

# MAGIC

There is serious difficulty in defining the limits of what constitutes magical practice in the ancient world and the concept of magic had culturally specific interpretations that varied across time and place. In general, magic has been understood as the attempt to influence a course of events through intentional actions beyond direct physical cause, typically of a ritual nature, performed by gods, skilled practitioners, and laity alike. Even this general description poses certain difficulties and the broad nature of magic may necessitate dispensing with any universal definitions in favor of interpretations sensitive to their cultural and temporal contexts. Judgment of legitimacy was a matter of perspective, as practices considered “magical” by modern Western standards permeated ancient societies and had potential legitimacy according to accepted social norms. Considerations of black (i.e., harmful) and white (i.e., beneficial) magic often depended entirely on who was the intended target, with magic directed against royalty punishable by death throughout antiquity, not necessarily because of the practice of magic *per se*, but because the practice was aimed at those in positions of power.

The term “magic” derives from Greek *magikos* (Lat. *magicus*), itself a derivative of Greek *magos*, which refers to a Persian priestly class known for their knowledge of astrology, divination, medicine, sacrifice, science, and sorcery (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.37). Depending on the time, place, or perspective of the author, this terminology was used both with and without pejorative connotations. For many cultures in antiquity there was no differentiation between religion and magic, a distinction that became more apparent in the writings of classical authors and in later eras.

## A. THE OLD TESTAMENT

References to magic are prevalent throughout the OT corpus and occur in a variety of contexts, including those relating to daily life, religious ritual, royal consultations, prophetic calling, legal prohibitions, curses, divine

protection, healing, oracles, and the general presence of magicians, both native and foreign. The presentation of magic and magicians is not static within the Hebrew Bible, but differs by context or according to authorial intention. As a general principle, Egypt and Babylonia are presented as the quintessential homelands of magicians and magical lore. The prominence in the OT of prohibitions against magical practices suggests that they were widespread in ancient Israel and that their potency was a matter of real concern. Despite various proscriptions, activity falling within this category remained a customary part of life.

Prohibitions against magical practices are found throughout the biblical books. Deuteronomy 18:10–14 specifically forbids the sacrifice of a child by fire, divination, omen consultation, witchcraft, sorcery, and necromancy (cf. Lev 19:26–28, 20:27; Num 22:17; 2 Kgs 21:6; Isa 47:9). The specific punishments for disobeying such prohibitions are not always specified, although consulting a spirit was punishable by stoning.

On the other hand, many actions in the OT that appear to resemble popular magical practices do not appear to be condemned by the biblical writers, such as Jacob's success in breeding streaked flocks by placing streaked branches before the flocks when they mated (Gen 30:37–43).

Based on the common occurrence of acts by OT prophets and priests that might be described as magical in nature, it seems clear that the restrictions against magic are not universal, but are meant for the non-professional who must seek the help of chosen intermediaries with the knowledge, skill, and relationship to God that allowed them to perform incredible feats. Perhaps the best example of this is the test for an unfaithful wife (Heb. *šātā*) in Num 5, where a priest (Heb. *kōhēn*) tests the suspicions of a husband by having his wife drink a potion of holy water into which were dissolved the ink text from a written curse and dust off the tabernacle floor. If guilty, the wife will suffer a number of ailments, the exact nature of which is debated and uncertain, but which include an distended abdomen. The practice of ingesting texts was not limited to curses, for Ezekiel answered his prophetic calling by eating a scroll presented to him by God (Ezek 2:1–3:3). Unlike in the case of the adultery curse, whose potent liquid was described as bitter (Num 5:18–19, 23–24, 27), Ezekiel's scroll tastes sweet (Ezek 3:3; cf. Rev 10:8–11).

Several protagonists in the OT narratives figure prominently as authoritative “magicians” in their own right, with the power of dream interpretation being foremost in the cases of Joseph and Daniel. Daniel, in particular, was considered by Nebuchadnezzar to be “ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters in his whole kingdom” (Dan 1:20). One of the most famous episodes in the OT is found in Exod 7:8–13 (cf. Exod 4:1–5), which describes part of the magic duel between Moses, Aaron, and

Pharaoh's magicians. Aaron, heeding the command of the Lord, throws his staff down before Pharaoh and it is transformed into a snake. Pharaoh summons his magicians, who easily perform the same feat, but then Aaron's serpent summarily eats the others. Evidence for the Egyptian cultural background of this tale is attested in the archaeological record. Actual bronze and wooden wands in the form of serpents have been discovered in Egyptian tombs from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period. These wands would have acted as ritual implements used to ward off snakes. The forked end represented in the *w3s*-scepter had the practical advantage of being used to restrain snakes against the ground. Such material remains demonstrate the biblical authors' familiarity with the practices of snake charmers (see also Ps 58:4–5; Eccl 10:11; Jer 8:17).

The magicians of the pharaohs in OT texts are referred to by the Heb. term *ḥartôm* (pl. *ḥartummîm*; Gen 41:8; 24; Exod 7:11; 8:3, 14, 15; 9:11), a borrowing and shortening of the Egyptian title "chief lector priest" (*ḥry-ḥ3b.t ḥry-tp*, lit., "one who carries the festival scroll"). The OT also preserves a bewildering array of other terminology used to identify magicians, including "man of God" (Heb. *'iš (hā)'ēlōhîm*: e.g., 1 Kgs 17:18, 24; 2 Kgs 5:20; 8:7–8), "exorcist" (Heb. *'aššāp*: Dan 1:20; 2:2; Aram. *'āšap*: Dan 2:10; 4:4; < Akk. *āšipu*), "one who binds a spell" (Heb. *ḥōbēr ḥeber*: Deut 18:11; cf. Isa 47:9; Ps 58:6), and "enchanter (of snakes)" (Heb. *mēlahēš*: Ps 58:6; cf. Ug. *mlḥš*).

