Résumé

**QUUMRAN, TURFAN, LA MAGIE ARABE ET LE NOM DE NOÉ**

(I) Le mythe juif des anges déchus et des Géants, leur progéniture néfaste, est attesté par les fragments araméens des textes de Qumran (= les manuscrits de la Mer Morte) et par quelques autres textes "énochiens". Ce mythe a été utilisé et réinterprété par Mani dans son *Livre des Géants* qui a été traduit par les manichéens en plusieurs langues. Cet article montre que les noms d'un certain nombre de ces mauvais anges et Géants sont passés en moyen-perse manichéen puis dans une version arabe manichéenne du *Livre des Géants* à partir de laquelle ces noms furent intégrés dans les traditions "magico-médicales" du monde arabo-islamique. Ces incantations ont été transmises par Suyūṭī (XVe siècle de notre ère) et sont utilisées jusqu'à nos jours. Il faut en particulier noter le nom de Gilgamesh dans trois de ces incantations.


Mots-clés


**ABSTRACT**

(I) The Aramaic fragments of Qumran ("the Dead Sea Scrolls") and other "Enochian" texts attest Jewish mythological accounts of fallen angels and their evil giant progeny, accounts known to have been rewritten by Mani in his *Book of Giants*, which was widely translated and circulated by the Manichæans. This article presents evidence that the names of various of these evil angels and Giants passed, via Manichean Middle Persian, into a Manichean Arabic translation of *Giants*, and that these names were used in magic, eventually becoming part of Islamic Arabic magico-medical traditions. These incantations, transmitted by Suyūṭī (15th cent. C.E.), have been used down to present times. Especially interesting is the name of Gilgamesh in three incantations.

(II) One of the names of the evil giants found in Manichean Middle Persian *Giants* fragments goes back to the name Unapishtim, who, like Gilgamesh and other figures of the Jewish and Manichean *Giants* traditions, originates in Mesopotamian epic. The Man. MPers. form of the name Unapishtim provides the clue to the origin of the Old Testament name Noah.

**Keywords**


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1 The Arabic medico-magical compilation *Kitāb al-Rahma fi l-tībb wa-l-hikma* by the Egyptian Muslim polymath Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Suyūṭī (1445-1505 C.E.), contains, within three of its chapters, conjurations against the names of evil spirits. I intend to show here that these names ultimately go back to the old Jewish accounts of fallen angels ("Watchers") and the destructive giants which they begot upon human women, tales known from the Qumran Aramaic fragments assigned to "The Book of Watchers", "The Book of Giants", and from related material in the Ethiopic *1 Enoch* (ed. Black).2

1 Much confusion in Arabicist bibliographical literature results from the fact that *Kitāb al-Rahma fi l-tībb wa-l-hikma* is also the name of a medical work by Muḥammad al-Ṣamawbarī (who died 815 A.H./1412 C.E). As against Suyūṭī's medico-magical book of ca. 198 chapters, that of Ṣamawbarī has only 5 chapters and no magical material.

2 For this material, see Millik 1974.
I suggest that the relevant conjurations in Suyūṭī derive from Islamic Arabic magical source-material, which, quite likely through the mediation of a Manichean Arabic magical text, proceeds from an Arabic rendering (cited in later Arabic sources) of the Manichean Middle Persian translation of Mani's Syriac Book of Giants (or of an early Manichean expansion thereof), in which Aramaic traditions concerning the Watchers and Giants had been recast.

Henning (1943), in his introduction to his assemblage of the remnants of Mani's Book of Giants, posited that Mani reworked a Jewish prototype of the story of the Giants. Henning's opinion was confirmed not long after his death by the evidence of the Qumran texts. It is quite likely that Jewish Aramaic narrations about the Giants like those now known from Qumran were transmitted to Mani through the literary intermediation of the Jewish-Christian Rabbis during which he was raised.3

At this writing, I have only had access to three popularly-aimed Arabic editions of Kitāb al-Raha (printed in the last half of the 20th century (all lacking names of editors and sources, and differing somewhat as to chapter numberings and spellings of magical names),4 and a translation of a brief section of a 1927 Cairenen edition (including the first conjuration treated in my next paragraph) in a 1931 German work by Winkler.5 Nevertheless, I believe that even from this late transmission the magical names at issue can be traced back through the chief stages of their history. [See Addenda.]

