

Mandaic in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Lexicography – Some Observations

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[The comparative lexicography of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic had depended greatly upon Drower and Macuch's *Mandaic Dictionary* published in 1963. However, the work contains numerous inaccuracies in readings and interpretations, as well as several omissions of lexical materials available to the authors. Subsequent discoveries have expanded the scope of the available sources. This article presents additions and corrections to the Mandaic materials presented in the first edition of Michael Sokoloff's *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*.]

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The lexicography of the Jewish Aramaic dialects has been revolutionized by the work of Michael Sokoloff, whose publications now provide the foundation for all scholarly work on this topic. Sokoloff's dictionaries of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic are based upon a close analysis of the primary textual witnesses, and also draw upon the rich body of scholastic studies of those sources ranging from the Middle Ages up to the present day. The dictionaries contain a wealth of information on both traditional and modern interpretations of the corpus and employ comparative data from related dialects to support the interpretations presented therein.

For most of the dialects, Sokoloff has been able to make use of reliable lexica from which to draw his comparative materials. For the third edition of his *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, Sokoloff could draw upon his own data, his *Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* and Tal's *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. For its comparative Syriac materials, his *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* referred to Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (with its supplement and subsequent abridged translation) and Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum*, now translated, corrected,

1. I wish to thank Professor Michael Sokoloff for this invitation to review the Mandaic comparisons in his *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* in anticipation of the appearance of its second edition. The notes here are based upon my research project that has been supported by the Israel Science Foundation, most recently grant no. 329/17, and carried out in collaboration with Professor Stephen Kaufman of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon. I wish to acknowledge in particular the assistance provided to me by Dr. Tania Notarius, Dr. Bogdan Burtea, Tom Alfia, Maleen Schlüter, Livnat Barkan and Dr. Ohad Abudraham in preparing the materials utilized herein. Citations from the *Rbai Rafid* Collection are reproduced by kind permission of the custodian of the collection, while editions of the magic bowl texts in the Martin Schøyen Collection are cited with the kind permission of Professor Shaul Shaked. Tatiana Azarova read a draft of this article and made many helpful comments. Citations from written Mandaic sources are presented in bold characters, e.g. **lgaṭiun**, while vernacular forms – attested or reconstructed – are presented in italics, e.g. *laxaṭyon*. The siglum = is used to indicate identical readings in different copies of the same work, while ≠ indicates differing readings in such copies. Vernacular Mandaic forms from earlier studies have been standardized according to Mutzafi's phonological transcription.

expanded and updated by Sokoloff himself. However, for Mandaic, the dialect of Aramaic most closely related to Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, the primary source of information has remained Drower's and Macuch's *Mandaic Dictionary* of 1963.

As the present author has previously demonstrated in some detail, although it contains much vital information and provides an important guide to the seminal scholarship of the pioneers of Mandaic studies, most notably Theodore Nöldeke and Mark Lidzbarski, the Mandaic Dictionary (henceforth MD) is a deeply flawed work.² For several reasons, a large proportion of its entries provide erroneous information: sometimes they present material misreadings of the manuscript sources, sometimes misunderstandings of the text, and sometimes preliminary readings that are not contextually supported. Many entries lack precise textual references or contain wholly erroneous ones, making it impossible for the reader to check the accuracy of the material cited therein. These problems are particularly acute for texts that remained unpublished at the time of its appearance; Drower's preliminary readings of her manuscripts were 'canonised' in MD without sufficient revision and critique. While Drower's scholarly notebooks are not available for scrutiny,³ it is apparent that she made extensive use of Jewish Aramaic dictionaries in the course of this work, in particular, the popular work by Marcus Jastrow. Accordingly, words from these preliminary editions would be interpreted on the basis of the Jastrow's definitions. In some cases, this has led to circular philology: words in Mandaic were defined according to their use in Jewish (Babylonian) Aramaic, and then subsequently, Mandaic has been adduced as support for the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic definition.