Another magical episode involving serpents and a possible Egyptian cultural background occurs in Num 21:4–9. When the people of Israel speak out against the Lord and Moses on account of their conditions in the desert, the Lord sends among them venomous snakes, the bites of which kill many. Upon repenting, Moses is instructed by the Lord to fashion a bronze serpent and to erect it on a pole upon which those who had been bitten by the snakes could gaze in order to be cured (via the concept of sympathetic magic). According to 2 Kgs 18:4, in a campaign against idolatry Hezekiah destroyed the bronze snake (Heb. *nēḥaš hannēḥōšet*) constructed by Moses, because the people had continually been making incense offerings to it. Actual examples of bronze serpents have been excavated in or near the cultic areas of Megiddo, Gezer, Hazor, Shechem, Tel Mevorakh, and Timna. Snake cults would have given people an opportunity to propitiate the patron deities of serpents in an effort to reduce biting incidents.

In 1979 extraordinary archaeological evidence for the use of magical amulets in ancient Israel was found at the site of Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem. Among deposits from a group of chambers in a cave tomb were discovered two silver amulets inscribed with Hebrew texts of an apotropaic nature focused on the blessings and protection of Yahweh. Portions of the text on these silver scrolls, which were rolled up after being inscribed,

parallel phrases in the priestly blessing from Num 6:24–26. If the amulets' dating to ca. 600 BC is correct, they represent some of the earliest attested Hebrew texts with known associations to the OT, comparable to similar blessings inscribed on a storage jar (Gk. *pithos*) from Kuntillet 'Ajrud dated to ca. 800 BC. These amulets conform to the use of texts and metal for their magical power to protect the dead in whose tombs they were discovered (see Souza). Several OT passages refer to the use of such talismans as defensive devices (e.g., Isa 3:20; Ezek 13:18).

Magic was especially important in the healing of disease and sickness that had supernatural causes. If dangers could not be warded off, they could be transferred to a host and banished. The so-called scapegoat ritual of Lev 16:7–22 involved Aaron's confession of Israel's sins over a live goat that was subsequently released into the wilderness, taking the sins of the people with it. A similar treatment for leprosy involved an elaborate ritual with the use of birds and lambs (Lev 14:1–32). Transference expulsion rituals are known from across the ancient Near East, including the Hittite *ambazzi* and *zuwi* rituals, which involved a mouse and a puppy, respectively, as well as the Mesopotamian "evil demons" (Sum. UDUG.ĤUL.MEŠ; Akk. *utukkū lemnūtu*) incantations, which involved a goat. A reworking of such an expulsion rite probably lies behind the story in 1 Samuel 5–6 in which the Philistines, having been plagued by tumors and rats after taking the ark of the covenant, return the ark along with five gold tumors and five gold rats as a guilt offering, on the advice of their priests. A similar rite is attested at Ugarit in *KTU* 1.16 (5.26–30), which describes the god El fashioning an image of king Keret in order to cure him. Individuals could seek the help of designated healers or direct help from God for treatment of various bodily afflictions or plagues (Exod 4:6; Job 19:21; Pss 6:2, 4, 6; 91:6), and the help of a magician was often needed to combat the curses of another wizard (Ezek 13:17; 2 Kgs 5:27).

## B. THE NEW TESTAMENT

The NT authors portray Jesus as a healer and miracle worker (Matt 4:23; 9:35; 15:30–31; Mark 1:32–34). Jesus cured a man who was deaf and mute by inserting his fingers into his ears and touching saliva to his tongue (Mark 7:31–36). Similarly, he spit into the eyes of the blind (Mark 8:22–25) or touched them with his hands (Matt 9:29–30), even applying mud and water (John 9:10–11), to restore their sight. Leprosy was also cured through Jesus's healing touch (Mark 1:40–41). The simple touching of Jesus's clothes cured a woman from the hemorrhage with which she was afflicted (Mark 5:25–34). Through performative utterance ("Lazarus, come out!"), Jesus

raised Lazarus from the dead (John 11:43–44; Luke 16:31). After a night of prayer, Jesus returned to his disciples' boat by walking across the water, an activity to which he also invited Peter (Matt 14:25–32).

Sceptics, both ancient and modern, have considered Jesus's acts of healing and exorcisms as altogether similar to acts of magic (e.g., Celsus, Hull, Smith; for a refutation, see Chadwick, Keener, Yamauchi 1986). The Gospels attempt to counter charges that Jesus worked through Beelzebub (Matt 12:24||Mark 3:22||Luke 11:15). The book of Acts (5:34–40) describes how a Pharisee named Gamaliel compared the early Jesus movement to the following attracted by a certain Theudas, who was called a "sorcerer" (Gk. *goēs*) by Josephus (*Ant.* 20.97). The twentieth-century historian Morton Smith compared Jesus with the miracle-working healer Apollonius of Tyana, who happened to visit Persia, India, and Egypt, all lands associated with the origins of magic. Comparative healer/magician figures, such as Alexander of Abonouteichos, were not in short supply in the early Roman Empire, and when Paul cured a crippled man in Lystra, ecstatic onlookers began to worship him as Hermes, a god associated in the Hellenistic world with the healing arts (Acts 14:8–20).

Exorcism is mentioned throughout the NT. Many of the miracles performed by Jesus were acts of driving away demons (Mark 5:6–13; 16:17; Matt 10:8; Luke 10:17), some of which caused infirmity such as blindness or deafness (Matt 9:23–33; 12:22; Luke 11:14). According to the Gospels, Jesus was acclaimed as a banisher of spirits, even personally boasting of such abilities to the Pharisees (Luke 13:32), and he also provided the apostles with the "authority to drive out demons" (Mark 3:15||Matt 10:1). Jesus drove out demons from a man in Gerasa and sent them into a herd of two thousand pigs, which subsequently rushed over a cliff and drowned in a lake (Mark 5:1–13). Mary Magdalene had been freed from such tormenting spirits (Luke 8:2).

Paul exorcised a possessed slave girl who earned money for her owners through acts of divination (Acts 16:16–18). After a failed attempt to banish an evil spirit in Jesus's name, a group of Jewish "exorcists" (Gr. *exorkistōn*) in Ephesus were abused by the possessed man and sent away "naked and bleeding" (Acts 19:13–16). This so scared the population that "a number who had practiced sorcery brought their scrolls together and burned them publicly" (Act 19:19). A magician known as Simon who "practiced magic" (Gk. *mageuōn*) in Samaria was converted after seeing and hearing of the miracles (Gk. *sēmeia*) performed by the apostle Philip, though he was subsequently accused by Peter of asking for the ability to grant people the gift of the Holy Spirit in order to make money from this power (Acts 8:9–24).