The first of our texts in Suyūṭī is the most important. It occurs in the chapter Ft 'ilaj al-tabī'a "On the remedy for the Tābi'ī a", and is a subsidiary section of a conjuration against the Lilith-like demoness Tābi'ī a, who afflicts childbirth.6 This subsidiary incantation is framed by Islamic formulas, and is given a Quranic coloration by an allusion to Sūra 15.18, which mentions demonic celestial eavesdroppers (in our text taken to eavesdrop from heaven upon earth; similarly, but more tersely, in another conjuration against the Tābi'ī a given in Suyūṭī 7).

My translation of this subsidiary conjuration is quite literal, but it attempts to duplicate some of the rich phonetic qualities of the incantation, especially effects of rhyme, alliteration, and assonance:

And this is the adjuration of Solomon, son of David — on both be peace! — : Basmalā, (i.e.) In the name of Allah and through Allah and from Allah and to Allah, and there is no god but Allah, nor victor but Allah, nor power, nor force, etc. I adjure you, you troop of well-known spirits, you who have weapons and well-honed spears, who ride up on the winds and eavesdrop on the earth from the sky, you of the lightning's flash and the flags, I adjure you with mighty names and lofty words, and by those names which are hung around your necks and which you obey (here appear the seven names). You spiritual spirits, who dwell to the north and the sweltering south, come down with your juniors and your seniors,8 down upon the earth, but may the earth be no support for you, nor heaven a resort for you. By *'Adunāy 9 Išhā'ūt 'Al Šaddāy (= Heb. 'Adonay Šābā'ōl 'El Šadday)

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3 For such transmissions cf. Reeves 1996, passim.
4 All three editions were printed in Cairo and are undated. See Bibliography under Suyūṭī, where I give my sigla for these editions and approximate dates as assigned by the libraries of the University of California, Berkeley.
5 Winkler, p. 23–26.
6 Tābi'ī a "she who accompanies" is probably a calque on Aram. malsītī "she who accompanies" which describes Lilith, the childbirth-afflicting demoness, on Jewish Aramaic bowls; see e.g. Naveh and Shaked, p. 198–203, Bowl 13 lines 7-8; p. 189, Bowl 12b, lines 1-2, and cf. pp. 192-193, Bowl 12a, end. The latter two instances show the epithet of Lilith, msktī, also attested on other Jewish Aramaic bowls; cf. the series msltī 'ilīyāt mišiwāt' (alongside ilīyāt mišiwāt'), naming this
demoness in the Syriac amulet cited by Winkler, p. 103 (from Gollancz). I suggest that Syr. mbltī' may be a misunderstanding of mshkltī, but note that the Syr. verb root hlt refers to sour things. Note further that one may compare Aram. mblktī', with Mandic mhkalata, mhkimatū attested in the "eight mhkalata of darkness"; see Drower and Macuch, p. 257, who compare Syr. kltī' "bitter and sour things".

Another Arabic name for the demoness Tābi'ī a "she who accompanies" is Qatarīn, "she who clutches to, is close to". These expressions may ultimately derive, via Aramaic, from Iranian; cf. Avestan npagūnātī "accompanies, clung to", used of the hold of the witch-demoness (parītēī) Xīnāqūītī after the hero Kārašēpa (Videvād 9.1).

7 Cf. Winkler, Solomon, p. 25 fn. 2 with p. 18 fn. 5.
8 The inclusion of "juniors and seniors" (or "small ones and big ones") among the demons exercised in an Arabic formulation independent of the tales of fallen angels and their gigantic children; a similar address in Jewish Aramaic magic is found in Naveh and Shaked, p. 158–159, Bowl 5, lines 3–4.