MD is moreover an incomplete work. Not all lexemes that appeared in published texts were included in it (see below, e.g. entries מרהמנותא, נפחא). Other overlooked lexemes appear in texts that were available to Drower but that she never published and were apparently subject to insufficient scrutiny (see below, e.g. entries גרם, שפודא). The examination of Mandaic sources previously unknown or unavailable to philologists has revealed many additional lexemes. As may be expected, the epigraphic texts – inscribed incantation bowls and lamellae – have proved a rich source for unattested lexemes from the Sassanid period, while recent manuscript discoveries have enriched our understanding of the grammatical and lexical development of post-Classical Mandaic. Furthermore, since the publication of the Mandaic Dictionary, publications by Macuch, Häberl, and Mutzafi have revolutionized the study of Neo-Mandaic, and it has become apparent that it has much to contribute to the study of all the preceding periods of the Mandaic language.⁴

Over the past decade, in preparation for writing of a new lexicon of Mandaic, the present author has been directing a comprehensive project to digitally transcribe and tag the entire corpus of Mandaic literature.⁵ The digital editions have been based upon a reexamination of the original sources that served MD, as well as many additional sources that were overlooked or unavailable to its authors.⁶ By closely analyzing primary sources and taking account of recent advances in Aramaic and Neo-Mandaic philology, it has been possible to remove dozens of ghost words and readings from

2. Morgenstern 2017.

3. Following her death in 1972, the notebooks were sent to her co-author, Rudolf Macuch, Professor in Berlin. Macuch himself passed away in 2003, and regrettably, his heirs have refused all requests from scholars to examine Drower's materials that were in his possession.

4. Macuch 1989, 1992; Häberl 2009; Mutzafi 2014, 2017, 2018.

5. The work has been carried out in collaboration with Professor Kaufman of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon.

6. In practice, we have examined all of MD's sources with the exception of Šabūri's *Ašfar Malwaši*, which provided variant readings such as **tarab** 'joy' (MD 175b), **suhi** 'coast' (MD 321a) and **sisiata** 'horses, mares' (MD 329a). These variants have not proven significant for our work.

Mandaic lexicon, to correct the interpretation of many others, and to supplement the lexicon with previously unrecorded Mandaic lexemes.

The present article applies our findings to the comparative lexicography of Babylonian Aramaic. It is shown that many of the presumed cognates to Jewish Babylonian Aramaic lexemes that appear in MD are based upon misreadings or misinterpretations of the texts. In other cases, MD's lexicographical analysis does not do justice to the close relationship between the two dialects. Newly discovered cognates are adduced. The following lists do not claim to be comprehensive, and additional cognates will certainly be discovered in Mandaic texts as yet unknown or unpublished.

אבק, אוק, אוק, 'to attach, cling, embrace' (DJBA 76a). Contra MD 32a s.v. **APQ**, the root is not attested in this form in Mandaic. For MD's **mapqia**, the source (DC 46. 73:12–13 = CS 24. 23a:13–14) reads **mapkia** 'are turned away', derived from the root *a-p-k*.⁷ However, Dr. Ohad Abudraham has proposed to read **uligrik sdimia umbqia** 'your legs are bound and clasped' in the unpublished magic bowl text, MS 1928/56:11–12. The verb **mbqia** 'clasped', derived from *a-b-q*, would be a cognate of the JBA forms. See also the next entry.

אבקה 'socket, loop' (DJBA 76a). Add: Mandaic ***abiqta**, pl. **abqata** 'clasps', now attested in a magic bowl: **pk'ra 'idik l'huria ganbik ul'grik babqata d-parzla** 'bound are your hands behind your back, and your legs in sockets of iron' (M139:17–18).⁸

אגד 'to tie, bind' (DJBA 78a). MD's **AGD**, '**GD** 'to bind together' (MD 5b) is based upon a single example which represents a misreading of *Šafta d-Pišra d-Aini*. For MD's '**tigid** the manuscripts read: '**tigid** (DC 21:306 = DC 29:295, RRC 1E) ≠ '**tingir** (Berlin MS. or. 8° 3634 d: 195). There is no other evidence for the root *a-g-d* in Mandaic.