The most well-known and perhaps most commonly misunderstood depiction of "magicians" in the NT is the episode of the so-called "wise men"

(Gk. *magoi*) from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt 2:1–12). These individuals (the number of which is not actually mentioned in the Bible) are never referred to as kings (as certain postbiblical traditions suggest), but are rather called “Magi from the east” (Gk. *magoi apo anatolōn*; Matt 2:1). Their arrival is based on the observance of a star, an astronomical sign within the purview of *magoi* expertise. Their appearance in the Gospel account is brief and appears to be a literary device used to demonstrate the acceptance of Jesus as messiah by pagan intellectuals. The positive depiction of the magi who visited Jesus upon his birth can be interestingly contrasted with the pejorative portrayal of the only other individual in the NT who is referred to by the term *magos*, a “false prophet” (Gk. *pseudoprophētēs*) named Bar-Jesus/Elymas (Acts 13:6, 8). When this *magos* sought to obstruct the efforts of the Christian missionaries Barnabas and Paul in Paphos, a city on the island of Cyprus, Paul called upon the hand of the Lord to blind Bar-Jesus, thereby countering the magician with a “spell” of his own (Acts 13:9–11). This act of Paul’s contributed directly to the success of his and Barnabas’s missionary efforts in this place (Acts 13:12).

## C. THE NEAR EASTERN WORLD

### Mesopotamia

Mesopotamian magical traditions exercised significant influence throughout the Near East on account of the reverence for the wisdom of the cultures that produced them, the antiquity of the texts in which these traditions were expressed, the status of Akkadian as a *lingua franca*, regional borrowings or adaptations of the cuneiform script, and the conquests of Babylonian and Assyrian kings. The Mesopotamian traditions spread far and wide across the ancient world, being copied, studied, and imitated in places such as Hatti, Ugarit, and even Jerusalem. Mesopotamian priests were legendary as masters of magical lore and their literature on the subject is replete with a vast array of technical terms for the relevant technicians, texts, threats, curses, apotropaia, rituals, and procedures. All such matters were considered within the legitimate scope of religious practice in ancient Mesopotamia.

The god of magic in Mesopotamia was Ea, who was known for his wisdom and knowledge. Sorcery or witchcraft (Akk. *kišpū*), i.e., magic intended to harm, was practiced by individuals referred to as sorcerers (Akk. sing. *kaššāpu*) and sorceresses (Akk. sing. *kaššaptu*), who were skilled in the art of “bewitching” (Akk. *kašāpu*). Those with experience in other forms of magic (Akk. *āšipūtu*; sometimes translated “exorcism”), including healing

arts, were known as “incantation priests” or “exorcists” (Akk. sing. *āšīpu*, *mašmašu*). Others had expertise in “incantations” (Akk. sing. *šiptu*) or “magical formulae” (Akk. sing. *šullakku*) or “physicians” (Akk. sing. *asû*). The “incantation priest” was listed among the professionals present at court for the Neo-Assyrian kings. Because the different forms of magic mentioned above were likely the purview of the same individuals (who came from the ranks of highly trained priestly scribes), the distinction between black and white magic has largely been abandoned by modern scholars with respect to ancient Mesopotamia (Schwemer, 6–8). Nevertheless, certain kinds of magic were sometimes forbidden: for example, according to the Code of Hammurabi, the practice of sorcery was punishable by death.

Mesopotamian scribes compiled execration rituals against witchcraft (Akk. *kišpû*) that were referred to as “burning” (Akk. *maqlû*) and that involved the destruction by burning and drowning of anthropomorphic execration figures. These measures were employed to defend against harmful inclinations of another sorcerer (Akk. *kaššāpu*) or sorceress (Akk. *kaššaptu*). The “burning” ceremonies took place only once a year, during a single twenty-four-hour period in July–August during which the priest uttered the following incantation: “O Girra, burn my warlock and my witch” (Abusch 2007, 381). The transference of maladies that originated from broken oaths, curses (Akk. *māmītu*), or witchcraft (Akk. *kišpû*) to a kind of dough by means of touching it to the patient and then destroying it was the subject of another execration series called “burning” (Akk. *šurpu*). Massage therapy involving the application of rejuvenating salves from head to toe was incorporated into the acts of the “embrocation” or “rubbing” (Akk. *muššu<sup>u</sup>*) ritual, which was paired with recitations, divine invocations, and the production of amulets.

A particularly interesting composition has survived from ancient Mesopotamia that is referred to as “evil demons” (Sum. UDU.G.ĤUL.MEŠ; Akk. *utukkū lemnūtu*) and that consists of an encyclopedic collection of incantations in Sumerian and Akkadian against various demonic powers or disturbed ghosts of the dead. Perhaps the most well-known Mesopotamian demon is Pazuzu, a polymorphic figure known to bring about storms that is depicted as having the face of a dog, a body covered in scales, four wings, talon claws, and a scorpion tail. Magic formulae against Samana, the demon dog of Enlil, have been discovered, and a variety of incantations, along with associated amulets, were invoked against a female demon named Lamashtu, who was particularly threatening to mothers and children. The latter was known for eating human flesh and drinking human blood, and for herself casting spells to harm newborns: “Against those just giving birth she casts a spell: ‘Bring me your sons, let me nurse them. In the mouth of your daughters I want to place my breast’” (CANE, III.1897).

As part of the ritual protection of a house, the practitioner states: “I have smeared on the threshold of the house with the fat of a pure cow, pure fat, fine quality fat, and fine quality bitumen” (Geller 2007, 229). A collection of Sumerian and Akkadian spells known as “Evil, be gone!” (Sum. 𒄩UL.BA.ZI.ZI.MEŠ) contains invocations of the planets and stars to keep maleficent forces at bay. Handbooks of apotropaic (lit., “turning away”) rituals (Sum. sing. NAM.BŪR.BI; Akk. sing. *namburbû*), which were designed to prevent an ominous portent or general malice (Sum. 𒄩UL; Akk. *lumnu*) from taking place, have also survived from ancient Mesopotamia. Such “apotropaia” are included, for example, within the famous “if a city” (Akk. *šumma ālu*) omen series so that those who recited them could prevent the occurrence of the events predicted by the omens.