9 For this reconstruction, see Addenda.
The seven sinster spirits who are "wind-riders" and who have "lightning-flashes and flags/flags" may be compared with the canon (originally Meso-
opotamian) of seven evil wind-spirits, found among dualists of Late Antiquity Harrân, a canon which may have been adopted by the Manichean community which resided there from the middle of the 6th century to the late 9th century. This heptad may have been given an equivalent in Manichean sorcery by a selection from the Manichean narrative of the fallen Watchers and their Giant sons. The meteorological aspect of the seven invoked spirits, in terms of the underlying names in the Manichean narrative, generalized for the Giants such atmospheric qualities as we shall see existed among the fallen Watchers, e.g. Qurman Aram. and Syr. *mr' - "rain" in spirit name (1), and *zyq - Syr. "lightning-flash", Qaram. "wind-blast, meteor flash" in spirit name (3), the signs for which phenomena, according to the Qurman texts, the Watchers (1) and (3) taught mankind; cf. for (2) Qaram. and Syr. kwk" - "star" in the name of the Watcher who taught astrology to mankind. The presence of stormy demons in the conjuration against the Tibi'a is also connected with the frequent rhyme of rawabi' (pl. of tabi'a) with rawabi' (pl. of zweba'a "hurricane") found in lists of demons in Syuyut (SX, p. 200, after "filers in the air who cavedrop", and SX, p. 202); the rhyme is also found in Tilimsâni and Dariyābī.\(^{17}\)

Proceeding from the spellings in the older printings at my disposal, I reconstruct the underlying Arabic spellings with comparison of the Man. MPers. and/or Aram. forms:

(1) SW *w[H]rj[y]l; SX *w[m]rj[y]l; SY *w[H]rj[y]l, bg[H]rj[y]l; Qaram. *mr'yyl;\(^{14}\)

(2) SW *w[H]rj[y]l, SX *w[m]rj[y]l; (cf. Chr. Syr. kwk'b'y 10; Qaram. kwk'b'.

(3) SX and SZ *zyqy; SW *zyqy; Zn yz.\(^{18}\)


(5) SW, SX, SY, and SZ *ýlým; Qaram. gýlmýş; Qaram. "ýlým; Man. MPers. *ýlm; Qaram. *ýlm.

(6) SW, SX, SY, and SZ *ýlým; Qaram. *ýlým; Man. MPers. *ýlm; Qaram. *ýlým.

(7) SW *ýly'; SX *ýly'; Man. MPers. *ýlm; Qaram. *ýlm; Aram. and Heb. gdrý'.

It is clear from the spellings of names (4) and (6), with h vs. h in both names, with *-l- in (4) and the lack of -y- in (6), that Middle Persian is the mediating source of the Arabic forms. The termination -yl in (1) (3), which is typical of Arabic names of angels, accords with Man. MPers. angel names, which themselves reflect Man's Syriac. The first three names show (Man's?) melding of lists from the Aramaic "Book of Watchers": a short one of angels as teachers of evil arts (with Zäqî'î, Kôkabî'î and a long one of twenty chief fallen Watchers (with Maţarî'î, Zaqî'î). The next three of the seven Arabic names are those of Giants: Name (4) is a corrupt form (discussed below) from Man. MPers. *hwbd'b's < Aram hwbd'b's from Akk. hūmubâbâ, the monstrous enemy of Gilgamesh, Aram. glmýş which, via Syr. and MPers., yielded names of angels, Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic have -l, but Syriac, the Manichaic, and Arabic have -yl. For names (1) (3), see the longer lists in Milik, p. 159-188 and p. 188-189, and for the shorter lists of angels as "teachers", Milik, p. 157-158 and p. 159 for the Greek and Ethiopic spellings.

The Arabic spelling shows the easy misreading of the Arabic letter k as t (cf. the angel-name SX, p. 203, line 18 mlk'y'l for mlk'y'l < Heb. Môlik'i'. The spelling of (2) with t for k also occurs in the different angelology of incantations in Dâmû, Šams al-Makrî, Chapter III p. 55 and p. 57.