אגיא, אגיא 'furrow' (DJBA 79a). MD's variant reading **augia** (MD 10a), also presented s.v. **aga 2** (MD 5a) 'furrows, ruts', is a ghost reading. The correct reading in both of the word's occurrences in DC 8 and Dab is **agia**. The historical form *šagya* rather than *šugya* also underlies the NENA reflexes of this lexeme.⁹

אגמא 'marsh, swamp' (DJBA 79a). Contra MD, the variant **agama** (MD 5a, 5b) is not attested. Mutzafi 2014:23–4 has noted that NM *aḡmā* has the senses of (1) reed-bed, area of dense growth of reeds, (2) thicket, especially of rushes, and (3) forest, and that these senses may also suit the CM attestations of the word.

אדמסא 'steel' (DJBA 81b). MD 248b s.v. **masa 1** is correct in remarking that **masa** appears in some textual witnesses of Mandaic in place of earlier **dmasa** (MD 111b). However, there remains some doubt regarding the period in which the secondary form arose, as the evidence varies amongst the textual witnesses. For **d-masa** in DC 41:350, copied in Šuštār in 1224 A.H. (1809–10), an earlier textual witness copied in the same town in 1086 AH (1674–5 CE) reads **d-dmasa**. MD also cites DC 7's **aina d-masa dakia**, copied in 1259 AH (1843 CE), but Kurt Rudolph's parallel manuscript from Baghdad, copied in 1336 AH (1917–18 CE), reads at this point **d-dmasa**. Contra MD, DC 27:239, copied in 1088 AH (1677–8 CE), reads **d-^d^masa** with a superlinear correction; the parallels in DC 6:694, copied in 1088 AH (1677–8 CE), and DC 36:2096, copied in 1088 AH (1677–8 CE), read **d-masa**. In summary, both forms are current in the earliest surviving manuscripts. The question remains whether there is any earlier evidence for the shorter form **masa**, and what its origin may be. One example may be attested in an unpublished magic bowl text (MS 1928/56:10), but although it would

7. See Morgenstern 2017:182.

8. To be published in Morgenstern Forthcoming.

9. Mutzafi 2005:104–105.

suit the context, as it appears in parallel with **q-przla** ‘of iron’ and **q-nhša** ‘of bronze’, the bowl is regrettably broken at this point (the surviving letters read **q-ma** []**a**) and we must await additional parallels to determine if the reconstruction is accurate. Regarding its origin, the form **masa** may have arisen from haplology, haplography or metanalysis.¹⁰

אהל ‘to constitute a covering’ (DJBA 83b). Although MD 9a provides many definitions for **AHL** ‘to spread tent-like, shade, bend over, overshadow’, the only citation that is adduced to support the existence of this root in Mandaic results from a misreading. MD’s source, **uṭlaihun biardna mitahlia** DC 36 ‘and their shadows over-shadow the running water’, has been located in ATŠ I 31 (DC 36:147), but the correct reading of the manuscript is **mitahzia**, not **mitahlia**. The parallel copy of CS 16 also reads **mitahzia**.¹¹ Accordingly, the text should be translated ‘and their shadows appear in the running water’, and the root *a-h-l* is unattested in Mandaic.

אוכם, אוכאם, f. אוכמתא, אוכמתא adj. ‘black’ (DJBA 88a). Mandaic distinguishes between the abstract noun **ukma** ‘blackness’ (MD 343a) and the adjective **kum**, emphatic **kuma**, f. **ukmtia** (MD 349a).¹²

אונה ‘ear, etc.’ (DJBA 91a). Add: NM *omw*. This is one of several cases wherein NM employs forms characteristic of JBA.¹³