## Egypt

In the ancient world, Egypt was considered to be a premier training ground for the magical arts. The concept of magic (Egy. *ḥq3*) in ancient Egypt was personified by the god Heka, referred to in Egyptian texts as the eldest son of the creator god. Heka personified a creative force that was thought to exist in the universe and that was considered to be available to be tapped by any sentient being. Therefore, Egyptian texts routinely refer to the use of magic by gods toward gods, gods toward humans, humans toward humans, and even humans against gods. In the famous trial and subsequent execution of individuals involved in a conspiracy against Ramesses III, it is now clear that the guilty verdicts had nothing to do with the use of “writings of magic” (Egy. *sh.w n ḥq3.w*) *per se*, but had everything to do with the use of the potentially effective magic they contained against the king (Ritner 2008, 192–99). The ancient Egyptians even believed that it was possible for humans to tap into the force of magic to become gods themselves and to challenge other gods. In the First Book of Breathing, a religious composition first attested in the Ptolemaic Period, a resurrected individual announces to “all gods and all goddesses” that “I am equipped with millions (of magic spells), and Re-Horakhty is my name. I am the god, lord of the Duat . . . Be on your guard against me, (gods) who are in the Duat” (Herbin, 51–52).

Heka represented the force of magic itself, but the quintessential magician was Thoth, the sage-like god who invented writing and who was called the “lord of magic” (Egy. *nb ḥq3*). According to Egyptian mythology, Thoth was considered the author of the largest collection of magic spells from ancient Egypt, which comprises the funerary literature of the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and the *Book of the Dead* (see Figure 5 on p. 499). These corpora were created by compiling elements from a vast array of religious



literature, including a wide variety of incantations that addressed spiritual matters such as rejuvenation, transformation, and protection, as well as more practical concerns such as the need for healing from scorpion stings and venomous snake bites and the provision of food. There is even a spell for “remembering magic” (Egy. *šḥ3.t ḥq3.w*), spell 657 of the Coffin Texts, in which the deceased intones: “I have called to mind all the magic which is in this my belly” (Faulkner, 228).

State-sponsored magic is exemplified in the production of execration texts, clay or wax figurines inscribed in ink with the names of foreign countries, rulers, and other threats that were summarily destroyed. The destruction of such figures was an act of sympathetic magic intended to effect the destruction of the person or entity represented. A number of prominent geographical regions and kings from the Levant are attested on execration figures from the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2000 BC). Likewise, the Egyptian ritual of “Breaking the Red Pots” (Egy. *šḏ dšr.w*) formalized the destruction of hostile forces through the destruction of symbolic vessels. The spectacular discovery of what is known as the Mirigssa deposit revealed not only a mass of broken red ceramic vessels and execration figures, but also the remains of a decapitated human sacrificial victim. Even if not physically present, enemies could, it was believed, be magically incapacitated through the power of imagery, as is reflected in the many depictions in Egyptian art and architecture of bound prisoners in places where their images could be repeatedly trampled (such as on the bottoms of sandals and on footstools, doorjambs, and inlaid floors).

The Egyptian magician (Egy. *ḥry-tp, ḥry-sšt3*) was a flexible figure who moved through various social circles. Trained in the temple scriptorium called the “house of life” (Egy. *pr ‘nh*), magicians represented the elite scholar-priests of their eras, having been trained in arcane scripts of the ancient past and esoteric religious literature. As priests they served within the temple rotational system for one quarter per year and would have been available for consultation after returning to their village. These individuals were responsible for creating the majority of magical texts, as the level of training required to produce such items entailed a rather restricted circle of adepts. A Middle Kingdom magician’s hoard was discovered in a reused tomb within the magazines of the Ramesseum, the mortuary temple of Ramesses II on the west bank of Thebes. On the lid of the box was depicted a jackal on a shrine, which can be read as literally, “master of secrets” (Egy. *ḥry-sšt3*), a title meaning “magician.” Inside the box was found a treasure trove of papyri, scribal implements, figurines, and wands.

When it came to religion and magic, Egyptian priests were very inclusive, readily adopting foreign elements as they saw fit. Several texts written in Egyptian scripts actually preserve magical spells in foreign languages.

A New Kingdom hieratic text contains Canaanite spells against lions. An Aramaic spell for scorpion sting was written in Demotic script and titled “spell for enchanting a scorpion” in Egyptian. Recently, several difficult passages in the Pyramid Texts have been interpreted, not without controversy, as transcriptions of Canaanite anti-venom spells, which would make these the earliest attested instances of Canaanite language to date.

Apotropaic devices and healing cures were well developed in ancient Egypt. Numerous magical “wands” or “knives” have been discovered with depictions of deities and symbols meant to protect against danger and disease. An emphasis of these wands, which were crescent shaped and made of ivory, is the protection of mothers and children, especially during childbirth. Patterns of wear on the wands’ bottom edges suggests that they would have been used to draw circles in the dirt to form protective barriers around patients.

The most pervasive evidence for the phenomenon of liquids ritually charged through contact with magical texts (cf. Num 5:11–31) comes from Egypt. So-called “healing statues” covered with texts of ritual power contained basins to collect water that was poured over them, thereby empowering the water, through contact with the texts, to effect a cure in those who subsequently ingested it. A similar function was fulfilled by portable small stelae called *cippi*, which depicted the god Horus overpowering hostile animals such as crocodiles, snakes, and scorpions, and which were often covered with apotropaic spells. These amulets could be immersed in a bowl of water to create a healing potion. This practice appears frequently in Egyptian texts, including a scene in the Demotic Tale of Setna Khamwas (Setna I, 4:1–4) where Naneferkaptah copies a papyrus, burns it, mixes the ashes with water, drinks it, and thereby gains knowledge of the texts he has written.