\(^{17}\) Milik, p. 159.

\(^{18}\) Milik, p. 313 (with a different explanation of the -s of hwbd's). The Qurman attestations of Gilgamesh prompted Reeves 1992, p. 121, to digress on late mentions of Gilgamesh, two from the continuations of Hellenistic traditions of Babylonian kings, and the last from our incantation in Sayûq's Kitâb al-Rahma [repr. Beirut, 1983]. Reeves missed the connection between the latter incantation and the Giants traditions, and opined that "the name of Gilgamesh in a ritual context.
(5) Arab. ḥjmyš. A Turfan Man. MPers. fragment collocates with ḥwbb‘yš the name ‘hrm (≈ QArAm. ‘lyrm vi), to which corresponds Arab. ṭhrm (via influence of Arab. ʾr-hm “have constant drizzling rain”); Arab. (7), corruption of *jdry‘ył, goes back to *gdry‘ył, Heb. and Aram. gdry‘l /Gadrîl‘l/, known from Aramaic incantation texts and Hebrew magical books, such as Sefer Raziel, to which I now add an earlier attestation in the Sefer ha-Razim. Most relevantly, it is transmitted as Eth. Gādre‘el in I Enoch, Chapter 69 (ed. Black, p. 65) 69, in a brief list of fallen Watchers; he teaches mankind weapons and war.

The Aramaic spellings of (4) and (6) show that the names are based on Man. MPers., and the Arabic list indicates that the Manichean source-work comprising the Book of Giants was itself derived from an Aramaic textual sequence represented by the Qumran “Book of Watchers” and “Book of Giants”, and an Aramaic Vorlage of the “Book of Similitudes” (or “Parables”) > Eth. I Enoch, Chapters 37-71 (ed. Black, p. 42-68). This finally disproves Milik’s very controversial insistence that the latter work is a Christian replacement for the Book of Giants in a putative Enochian Pentateuch.20

The above corruptions in the textual transmission of the Arabic spirit-names are of a very routine nature and surprisingly minor, considering the long history of the list. Even the outcome ḥṭ‘h- for ḥwbb‘b- is comparatively typical of distortions in the spelling of inscrutable names. [See Addenda.] Here the ṭ was generated by compression of the loop of ṭ and the upright of the first ḍ; the following ṭ, written as (often esp. in Persian mss.) as a small vertical with understroke, easily yields ṭ.

But the end of the name requires special explanation. The ṭ-š differs from the attested MPers. ṭ-š in ḥwbb‘yš, which itself differs from the š of Aram. ḥwbbš. I propose that first Aram. ḥwbb (Hubbāb) gave ḥwbbš under the influence of Aram. ṣglmš (= Akk. Gilgames) alongside ṣglmš /Gilgameš, and that MPers. ḥwb‘bš (= Aram. and ṣyr. ḥwbbš /Hubbābeš) developed a variant MPers. ḥwb‘bš under the influence of ṣglmš. Within the Islamic Arabic manuscript tradition, ḥwb‘bš yielded a variant ḥwb‘bš through the influence of the many ṭ-š names of sinister spirits found serially throughout all three chapters of Suyūtī under discussion, as in other works of Islamic magic. In fact, the derivation of ḥṭ‘h-wŠ from ḥwb‘bš and its modification by names with ṭ-š are confirmed by the other two chapters in Suyūtī’s medico-magical compilation which have data from the Manichean Giants tradition. The chapter “On the remedy for the attacks of fevers and what is to be written against them” (Fī-ilāj al-tawāriq al-ḥumayd wa-l-mā yuktatbu lāhā) 21 connects the time of day that the fever takes hold with a meteorological disposition (or further in the chapter, a religion or ethnicity) which governs the incantation aimed at its spirit representative. The incantation against the “dusty” mid-morning fever is a series of magical words, the last of which are jābbār, jābbār “Giant, Giant!” Against the noon fever, which is “cloudy” (yunāmī), and whose angel is “Māmūn of the Clouds (yamām)”, is an incantation containing a series of magical words or names of which the last is ḥwb‘bš.22 The meteorological

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21 SX Chapter 117, p. 110.