א ‘if’ (DJBA 108a). Add: Mandaic **in**, alternative to CM **hin**.¹⁴

אגלא ‘perh. city gate’ (DJBA 110a). The connection between this word and MD’s **agla** 1, (**gla**) ‘gate’ (MD 5b) is questionable. Lidzbarski (1915: 177 n. 6) hesitatingly interpreted **aglaikun** in Jb 180:3 as deriving from **gla** ‘cart’ (MD 341), though in none of the textual witnesses is it written with ‘; accordingly, MD is mistaken to list **gla** as a variant of **agla** ‘gate’. MD’s interpretation of Mandaic **agla** as ‘gate’ is based upon its comparison to JBA אגלא, but as DJBA shows, the form and interpretation of the JBA lexeme are uncertain. An alternative explanation for Mandaic **aglaikun** would be to regard it as equivalent to NA *agl*, *agāl* ‘pen, cow-shed, stable’, which is also contextually possible.¹⁵

אנדירונו, אנדרונו ‘an inner closed room’ (DJBA 111a). Although MD 353a lists as its primary lemma **ndiruna**, the regular form in Mandaic is **ndruna**.

איסקופתא, איסקופתא ‘threshold’ (DJBA 122a). The form with *k* **skupta** is also attested in Mandaic epigraphic sources,¹⁶ and is more widespread in pre-Classical Mandaic than the Classical Mandaic form with *q*.¹⁷

איצא, איצא, איצא, איצא ‘pressure, squeezing’ (DJBA 122b). Add: Mandaic **ašaša** ‘pressure’ in an unpublished magic bowl text: **ushraihun kbišia bašaša šmata tbara urgala** ‘and their *sahirs* are subdued with pressure, banning, breaking and fettering’ (Moussaieff 154:10–11).¹⁸

איחתא ‘woman’ (DJBA 128a). The JBA form איהת and Mandaic form **ta** are now also attested. Compare also Neo-Mandaic *ett*.¹⁹

10. Müller-Kessler 2011:222 should be corrected accordingly.

11. Although in DC 36 the second *i* of **mitahzia** is almost connected to the *z*, giving the previous letter the appearance of a connected *l*, the reading with *z* is certain. RRC 2C reads **tahzia**.

12. The adjective also appears as **akum** (MD 16a).

13. See Morgenstern 2010:551.

14. Müller-Kessler 1999a:345 n. 23, Ford 2002:251.

15. Mutzafi 2014:14.

16. E.g. Lidzbarski 1902 text V l. 3, republished in MIT 21 (A.O. 2629).

17. Abudraham 2017a:105 and n. 545.

18. To be published in Morgenstern, Forthcoming.

19. Morgenstern 2010:510-511.

אמגוזא ‘nut’ (DJBA 138a). Contra MD 25a, the form **anguza** is not ‘frequent’. It is first attested in the 17th century Neo-Mandaic *Glossarium* (75:9), where it is equivalent to Arabic جوز and Latin nux. It appears only once in Mandaic literature, in the parallel copies of the *Šarḥ Qabīn* ‘**nbia uanguzia** DC 38:225 = Oxf. (f) 1393. *ŠQ* also mentions ‘**nbia uamuza** in several places. In NM, *anguz* is used for ‘nut’ (Mutzafi 2013: 26–27). Drower (1959:188) distinguished between *anguza* ‘long almonds’ and *amuza* ‘walnut’, and this distinction is still known to the Mandaeans of Iraq.²⁰ Similarly, **kasa d-muza** (DC 46. 242:16) ≠ **kasa d-amuza** (CS 24. 8a:12) is correctly interpreted in MD 199b s.v. **kasa** as ‘walnut shell’. In NM, the word for ‘almond’ is *šegdo* (Mutzafi 2014: 127–8).