## Syria

A variety of magical practices influenced by both Mesopotamian and Syrian traditions are attested in the tablets discovered in the Late Bronze Age Syrian city of Ugarit. Incantation texts from Ugarit (*KTU* 1.96, 1.169, 1.178) deal with protection from snake or scorpion bite, the evil eye, “sorcerers” (Ugar. *kšpm*), and “tormenters” (Ugar. *dbbm*), against whom the deity Ḫoranu was invoked, presumably by the “exorcist” or “snake charmer” (Ugar. *mlḫš* < *lḫš*, “to whisper”) reciting a “spell” (Ugar. *ḫrš*). In a rare case of serendipity, one of these Ugaritic tablets names the beneficiary of the incantation as Urtenu, in whose house the tablet was discovered. One of the ritual personnel in these incantations is named as the *ḫ*’y-priest, a title also held by the famous royal scribe Ilimilku. Cultic

roles may have been played by other priests (Ugar. sing. *prln*), who seem to have some connection to divination, but the exact nature of related personnel (Ugar. *khnṃ* and *qdšm*) remains uncertain. A further group of Ugaritic tablets combines mythological episodes (referred to as *historiola* or paramythological texts) with practical recipes and recitations for healing sickness (*KTU* 1.124), curing hangover (*KTU* 1.114), or banishing serpents (*KTU* 1.100, 1.107).

Two seventh-century BC stone amulets from Arslan Tash inscribed in Phoenician and decorated with magical images demonstrate the continued use in Syria of magical incantations against dangerous forces, including house-threatening night demons called “stranglers” (Phon. *ḥnqt*) and the evil eye. These tablets were perforated so that they could be hung, presumably around the household, as apotropaic devices, and for this reason they have been compared to the Passover ritual of applying lambs’ blood to doorframes (Heb. *mēzûzôt*) in Exod 12:21–23 (the latter of which is also similar to the use of bitumen on doorposts or the suspension of a mouse in the Mesopotamian “evil demons” rituals).

## Anatolia

Although magic in Hittite society was strongly influenced by both Sumero-Akkadian and Hurrian traditions, the Hittite language retains an indigenous set of Indo-European vocabulary items related to the subject, including the words *alwanzinaš*, “sorcerer,” and *alwanzatar*, “sorcery.” In addition, many Luwian and Hurrian words appear in Hittite compositions dealing with magic, attesting to the complex interplay among languages and cultures in the Hittite magical tradition. A large collection of cuneiform tablets was unearthed in the Hittite capital of Hattusas in Anatolia. As the official archives of the city, these texts present a narrow view of magical practices in the empire from the perspective of the official cult, but they nevertheless provide important information about the practitioners (Sum. sing. EN.SISKUR; lit., “lord of ritual”), the nature of their rites (Sum. sing. SISKUR), and the timing of their festivals. Prohibitions and punishments for certain magical practices are attested in the Hittite Laws, and several Hittite kings complained of being victims of witchcraft.

Kamrusepa was the goddess of magic and medicine in Hittite mythology. She plays an important role in the Telipinu myth by retrieving and ending the wrath of this storm-god, whose disappearance and anger threatened the proper functioning of the natural world. A figure referred to as “the old woman” (*MíŠU.GI*) commonly appears in the Hittite ritual texts as someone who can cure diseases, disable curses, perform divination, and prepare the dead for burial. References in Hittite literature demonstrate

that this ritual priestess was consulted to gain knowledge of royal plans. The Hittites had scapegoat rituals that involved mice, puppies, and humans, during which maladies were transferred to these hosts and the hosts were subsequently banished or destroyed. Captives taken from foreign conquests were used to combat plague believed to have been caused by the anger of deities from conquered lands. After a series of ritual prescriptions, the captives were offered to pacify the gods with the wish that they carry the plague back to their country of origin. In the Prayer of Mursilis II, this king implores the gods to send a plague from Hatti to an enemy land. Another transference ritual involved a boat into which amulets of precious metal were placed and the boat was cast off into a river current accompanied by the following words: “Just as the river has carried away the ship and no trace of it can be found any more—whoever has committed evil word, oath, curse and uncleanness in the presence of the god—even so let the river carry them away” (Kapelrud, 47). A Hittite ritual to purify a house involved summoning netherworld demons to take away whatever was causing misfortune at home. The Ritual of Tunnawiya involved the destruction of wax figures symbolic of various threats.

#### D. THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Greco-Roman authors often sought the origin of magic in the practices of lands to the east. Based on the etymology of the Persian loanword *magos*, Pliny believed that “without doubt magic arose in Persia with Zoroaster” (*Nat.* 30.2). Egypt and Mesopotamia continued to be considered wellsprings of magical lore as well. The spread of treatises filled with magical lore must have been significantly advanced by the Hellenistic libraries of Alexandria and Pergamon, both of which would have held vast treasure troves of manuscripts gathered from around the known world.

In addition to the *magos*, the “sorcerer” (Gk. *goēs*) was an expert in “summoning” (Gk. *goēteia*) the dead and routinely employed “curse tablets” (Gk. *epōidai*). The use of lead in the production of magical tablets was widespread across the ancient Mediterranean. Such tablets are well known for containing binding and cursing spells (Lat. *tabellae defixiones*). A second-century AD hoard of lead figurines bound with wire and limestone tablets inscribed with Greek texts consisting mostly of personal names, but also including a binding spell, were discovered at Tell Sandahannah in Palestine. Some scholars have suggested that the hoard may have been the private collection of a magician, while others have suggested that the tablets and figurines belong together, the tablets naming the individuals represented by the figurines.

The most important corpus for Greco-Roman magical practices is a collection of texts grouped together by scholars under the name *Greek Magical Papyri* (*Papyri Graecae Magicae*). Although many of these magical papyri were written in Greek, many were written in other languages, including Demotic, Old Coptic, and Aramaic, among others. In fact, the magical handbooks that inspired early scholars to designate the corpus as “Greek” were actually written in a mixture of scripts and languages. The famous London-Leiden papyrus—which was compiled at some point in the late Roman Period (ca. AD 400) as a kind of reference manual—was created by priestly scribes in an Egyptian setting, as it contains passages in Greek, Demotic, Old Coptic, and even sections in various cipher scripts. Important genres in the *Greek Magical Papyri* include spells for lamp divination, for dream sending, for love, and for healing. Prominent throughout these magical papyri are “magical sounds” (Lat. *vores magicae*), abracadabra words known in late antiquity as “Ephesian letters” (Gk. *ephesia grammata*), the intoning of which was believed to hold particular ritual power. The *vores magicae* often consisted of long series of vowels or magical names, the meanings and origins of which often remain unknown. In certain cases, Greek *vores magicae* turn out to be transliterations of phrases from other languages, such as Hebrew or Egyptian. For example, an amulet from Roman-era Wales is inscribed with the phrase *eie esar eie*, which transliterates the Hebrew expression *’ehyê ’ăšer ’ehyê*, “I am who I am,” from Exod 3:14 (Bohak 2003, 75). Diagrams, images, and symbols (Gr. *charaktêres*) also accompany many of the spells in the *Greek Magical Papyri*.