22 SX 111, top. A Manichean Middle Persian spell against fever was published in Henning 1947, [p. 39-66], p. 40. Both of Henning’s magical texts are relevant for comparison with the Arabic material under discussion. Henning (p. 39) noted that “quite a few” magical texts are among the Turfan material.
aspect was perhaps also expressed by the ensuing citation, “Allāh splits the piths...” (ḥabb, also “pellets”), which with yāmām suggests ḫabbu l-yāmām “hailstones”. Against the afternoon fever (disposition not given) is a very long conjuration, a “mighty phylactery”, which, inter alia, contains the citation “Allāh, unto whom the necks of tyrannous giants (al-jabābāratu l-jabarāyya) are brought low...”, then a series of names with -wā, and another series of names of spirits against whom conjuration is made, which ends in "rtywā ḥjnwš jb'r; here one should read... *ynthwš jb'r “Gilgamesh, Giant!” Thus this chapter, which (judging from similarities in phraseology, use of rhyme, and Arabic transcriptions of Hebrew divine names [see Addenda]) probably reflects the same authorship as the conjuration against the seven spirits, presupposes a magical ideology of hwb'bš and *ynthwš (the latter now with -w ūl̂) as Giants connected with precipitation and illness.

The reading jlnwš in the latter text is corroborated by the remaining chapter in which Suyūtī transmits magical data from the Giants tradition. Toward the end of the long chapter “On the remedy for the magically bound person” (ʕt ilay al-marbaţ), near a magic square of letters, its cruciform summary and a listing of further magic letters (all this meant for release from sorcery which incapacitates the genitals), comes the instruction, “Then write with a chicken bone, after you’ve cleaned it with water: “jlnwš (bš), retreat!” He’s apparently the latter name is used in isolation from the context of Giants and spirits of bad weather, and since there are no stylistic linkages to the above-discussed conjurations of the other two chapters, this last conjuration may be by another author (who very possibly drew on the Islamic conjurer represented by these other two chapters). [For jlnwš / llnwš etc., see Addenda.]

Of all the material transmitted and transmuted from the original Jewish Giants literature, through Manichaeism, and into Islamic magic, it is the ancient Mesopotamian Gilgamesh whose name Suyūtī’s medico-magical compilation preserves with the greatest accuracy and frequency. In that Suyūtī’s book continues to be printed and popularly used, Gilgamesh may be said to have achieved his desire magically to keep on existing.

ADDENDA:

Since the first draft of this study was completed, I have been able to locate and obtain a copy of one of the apparently rare manuscripts of Suyūtī’s Kitab al-Rahma, Brit. Mus. Add. 9627, in which Suyūtī’s book is preceded by Ṣanawbarī’s work of the same title. The manuscript dates from 1214 A.H. (ca. 1829 C.E.), and is in a sloppy Maghrebi naskh hand. The readings obtained make it likely that the variations in magical names of the printed texts of Suyūtī’s Kitāb al-Rahma are quite old. The list of seven conjured spirits (folio 149b [bottom]-150a [top]) is as follows:

1. ṣbqyy'yyl;
2. ṣawy'yyl;
3. ṣnqy';
4. h't'hw;
5. jlny';
6. ṣn'm; and
7. jrr'y'yyl.

The failure to provide stroke of -t- for the third letter of (2), resulting in apparent -s-, is in accord with the general carelessness of the scribe of this manuscript. Similarly, deficient underpointing produced jlnwš (folio 99b, line 8) for jlnwš in the chapter “On the remedy for the magically bound person”. The chapter “On the remedy for the attacks of fevers and what is to be written against them” has this name (folio 83b, line 17) as jlny (sic), and earlier in the same chapter we find the other Giant name (folio 83a, line 2) as hwb'š (printed editions hwb'š and hwb'š).