אפא ‘face, etc’ (DJBA 152b). Sporadic examples showing assimilation of the *nun* are attested in the Mandaic epigraphic corpus,²¹ while *app* alone is used in NM (Mutzafi 2014:112–113). This is another example of a NM feature shared with JBA.²²

ארונא ‘ark of the Covenant, coffin’ (DJBA 165a). MD’s interpretation of **aruana** ‘ark, chest, coffer’ (MD 37a) is doubtful. The text of *Pašar Mihla* reads: **aumitak mihla pt šuba kukbia pt trisar maluašia pt aruana d-arqa pt sindirka rba d-šumia** ‘I have adjured you, O salt, daughter of the seven stars daughter of the twelve zodiac signs daughter of the ... of the earth daughter of the great palm-tree of heaven’ (*Pašar Mihla* RRC 2C:320–322). Neither the morphology of the word – with consonantal *w* – nor the context supports the interpretation of **aruana** as ‘chest’. It could feasibly be related to Syriac ܐܪܘܢܐ ‘calf, heifer’ (SL 96b), which would be morphologically closer though still hard to relate to the context.

ארזפתא ‘hammer’ (DJBA 165b). Add: Mandaic **arzibta** ‘hammer’ (MD 37b).

ארהא ‘half brick’ (DJBA 166a). Add: Mandaic **ahara** ‘half brick’ in **kd ahara bgunda ukd libna bšita** ‘like a half brick in a wall and like a brick in a dividing wall’ (*Pašar Mihla* RRC 2C:251–252) and **akuat libta bšita uakuat ahara bgunda** (*Pašar Mihla* RRC 2C:347–348). The first passage was mistakenly interpreted in MD 8b s.v. **ahara** as ‘like a freeman (?) in the army and like a clay brick in the wall’.

ארנבא ‘hare’ (DJBA 170a). Appears only as **arnab** (var. **arnib**, MD 38a). The Arabic morphology and context suggest that this may be an Arabic loanword in this late Mandaic text (*Asfar Malwašī*).

את ‘you’ (DJBA 175a). Add: Mandaic **at**, found once in the epigraphic corpus and then predominantly in Late Mandaic and Neo-Mandaic.²³

אתרוגא ‘etrog’ (DJBA 179b). The form **atrunga** is also attested in Mandaic. The form appears twice in the source adduced in MD 44b, *Alma Rišaia Zuṭa* (DC 48).

בדיל ‘prep. because of’ (DJBA 186a). Add: Mandaic (rare), e.g. **baita bdilkun mišbiq** ‘the House is forgiven for your sake’ (Gy 41:5). Examples are embedded in MD 107a s.v. **dil-**.

בועתא, בוטא ‘abscess’ (DJBA 191b). The interpretation of Mandaic **butana** (MD 57b) as ‘abscess’ is very uncertain and based upon a single attestation in a late and corrupt copy of a magic spell.²⁴

20. Rafid al-Sabti, p.c.

21. Abudraham 2017a:90 n. 441.

22. Morgenstern 2010:510.

23. See Abudraham 2017a:165 (epigraphic evidence), Morgenstern 2018a:187 (Late Mandaic and Neo-Mandaic), and compare Morgenstern 2010 for the diachronic evidence.

24. Drower 1943:154 (translation) and 171 (text) does not take account of a parallel copy of the spell found in CS 27. 26b:13–27a:2 and 59b:8–17.

בוריא, pl. בורואתא ‘reed mat’ (DJBA 193a). While the singular is attested in MD 57a s.v. **buria 1**, **buria 2** (sic!), **aburia**,²⁵ the plural is not mentioned. The plural is in fact attested in AM 155:15: **uba**{**da**}**rauata** DC 31 (after copyist’s correction) = **ubarauata** CS 26.

ביזעא ‘crevice, crack, etc.’ (DJBA 200a). Contra MD 46b s.v. **baza 4**, **baza** is not attested in Mandaic in this meaning. MD’s entry derives from a misunderstanding of the source text, wherein the word means ‘falcon’.²⁶

#2 בינא ‘leech’ (DJBA 202a). Contra MD 61a, s.v. **bina 4**, the word **bina** in the formula **nišpia kd bina** means ‘tamarisk’. The word **bina** is not attested in Mandaic in the meaning of ‘leech’.²⁷

בינתא ‘individual hair’ (DJBA 203b). As in the case of JBA #2בינא, so here MD’s **bina 1** is to be interpreted as ‘tamarisk’. In the second citation from *Pašar Mihla* (DC 40:805), **arqa ubina** is to be translated ‘bay-tree and tamarisk’.²⁸ There is no evidence for Mandaic **bina** in the meaning of ‘individual hair’, for which **zimta** is used in Mandaic.