References to the use of magical potions and implements are widespread in the works of Greco-Roman authors. Horace describes how the witches Canidia and Sagana made execration figures of wool and wax (*Satires* 1.8). In a poem by Theocritus, a woman named Simaetha seeks to regain her lover using a magical concoction consisting of bay leaves, unnamed elixirs, wool, a wax figure, pieces of clothing, and lizard dust. The Latin poet Tibullus wrote of being under the curse (Lat. *devotus*) of his former lover Delia. The curse prevented him from finding joy in subsequent relationships with women. When Delia finds a new lover, Tibullus accuses her of being under the curse of a witch (Lat. *lëna*, “bawd”) who is acting on behalf of Delia’s new lover. Tibullus curses the witch, singing, “May she eat bloody feasts and with gory mouth drink joyless cups full of gall. May ghosts ever flit about her complaining of their fates and may the screech owl call from her roof. May starvation goad her to madness and send her searching for herbs on graves and bones abandoned by fierce wolves. May she run bare-groined and howling through the city” (Ogden, 127). Similar tales in which witches influence female lovers are told by Ovid (*Am.* 1.8–20) and Propertius (*Elegies* 4.5).

One of the most famous tales of magic from the Greco-Roman world is the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, otherwise known as *The Golden Ass* (Lat. *Asinus aureus*), a title provided by Augustine. The story is filled with episodes of magic that fulfill the curiosity of the protagonist, Lucius. After seeing a sorceress named Pamphile turn herself into an owl through a potent ointment and lamp consultation, Lucius, trying to imitate her, accidentally turns himself into an ass (Book 3). A series of ordeals befalls Lucius-the-ass and he is only returned to human form after rousing the goddess Isis through prayer (Book 11). He is rewarded by being initiated into the mystery cult of Isis and Osiris.

## E. THE JEWISH WORLD

Magic (Heb. *kiššûp*) and sorceries (Heb. *kēšāpîm*) in the Jewish communities of antiquity derived not only from biblical precedent but also from the wider world in which the Jews lived, where sorcerers (Heb. sing. *mēkaššēp*) and sorceresses (Heb. sing. *mēkaššēpâ*) continued to be important members of the community. Magical practices might vary from region to region. There may have been a certain divide in the literary tradition between east and west, for miracle-working and magic-making are more common in literature set in Palestine than in Babylonia.

Jewish magical practices often took the form of exorcism. The Dead Sea Scrolls include references to various types of exorcisms via utterance or fumigation, such as the “Songs of the Sage” (4Q510–511), a series of anti-demon ritual hymns. In one passage, the sage recites, “And I, Maskil, declare His glorious splendor in order to frighten and terrify all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, howlers and [ . . . ] and those who strike without warning to lead (people) astray (from) the spirit of understanding and to make their heart desolate” (Angel, 4).

Josephus relates that Solomon had been trained in the art of exorcism and that his teaching continued to be practiced by a man named Eleazar (*Ant.* 8.45–49). Eleazar expelled a demon by placing a ring to the nose of the possessed and uttering magical incantations. To prove the banishment had worked, Eleazar commanded the spirit to spill a nearby cup of water, which demonstrated to the crowd that the patient was free from evil. A magical incantation to the “God of Abraham . . . God of Isaac . . . God of Jacob,” cited by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 85.3), is also attested in an exorcism spell of the *Greek Magical Papyri* (PGM IV.1227–1264; Betz, 62). According to the OT pseudepigraphic book of *1 Enoch* (7:1), fallen angels teach charms and spells to women, a topic that is expanded upon by Irenaeus

(*Epid.* 18). The large collection of Aramaic incantation texts written on bowls, so common in late antiquity (ca. AD 300–600), demonstrates the continued practice among Jewish communities of using magical means to protect the user from harmful forces such as the evil eye or demonic spirits like Lilith; in addition to the Aramaic square script, contemporary bowls (ca. AD 600) were also written in Syriac and Mandaic scripts (see Yamachi 1996). Lilith (a succubus) was known for seducing men by night as well as kidnapping and eating children. A text titled “a deed of divorce for Lilith” was copied into a twelfth-century magical recipe book discovered in the Cairo Geniza (Levene and Bohak, 204).

One of the most important sources for ancient Jewish magic is the *Sepher Ha-Razim*, or “Book of the Secrets,” manuscripts of which were discovered in the Cairo Geniza. The text was composed in Hebrew in the Talmudic period (AD 300–600) and later translated into Arabic and Latin. According to the introduction, the contents were originally given to Noah by the angel Raziel (Heb. *rāzīēl*, “mystery of God”; hence the Latin title of the work, *Liber Razielis Angeli*); Noah then inscribed the text on a stone. From Raziel Noah learned “how to do wondrous deeds and secrets of knowledge” as well as “to rule over spirits and over demons, to send them (wherever you wish) so they will go out like slaves” (Morgan, 17–18). The book claims that upon Noah’s death it was passed down through a biblical lineage to Solomon, who gained invaluable wisdom from it. The text, following Jewish cosmology, is divided into seven sections related to the seven firmaments (Heb. sing. *rāqīaʿ*). The seven firmaments referred to domains of the heavens in which the visible planetary bodies travelled in addition to the sun and moon. This cosmological model was common in early Judaism, but the tradition of seven heavens had a long historical development that began at least as early as the second millennium BC. Each section provides the names of the angels associated with the particular firmament, followed by spells, recipes, and magical rites invoking those names for a variety of purposes including the production of amulets, healing, success, divination, dream interpretation, curses, and necromancy, among others. There is a remarkably close affinity between the practices described in the *Sepher Ha-Razim* and the Hellenistic magical papyri.