An instructive parallel for such misreadings as h't'hw for *thw’bš (= hwb’bš) is found at the conclusion of the conjuration against the seven wind-spirits, in the Arabic transcription of the Hebrew divine names ‘Adonay ʕṣlă’ at ‘El Sadday. For the first name (expectedly Arub. ʕdāny), the texts show a range of spellings from ‘wk’d to ‘rk’n. The manuscript has (folio 150a, lines 3-4) ‘rky’d ‘dy’ ‘y’ sb’wr ’l sy’d.y. This shows correction by addition of ‘dy’ (vocalized -dun-) found at 149b, line 2, representing an oral pronunciation of the Hebrew name (with d as a back vowel coloring the
following qf). The source of the erroneous 'rky'dj
أوردوية seen e.g. in the aforementioned chapter on fevers, where a fever whose time of onset makes it "Jewish" (yahdīyya), and its angel gets a conjuration including the words (folio 84a, lines 10-11) hy's hy'
'dh'y 'sb'w t 'sd'y; cf. e.g. folio 142a, lines 12-13, 'hy' 'sr'hv 'dm'y 'sb'w t 'sd'y = Heb. 'Ehyeh /
'nasser 'eyleh 'Adonay Sabă'ā 'El 'Sadday "I am that I am, Lord of Hosts, God Almighty", attested elsewhere in Suyūtī's Kitāb al-Raḥmah and other Arabic magical works.

The frequent inferiority of the manuscript Brit.
Mus. Add. 9627, as compared with e.g. popular printed editions such as SX, is illustrated by an example of interest for Aramaic and Iranian demonology. In Suyūtī's chapter "On the cure for the epidemic" (Fi 'ilāj al-maṣrī) we find in the manuscript (folio 142a, lines 13-14), just after the aforementioned Hebrew 'hy' 'sr'hv 'dm'y 'sb'w t 'sd'y plus 'lvkhu' ("l'whyn = Heb. 'Ešāhīm "God") a conjuration against a series of evil spirits, including nqyl (= Aram. deceiv'er); note esp. Syr. nqyl in a magic scroll, Gignoux, p. 10-11, ln. 10, ibid., p. 20, Commentaire; also = Satan), dhnš and b'mr'h. The latter I take as a broken plural of b'rmr from late MPers, bəmr "Illness". The word dhnš has d inserted as correction, and a vertical stroke between n and š, perhaps an abortive attempt at further correction. However, it is the spelling dhnš given in SX 189, line 1, which is correct, as I judge from al-Nadim's 10th cent. C.E. bibliographical compendium Führst, Chapter 8, section 2, in which dhnš is given as the first of the seven begetters of the 70 demons controlled by Solomon.26 For the reversal of letters by our scribe, cf. folio 84a, line 17 mlxmy for mlxmy "Muslims!" The demon dhnš may now be equated with Jewish Aram. dhnš in lists of
demons on magic bowls, and its Mandala equivalent dtnš, dtiš, daniš, discussed by Shaked, 520-522.27

The plural of dhnš is in the same chapter against epilepsy, toward the end of a long series of names of demonic entities (SX 187, lines 11-12 from bottom): 'ldn'hš w'lt'l'sh (habilib, broken pl. of 'lībīs "devil", like our *danāhīša) w'ltl'šš w'lvw'b'h (zawābā'ta, see above) w'lt'm'qṣh (Amaleska), w'lvw'ʃh ("suaxchers", cf. Aram. hpypt, hpypt on Aramaic magical bowls). The manuscript, folio 141a lines 9-10, has the erroneous ml'hš for dtn'hš and zr'b'h for zw'b'h. Where SX etc. have the obscure qfšš, the manuscript has qn'sh.