בית אסירי ‘prison’ (DJBA 209b). Compare Mandaic **bit** ‘suria, e.g. **u**‘**sira ništria mn bit** ‘**surh** ‘the prisoner shall be released from his prison; (*Sidra d-Nišmata* CP 34:2–3).

בינשא, בינשא, בינשא ‘family home, estate’ (DJBA 216a). In addition to Mandaic **bit anaša** (MD 63b), we may add Mandaic **bihnaša** (MD 59b). In all of its three occurrences, the earlier Vatican manuscript reads **bihnaša** while Drower’s manuscript (DC 8) reads once **bihnuša** and once **bihnuš**. In its context, the sense ‘family home’ is appropriate to the context of these Mandaic examples.

ביסדיא ‘pillow’ (DJBA 216b). The Mandaic lexical form should be **bisadia**, as Nöldeke (1875:173) proposed. The form is now attested in the epigraphic corpus in two spellings: **b’sadia** (BM 91708 [Segal 083M]:13) and **bisadia** (BM 91715 [Segal 084M]:4).

בי תפי ‘stove, fireplace’ (DJBA 219b). MD’s definition of **bitpa** ‘cooking vessel’ (MD 64b) should be corrected in light of NM *bftw* ‘one of three stones surrounding the heart’ (Mutzafi 2014:78).

#2 בניתא ‘building, construction’ (DJBA 223b). MD’s **bnita** ‘building’ (MD 67a) results from a misreading of the manuscripts: **urnith** (AM 150:19) = **urnita** (CS 26. 134a:4, Petermann 155. 176:7). This word must be identified with **rnita** (MD 436b) ‘pondering, meditation, reflection, anxiety, care, worry’, which appears an additional three times in *Asfar Malwaši*: 64:1, 178:15 and 201:4. The word **bnita** ‘building’ is not attested in Mandaic.

#2 בער ‘to burn’ (DJBA 228a). All three examples cited in MD 49 s.v. **BAR II** are to be derived from other roots. **unibar bgišmia**²⁹ (DC 44:1735) is to be translated ‘and it will pass into bodies’ from the root *a-b-r* (< *ʕ-b-r*). **u**‘**tbar hirbia** should be translated ‘and the swords were broken’ (DC 44:1068) from the root *t-b-r*. MD’s third example, ‘**pikrat** ‘**l liba d-barat** ‘she laid restraint on her heart that raged’ (DC 21), is entirely misquoted. Already in her publication of the text in 1938, Drower omitted several words from the transliteration of this manuscript, which reads: ‘**pikrat u**‘**starhbat d-rurtitia d-miṭiua** ‘**l liba uliba d-barat ustarhzat**. However, DC 21 is corrupt at this point, and the text is better preserved in RRC 3K, which reads: ‘**pikrat u**‘**starhbat brtitia d-miṭiua** ‘**l liba uliba rat ustarhzat** ‘she was bound and terrified with the tremors that befell her heart, and

25. Charles Häberl (p.c.) casts doubt upon the interpretation of **aburia 1** ‘reed-mat’ (MD 3b), and prefers to adopt the reading **aubria** ‘mice’ of DC 30 and other textual witnesses.

26. See in detail Morgenstern 2017:187–188. Reflexes of the root *b-z-ʕ* are attested in NM; see Mutzafi 2014:120–121.

27. For an analysis of the passage adduced by MD and other parallels, see Abudraham 2017b:201–202.

28. Compare Abudraham, idem.

29. Sic!

her heart trembled and was alarmed'.³⁰ Accordingly, all of MD's examples are to be dismissed, and there is no evidence for a Mandaic reflex of JBA 2# בער 'to burn'.

