of Newandukht daughter of Guntai be bound” (Leroy Collection Lead Roll, Fragment A, verso: 22–24).³²

Line 11. דדורתיא “of Dorothea”. The identification of the amulet’s owner by his matronymic, rather than his patronymic, is the common practice in late-antique magic, non-Jewish and Jewish alike; it remains common even today, in Jewish amulets and apotropaic prayers.³³ Here, the matronymic is the common Greek personal name Δωροθέα.³⁴ It is worth noting that the spelling

Greek parallel terms, see Irina Wandrey, “Fever and Malaria ‘For Real’ or as a Magical-Literary Topos?”, in *Jewish Studies Between the Disciplines / Judaistik Zwischen den Disziplinen: Papers in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, eds. Klaus Herrmann, Margarete Schlüter and Giuseppe Veltri (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 257–266; and James N. Ford, “A New Parallel to the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Magic Bowl IM 76106 (Nippur 11 N 78)”, *Aramaic Studies* 9 (2011), pp. 272–273.

31 Matthew Morgenstern, “Five Mandaic Magic Bowls from the Moussaieff Collection”, *Eretz Israel* 34 (Ada Yardeni Volume; 2021), p. 116.

32 André Caquot, “Un phylactère mandéen en plomb”, *Semitica* 22 (1972), p. 83.

33 See David R. Jordan, “CIL VIII 19525(b).2: QPVVLVA = q(uem) p(eperit) vulva”, *Philologus* 120 (1976), pp. 127–132; Jaime B. Curbera, “Maternal Lineage in Greek Magical Texts”, in *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4–8 May 1997*, eds. David R. Jordan, Hugo Montgomery and Einar Thomassen (Bergen, Norway: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), pp. 195–203; David Golinkin, “The Use of Matronymics in Prayers for the Sick”, in *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics, vol. 3*, ed. Aaron Demsky (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2002), pp. 59–72.

34 This name was in use throughout the Greek-speaking world. cf. e.g., the online search function of the LGPN, s.vv. (<https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/search>). It is also known from the papyrological documents from Egypt:

[https://papyri.info/search?STRING=\(%CE%94%CF%89%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%B8%CE%AD%CE%B1\)&no_caps=on&no_marks=on&target=text&DATE_MODE=LOOSE&DOCS_PER_PAGE=15](https://papyri.info/search?STRING=(%CE%94%CF%89%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%B8%CE%AD%CE%B1)&no_caps=on&no_marks=on&target=text&DATE_MODE=LOOSE&DOCS_PER_PAGE=15). For additional information on Jewish women bearing this name, see Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part 1, Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), p. 317; Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part 2, Palestine 200–650* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), p.

דורותיא, rather than דורותיאה or even דורותאה, may indicate the development of a glide /y/ between two vowels, i.e. *doroṭea* > *doroṭeya* (cf. Δωροθία).

Lines 13–14. בִּשְׁם אֱהִיֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֱהִיֶּה “In the name of Ehyeh Asher Ehyeh”. The independent Hebrew divine epithet, which literally means “I-am-who-I-am”, consistently appears in Jewish metal amulets and incantation bowls.³⁵ It has also found its way into the Syriac,³⁶ Mandaic,³⁷ and Arabic³⁸ magical traditions.

461. Currently, the names Dorothea and Dorotheus are not attested in the corpus of ancient Jewish amulets. However, the name Theodora, which carries the same meaning, “gift of God”, with the components reversed, is documented in a Jewish silver amulet inscribed in both Aramaic and Hebrew (see Émile Puech, “Une amulette judéo-palestinienne bilingue en argent”, *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* 5–6 [2008], pp. 177*–186*). For a list of personal names recorded on ancient Jewish amulets, see Elitzur-Leiman, *Jewish Metal Amulets from Late Antiquity*, pp. 205–223.
- 35 For the most recent discussion of this magical formula, with numerous examples from epigraphic Jewish sources, see James N. Ford and Matthew Morgenstern, *Aramaic Incantation Bowls in Museum Collections Vol. 1: The Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities*, Jena (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p. 75 n. 275.
- 36 See, for example, in a Syriac magic bowl from Nippur (CBS 16097: 7): ܐܫܪ ܐܫܪܝܗܝܐ “and in the name of Asher Ehyeh”; Marco Moriggi, *A Corpus of Syriac Incantation Bowls: Syriac Magical Texts from Late-Antique Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 53–54, and Yitzhak Avishur, “‘Ehyeh asher ehyeh’ in Arabic, Syriac and Judeo-Arabic”, *Lešonenu* 55 (1990), pp. 13–16 (Heb.).
- 37 A corrupted version of this phrase appears in both early and late witnesses of Mandaic, for example: **ubšumḥ dīam iam a|ša[r] ašar ašar a m a m ubʿsqat adan adunai** “and in the name of Iam Iam Ašar Ašar Ašar a m a m and by the seal of Aḏan Aḏōnai” (Amulet BM 132957: 309–310; Published in Matthew Morgenstern and Ohad Abudraham, “A Mandaean Lamella and Its Parallels: BM 132957+ BM 132947+BM 132954”, in *Studies in the Syriac Magical Traditions*, eds. M. Moriggi and S. Bhayro [Leiden: Brill, 2021], p. 216); **bšumḥ dīahu iahu ašar iahu iahu adunai šbabut** “In the name of Yāhu Yāhu Ašar Yāhu Yāhu Aḏōnai Šəḫābōt” (*Šāpṭa d-Pišra d-Ainia*: 863–864; Matthew Morgenstern and Ohad Abudraham, *The Persistence of Magic: Mandaic Magic Formulae in Early and Late Witnesses* [forthcoming]).
- 38 See, for example, Steven M. Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew: The Problem of Symbiosis under Early Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 196 and 200, and the earlier study by Georges Vajda, “Sur quelques éléments juifs et pseudo-juifs dans l’encyclopédie magique de Būnī”, in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, Part I*, eds. Samuel Löwinger and Joseph Somogyi (Budapest, 1948), pp. 387–392, and cf. Avishur’s study, cited in n. 36 above.