II

I shall now address the consequences of another Giant name attested in the Manichean Middle Persian fragments of Giants, which like Gilgamēš should again go back, via Jewish traditions, to Mesopotamian lore. It is obvious and unquestionable that the name of the Biblical Noah (Heb. Noāḥ) means "rest, relaxation, tranquility"; what has remained puzzling is why he has this name. Explanations trying to reconcile the meaning of Noah's name with his story (in effect, the Deluge, the salvation of life through the Ark, and the end of the journey) give the impression of ad hoc afterthoughts.28 It is relevant that the Biblical story of Noah does not in any way allude to an etymology of this name, unlike e.g. the accounts of such figures of Genesis as Adām, ʿAbraham, ʿIsā, Jacōb, etc. The key to the solution of the naming of Noah is, I shall try to show, contained in texts found as far from the

26 Among the latter demons note Zawba'a "hurricane" mentioned above; 'sh, cf. perhaps 'ydr, name of the demon-spirit of fever in a Manichean Middle Persian magical text published in Henning 1947, 40; as such is also found with Iranian etymology as Hīrmiz (= MPers. Ĥirmiz "Ahura Mazda"); Mirdas (= Pers. Mardas, in the Šah-Nāme the father of the cannihač Dabjīk, whence Lāpikāsi-Mirdas-Mirātāt from MPers. *Mirîyâdāya "non-eater", from Avestan *mîrya "eating" as in kalvolgāk "chicken eater, a bird of prey"); jūdāš ("Jandahr" from Avestan and Pahlavi Gandārāz; and perhaps the -š names takyft from (Middle Persian tǎgyft) "anxiety, constriction", and zr'wš, cf. Avestan zāriča, Pahlavi zārič "a demon", prob. *"the yellow, jaundiced".

27 I agree with Shaked in seeing a connection with MPers. dnt'h "an affliction". However, I take the latter from OPers. *nāt-nānā "destruction, harm", cf. MPers. winānā ("*wln-nātā) "to injure", winān "vicious, corruption, sin". From which comes the abstract noun wināhšin, whence one may posit, alongside *danāh, an abstract donāhīša (donāhīša), with Late MPers. -šn > -š ("New Persian -sh"), cf. Arab. jwādīš "a digestive" < MPers. gwiwaršin "digestion"; cf. conversely MPers. bahlīš (from OPers. *bārūš, Avestan bārūz) "cushion" spelled as Pahlavi b'ršn. The Jav. Aram. dnt'h < dnt'h of dnyūš would be like Syr. (Htrn) dnt'h < tr. dahīš "executioner" (on which see Greenfield, p. 139-141). The Aram. dnt'h is directly from MPers.

28 For explanations of the name Noah in the Qumran material and related literature, see Milik, p. 209-210 and p. 213-216. [Possible association of nē "Noah" and nēm "to console" Gen. 5:29; cf. Milik, p. 214.]
Biblical locale as Turfan in the Gobi desert; I refer again to the Middle Persian translation of the Manichean Book of Giants, fragments of which contain the Giant-name 'tnbyš. John C. Reeves suggested that 'tnbyš derives ultimately from Akkadian Utanapištim, well known as the Mesopotamian literary ancestor of Noah. Reeves' insight is all the more admirable given that he operated with the vocalized transcription Atamāš. In fact, 'tnb- must instead be Atamā-, since, I would note, in Manichean West Iranian the cluster 'mbi is consistently spelled nb, and never nb; thus Reeves' idea is confirmed linguistically.

The names Utanapištim and 'tnbyš must now be bridged. It is Utanapištim with which we may begin. I thank my colleague Professor Anne D. Klimar for her account of the Akkadian name: As an equivalent of Sumarian Zi-u-sūd-a "(Having) life of long days", the Akk. texts use Utanapištim-rāgi "(Whose) day (ūm = UD) of life (napištim) is far (rāği)", (lit. "...of far life"), or with the element ūrāg omitted and with Sum. logogram UD read as ut, the name could be rendered, somewhat ungrammatically, as Ut(a)-napištim "He (who) has found life" > Utanapištim.