בר ניצא 'young falcon' (DJBA 232a). Add: Mandaic **br nišia** 'young falcon' (not in MD), found in an early Mandaean lamella (Abudraham and Morgenstern 2017:757).

#2 גדד 'to cut off' (DJBA 260b). All of the examples cited in MD 261b s.v. **GDD** are questionable. The form **umagdilun** 'and cut them down' from *Šafta d-Qaština* (DC 43J:105) is to be derived from the root *g-d-a* (< *g-d-ʿ*). For MD's **karkudun** 'gadad', all textual witnesses read 'gadar' with final **r**. All the textual witnesses to AM 216:4 read **nigidnad**; MD's reading **nigindad** (< *g-d-d*) is never found. There is no evidence for the existence of this root in Mandaic.

גדנפא 'rim' (DJBA 261b). Add: Mandaic **gdanpa** 'wing' (not in MD) in an epigraphic lamella: **ugdanpaiun d-anania hišakta** 'their wings (were) of clouds of darkness' (MS 2087/11a:21–22).³¹

גדף 'to denigrate' (DJBA 262a). Contra MD 81a s.v. **GDP**, this root is never employed in Mandaic in the senses 'to blaspheme, revile, reproach'. MD 73b erroneously interprets the noun **gadupa** as 'blasphemy, revilement, curse, cursing', but its citation from *Pugdama d-Mia* is both inaccurate and mistranslated. For MD's **umalahia bliqia šairia bgadupa** 'sailors blinded, disgraced by blasphemy', read **umalahia bliqia šaida bgadupa** 'and sailors with rudders, the fisherman with the oar'. Contra MD 66a s.v. **bliqa** 'dazzled by light, blinded', **b-** of **bliqa** is a preposition, while **liqa** is a noun meaning 'rudder' cognate with Syriac ܠܩܐ (SL 689a). The noun **gadupa** is similarly to be interpreted in light of the Syriac cognate ܠܩܐ 'oar' (SL 204b). MD's second citation for **gadupa** also supports this interpretation. The context reads: **aminuṭ d-iardna d-masgiabḥ spinta nišimta h' qal ugadupia bgauḥ habin d-hinun ruha nišimta hinun** 'for the Jordan in which the ship travels is the soul; sound (?) and oars are within it, which are the soul and the spirit' (*Malkuta 'laita* DC 34:1044–1045).

גהורקא 'chair, litter' (DJBA 262b). As DJBA notes, while the JBA form reflects the Middle Iranian form of this noun, Mandaic **gahuara** 'cradle' (MD 74a) reflects the New Persian form. This is unsurprising as the Mandaic example appears in the context of the instructions for the preparation of an amulet. Such instructions are replete with Neo-Mandaic forms and late loan-words, which were often drawn from the surrounding vernaculars.³²

גהט, גהט 'to erase' (DJBA 262b). The evidence for MD's **GHT** 'to erase, rub over, wipe off (?)' (MD 81a) is not compelling, and although the textual witnesses differ greatly, the context suggests that several words translated as verbs in MD should be regarded as names of angels. The texts read: **bšum ghiṭ rap d-biad amin** (DC 44:1164–1165) ≠ **bšum ghiṭ rapa hbil amin** (de Morgan, DC 13, DC 15). Neither version provides a coherent text, but the use of **bšum** 'in the name of' indicates that **ghiṭ** is a proper noun.

גוואזא 'stick, branch, trunk, wood' (DJBA 267a). Mandaic **gauaza** 'staff, stick, rod, stem' (MD 74a) is also employed in a 19th century colophon in the sense of 'wood (as material)' in **gauaza arzah** 'cedar wood' (DC 35 colophon). Compare NM ܓܘܘܐܘܙܐ (Mutzafi 2014:139).

גוו 'to cease, pass away' (DJBA 268a). This root may be related to Mandaic *g-w-s* (not in MD), found in ritual instructions appended to *Sidra d-Nišmata* in CS 12: **udgaṭal aria udiba udgaisa udmaita** 'and the one whom a lion or bear has killed, or the one who is dying or dead'.