A passage in the Talmud (*b. Menah.* 65a) notes that the requirements for individuals to participate in the great Sanhedrin, the legislative body of seventy-one members, include that they be “masters of magic” (Heb. *baʿālê kēšāpīm*), a reference probably to their knowledge of sorcery for legislative matters (and possibly for prosecuting individuals involved in practices such as those attested in the *Sefer Ha-Razim*) rather than for personal magical practice. Throughout the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, various rabbis are described as sages whose knowledge empowers them

to successfully and legitimately perform magic, including making rain (*b. Ber.* 20a; *b. Ta'an.* 24b), initiating famine, producing money (*b. Ta'an.* 24b), materializing a witch from a stone (*y. Sanh.* 7:11), and bringing back the dead (*b. Meg.* 7b). Furthermore, the Babylonian Talmud contains an entire section (*b. Šab.* 110a) devoted to Aramaic spells against snakes. One such spell prescribes a concoction to lure a snake out from a woman who must stand with her legs spread propped up on barrels. When the snake smelled the aroma of the concoction, it would exit the woman, whereupon it was summarily destroyed by fire.

Normative Jewish practices continued to employ magical devices, the most direct of which was the use of phylacteries (Heb. *tēpillîn*, *ṭōṭāfōt*), which are mentioned in the OT (Exod 13:9, 16; Deut 6:8; 11:18) and the use of which is prescribed in the Talmud. Small parchment scrolls inscribed with passages from the Torah were bound to the arm or forehead to remind the wearer about his service to God. They also served as a conspicuous social symbol among observant Jews. Some studies of phylacteries from the Qumran material suggest that they were considered to be protective amulets that could ensure a long life. (See Yadin.)

## F. THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

In spite of the many miracles performed by Jesus and his followers, it was common for opposing Christian sects to accuse one another of sorcery. Such was the case when Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, denounced the Melitians as satanists who bewitched children. In his work called the *Panarion* ("The Medicine Chest"), which was meant to inform the faithful about dangerous heresies and sects, Epiphanius of Salamis accuses several heretics of sorcery. He records in his section against Manichaeans how one Scythianus, a Pythagorean, was a sorcerer who employed books of magic and obtained his training from the Indians and Egyptians. Upon going up to the roof of his house to work magic, Scythianus fell off and died. His disciple Terbinthus acquired his magical library and met the same fate when, according to Epiphanius, he was pulled from the roof by an angel. Likewise, Epiphanius disparages Hieracas, founder of the Hieracite sect, for his knowledge of magic and notes how the church "forbids . . . magic, sorcery, astrology, palmistry, the observation of omens, charms, and amulets, the things called phylacteries" (Williams, 681). These prohibitions demonstrate the continued widespread belief in the efficacy of such items into late antiquity. Even non-Christian detractors (e.g., Celsus, Hierocles) often accused Christians and Jesus of participating in magical practices



and many early church fathers (e.g., Arnobius, Eusebius, Justin Martyr, Lactantius, Origen) felt compelled to defend themselves against this charge.

A wealth of evidence for magical practices in the Christian world of late antiquity can be found in the vast corpus of Coptic and Greek magical papyri. The mechanics of these texts derive from a common background dating back to the Hellenistic era, with even more ancient roots. Spells for protection, healing, love, sex, compulsion, and cursing are common. Images, magical names, and symbols accompany many of the spells. Amulets inscribed with spells were often placed in a grave and contained the instruction “the mummy [on] which this [papyrus for] vengeance is placed must appeal night and day [to the lord (?)]” (Meyer and Smith, 190). Scribes also included narrative *historiola* from contemporary literature—including Judeo-Christian material—as framing devices. These references could be oblique, such as the mention of Elijah in a Coptic magical papyrus designated as “the phylactery [Gk. *phylaktērion*] of the prayer of Elijah” (Frankfurter, 62).

Miracle-working and acts of magic played an important role in the many martyrologies and biographies of early Christian saints that circulated in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic. The *Life of Pistentius* contains an episode in which the saint holds a discussion with an ancient Hellenistic mummy inside the tomb where he has taken up residence. The soul of the departed has suffered because it did not know Christ, but it is relieved by Pistentius’s prayers and the power of the Sabbath.

Apocryphal traditions elaborated upon episodes of magic found in the New Testament. The *Acts of Peter* provides a narrative account of how in Rome Peter defeated Simon Magus in a duel of power by causing Simon to fall out of the sky during a magical flight and break his leg. (See Schneemelcher, 315–16.)

The continued presence of magic among early Christian communities is proven by discussions of the topic at the Synod of Elvira, the warnings of John Chrysostom in Antioch, and Augustine’s encounters with magicians in Roman North Africa. Among critics both baptism and communion were thought to contain remnants of certain magical elements. According to church authors such as Eusebius, detractors of Christianity even claimed that Jesus’s resurrection was an act of necromancy, citing the resurrection of Samuel at the command of Saul through the “witch” of Endor narrated in 1 Sam 28 (*Hist. eccl.* 4.15.46).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** T. Abusch, *Mesopotamian Witchcraft: Toward a History and Understanding of Babylonian Witchcraft Beliefs and Literature* (2002); T. Abusch, “Witchcraft Literature in Mesopotamia,” in *The Babylonian World*,