The latter form, transcribed into Jewish-Aramaic consonantal rendition, was somehow in turn transcribed into Syriac by Mani, and thereafter produced 'tnbyš in the Manichean Middle Persian translation. The two main features in the process of transformation of the name in question are the shortening (loss of -tym) and the change of -p- to -b-. I can think of no good explanation for either in Manichean transmission (for which we are dealing with a tradition of linguistically opaque written name-forms). The earlier phase, the Jewish transmission, allows the changes in question to be explained in terms of how a speaker of the relevant Semitic languages could have treated the name according to grammatical (pseudo-)analysis, and patterns in variation of sounds. I posit that Utanapištim underwent a Hebraization in which -tm was removed, by false analysis, as the plural ending -im, and the resulting uncanonical final cluster -īš was simplified to *-īš through the removal of -t, itself taken as an (unexpected) feminine ending. Now, it was common in ancient West Semitic languages for the sound */p/ to become */h/ (and vice-versa); among the examples is the Semitic word for "throat, breath, life, soul", attested as Akk. napištu, Ugaritic nipš, Heb. nipš, Phoenician nipš, etc., but also as Oāram., Phoen. (Zincirli), and Heb. (Arad) nipš. Accordingly, Utanapištim could be integrated into Hebrew (and Aramaic) as what would be spelled *tnbš. This would then be prone to be reinterpreted as a reflexive form from the verb n-p-š "to breath", with the meaning "rested, refreshed himself, *took a breather for himself", cf. Syr. 'tnpš = both 'etnappāš and 'etnāpēš, and (Biblical) Heb. hināpēš "he rested" and Talmud. nāpēš "resting". Even if early Aramaic (for which evidence is limited) did not have specific reflexive forms spelled 'tnpš as we find later in Syriac, a name spelled 'tnpš or 'tnbš would suggest "he rested" on the basis of other derivatives of the verb n-p-š and analogy of verb forms in 't- from other roots, especially in a situation of a Hebrew-Aramaic diglossia, where Heb. hit- = Aram. 'ēt-

Thus *tnbš (or *tnpš) was "translated" into Hebrew, at the end of the serial calquing and reinterpretation of the name of the "longevous" Mesopotamian Flood Hero, by the ordinary Heb. nb, verbally = nāh (root n-w-h) "he rested", but vocalized onomastically as a noun nōdāh. And here Noah finally gets his "rest".

30 The transcription Atamāš had been given by Werner Sundermann, who first published the name 'tnbyš in Sundermann 1973, p. 76-77, where he compared the name of the Watcher 'Tammūti'; in his publication of another fragment with 'tnbyš (Sundermann 1984, p. 495 n. 19) he realized that 'tnbyš is a Giant, but retained the transcription Atamāš.
31 The spelling ə-ta-na-š-im (one complete attestation) given in the Akkadisches Handwörterbuch and the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary should be replaced by ə-ta-na-piš-im, according to Prof. Klimar, who kindly examined B. Meissner's copy of the tablet in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft I, 1902.

52 See Weippert 1971, p. 75-80 and esp. p. 78, and also Daliah, p. 141 and p. 240, with lit.
53 I thank Prof. Ronald Hendel, Prof. Anne D. Klimar, Prof. James R. Russel, Prof. John C. Reeves, Dr. David A. Uts, Donald H. Frow, Mark Pettigrew, Ursula Simms-Williams, and Michael Blisworth for their comments and assistance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Arab. = Arabic
Aram. = Aramaic
Eth. = Ethiopic
Heb. = Hebrew
MPers. = Middle Persian
Man. MPers. = Manichean Middle Persian
OPers. = Old Persian
QArab. = Qur'anic Aramaic
Syr. = Syriac
Talmud. = Talmudic Aramaic

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Jâhil al-Dîn 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Suyûṭî, _Kitâb al-Raḥmâ fi l-ḥiṣb wa-l-ḥikma_.

SX
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SY
Al-Hâjî 'Abd al-Sâlih bin Muhammad bin Saqrîn, 1956-?

SZ
Maktabat al-Tajjîriyyat-al-Kubrâ, 195-?

SW
Winkler, _Yâqîn, Yâqîn_.

Weber

Weippert

Winkler
_Luca D._ Winkler, _Salomo und die Karina_, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1931.
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