ed. G. Leick (2007), 373–85; J. L. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511),” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 19 (2012), 1–27; D. E. Aune, “Magic in Early Christianity,” *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980), 1507–57; H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells* (1985); J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia* (1992); M. Bloom, *Jewish Mysticism and Magic: An Anthropological Perspective* (2007); B. Böck, “When You Perform the Ritual of ‘Rubbing’: On Medicine and Magic in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *JNES* 62 (2003), 1–16; B. Böck, *Das keilschriftliche Handbuch “Einreibung” Muššu’u* (2007); G. Bohak, “Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere? Notes on the Interpretation of *Voces Magicae*,” in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, ed. S. Noegel, J. Walker, and B. Wheeler, (2003), 69–82; G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (2008); J. N. Bremmer, “The Scapegoat between Hittites, Greeks, Israelites and Christians,” in *Kult, Konflikt und Versöhnung*, ed. R. Albertz (2001), 175–86; R. I. Caplice, *The Akkadian Namburbi Texts: An Introduction* (1974); D. M. Clemens, *Sources for Ugaritic Ritual and Sacrifice* (2001); D. Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World* (2008); H. Chadwick, trans., *Origen, Contra Celsum* (1980); J. D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (1997); G. del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*, trans. W. G. E. Watson (2014); G. del Olmo Lete, *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit* (2014); G. W. Dennis, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Myth, Magic and Mysticism* (2007); S. Dolansky, *Now You See It, Now You Don’t: Biblical Perspectives on the Relationship between Magic and Religion* (2008); W. Farber, “Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *CANE* 3.1895–1909; W. Farber, *Lamaštu: An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.* (2014); R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 1–1185 & Indexes* (3 vols., 2004); D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (1993); T. Frymer-Kensky, “The Strange Case of the Suspected Sotah (Numbers V 11–31),” *VT* 34 (1984), 11–26; J. G. Gager, ed., *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1992); M. Geller, “Deconstructing Talmudic Magic,” in *Magic and the Classical Tradition*, ed. C. Burnett and W. Ryan (2006), 1–18; M. Geller, trans., *Evil Demons: Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu Incantations* (2007); F. R. Herbin, *Books of Breathing and Related texts* (2008); J. M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (1974); A. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (1996); S. Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (1999); A. S. Kapelrud, “The Interrelationship between Religion and Magic in Hittite Religion,” *Numen* 6 (1959), 32–50; C. S. Keener, *Miracles: The Credibility of the New Testament Accounts* (2 vols., 2011); J. K.

Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Magic. Old Testament," *ABD* 4.468–71; D. Levene and G. Bohak, "Divorcing Lilith: From the Babylonian Incantation Bowls to the Cairo Geniza," *JJS* 63 (2012), 197–217; M. W. Meyer and P. Mirecki, ed., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (1995); M. W. Meyer and R. Smith, ed., *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (1999); M. M. Mitchell, "Patristic Rhetoric on Allegory: Origen and Eustathius Put 1 Samuel 28 on Trial," *JR* 85.3 (2005), 414–45; M. A. Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of Mysteries* (1983); M. S. Odell, "You Are What You Eat: Ezekiel and the Scroll," *JBL* 117 (1998), 229–48; D. Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook* (2002); J. Quaegebeur, "On the Egyptian Equivalent of Biblical *Ḥarṭummîm*," in *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity*, ed. S. Israelit-Groll (1985), 162–72; E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (1995); R. Ritner, "Egyptian Magic: Questions of Legitimacy, Religious Orthodoxy, and Social Deviance," in *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, ed. A. B. Lloyd (1992), 189–200; R. Ritner, "Religion vs. Magic: The Evidence of the Magical Statue Bases," in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, ed. U. Luft (1992), 495–501; R. Ritner, "'And Each Staff Transformed into a Snake': The Serpent Wand in Ancient Egypt," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams & Prophecy in Ancient Egypt*, ed. K. Szpakowska (2006), 205–25; R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (2008); J. E. Sanzo, *Scriptural Incipits on Amulets from Late Antique Egypt* (2014); R. Schmitt, *Magie im Alten Testament* (2004); W. Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Peter," in E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (1965), 2.412–25; D. Schwemer, *Abwehrzauber und Behexung: Studien zum Schadenzauberglauben im alten Mesopotamien* (2007); J. Scurlock, "Magic. Ancient Near East," in *ABD* 4.464–68; J. Scurlock, *Magico-Medical Means of Treating Ghost-Induced Illnesses in Ancient Mesopotamia* (2006); W. M. Shandruk, "Christian Use of Magic in Late Antique Egypt," *J ECS* 20 (2012), 31–57; N. Shupak, "'Eat this Scroll' (Ezekiel 3:1): Writing as Symbol and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Sources," *BO* 70 (2013), 25–41; K. A. D. Smelik, "The Witch of Endor: I Samuel 28 in Rabbinic and Christian Exegesis Till 800 A.D.," *VC* 33 (1979), 160–79; M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (1978); E. B. de Souza, "The Ketef Hinnom Silver Scrolls," *NEASB* 49 (2004), 27–38; M. D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (1996); S. Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria* (2007); F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III. De Fide* (2013); N. Wyatt, "The Religion of Ugarit: An Overview," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, ed. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt (1999), 529–85; Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran (X Q Phyl 1–4)* (1969); E. Yamauchi, "Magic in the Biblical World," *TynBul* 34 (1983), 169–200; E. Yamauchi, "Magic or Miracle? Demons, Diseases and Exorcisms," *Gospel Perspectives VI: The*

*Miracles of Jesus*, ed. D. Wenham and C. Blomberg (1986), 89–183; E. Yamauchi, “Magic Bowls: Cyrus H. Gordon and the Ubiquity of Magic in the Pre-Modern World,” *BA* 59 (1996), 51–55.

FDS

See also APHRODISIACS & EROTIC SPELLS, ASTROLOGY, DEMONS, DIVINATION & SORTITION, DREAMS, and MEDICINE & PHYSICIANS.

— — DICTIONARY — —  
*of Daily Life*

IN BIBLICAL & POST-BIBLICAL ANTIQUITY

Volume III  
*I-N*

Edwin M. Yamauchi & Marvin R. Wilson

 HENDRICKSON  
PUBLISHERS

**Dictionary of Daily Life in Biblical and Post-Biblical Antiquity**  
**Volume III, I-N**

© 2016 by Hendrickson Publishers Marketing, LLC

P. O. Box 3473

Peabody, Massachusetts 01961-3473

ISBN 978-1-61970-727-6

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Unless otherwise marked, Scripture references are taken from the Holy Bible, New International Version®, NIV®. Copyright © 1973, 1978, 1984, 2011 by Biblica, Inc.™ Used by permission of Zondervan. All rights reserved worldwide. [www.zondervan.com](http://www.zondervan.com) The “NIV” and “New International Version” are trademarks registered in the United States Patent and Trademark Office by Biblica, Inc.™

*Printed in the United States of America*

*First Printing — August 2016*

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Yamauchi, Edwin M.

Dictionary of daily life in biblical and post-biblical antiquity /

Edwin M. Yamauchi and Marvin R. Wilson.

volumes cm

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents: Volume I. A-Da.

ISBN 978-1-61970-460-2 (v. 1)

1. Bible—Dictionaries. I. Title.

BS440.Y37 2014

220.95—dc23

2014017152