30. On **rat uštarhzat**, see below, notes on טרס.

31. See the discussion in Abudraham and Morgenstern 2017:757.

32. Morgenstern 2015b:388–390.

גומרתא ‘live coal’ (DJBA 269b). The Mandaic singular form is attested as **gumarta** (Gy 227:15; not in MD). A phonetic variant **gumarda** is found in an epigraphic lamella (MS 2018/1a:46).³³

גזירפטא ‘court appointed officers who carry out judgement’ (DJBA 274b). Closer parallels to the JBA form are the metathesized **gzarṭabaiia** ‘bailiffs’ (MD 86a) **gziria ugzarṭabaiia mitkatribḥ** ‘officers and bailiffs go around in it’ (Gs. 84:5), and as two words: **ugzaraiia ugzar bṭia** ‘officers and bailiffs’ (Gs. 17:8).

גיבר ‘adj. strong, important, n. strong person’ (DJBA 277a). Compare Mandaic **gabara** ‘substantive: hero, giant; adj.: mighty, powerful’ (MD 72a).

גידופא ‘blasphemy’ (DJBA 278a). On the correct interpretation of Mandaic **gadupa** (MD 73b) see above, notes on גידא.

#1 גילא ‘straw, chaff’ (DJBA 280a). While DJBA suggests MD 90a’s **gila 1** ‘straw, stubble’ (MD 90a) as a cognate, it is equally possible that the Mandaic word should be interpreted as ‘clay’ in light of JBA’s #2 גילא ‘clay’ (DJBA 280a). The text reads: **krikīt dhiit umakisit umazihit mn pagra d-plan br planita kd³⁴ tibta mn ‘uhra ukd gila mn kraba ukd tinta mn qudam br anaša ukd šinta mn aina d-šakaba** ‘you are surrounded and driven away and turned back and expelled from the body of PN son of PN like dung from a road and like clay from a furrow, like urine from a person and like sleep from the eye of dead man’ (*Šafta d-Pišra d-Aini*, DC 21:739–742). From the context, it would seem that it is better to interpret **gila mn kraba** as ‘clay from a furrow’ rather than ‘straw from a stump’.³⁵

#1 גלא, גאלא ‘wave’ (DJBA 284). MD 5b s.v. **agla 2**, pl. **aglauata** (MD 5b) followed Nöldeke (1875:167), who translated the plural **aglauata** (Gy. 129:16) as “Wellen” oder “Fluthen” but was unsure of its etymology. The context in the *Ginza* describes the movement of waters that are restless like **aglauata**, and Lidzbarski (1925:145) similarly translated it as ‘waves’. This source in the *Ginza* is also alluded to in *Diuan Malkuta ‘laita*. Drower’s manuscript, DC 34, copied in 1204 AH (1789–1790 CE), reads **klauata**, but the earlier fragmentary, RRC 20, copied in 1077AH (1666–1667 CE), reads **aglauata** in accordance with the *Ginza* manuscripts. MD’s ‘singular’ **agla** appears in *Šafta Pugdama d-Mia: d-maria ṭuria upaqata maria agla aglauata* (DC 51:764–765). Since **ṭuria upaqata** is a merism, we may assume that **agla aglauata** is similarly a merism. A solution to its meaning may be found in Neo-Mandaic. Macuch 1993: 363 connected this lexeme with NM *aglō*, employed by his informant in an oral tale with the meaning ‘well’. In the folk-tale, it clearly refers to a still body of water in which the moon was reflected.³⁶ Accordingly, it is possible that **agla** and **aglauata** have different meanings, and that **agla** is to be interpreted as ‘well’ and **aglauata** as ‘waves’. We may hesitatingly emend *Šafta Pugdama d-Mia* to read **maria agla {u} aglauata** ‘master of well and waves’ (i.e. all bodies of water).

#1 גפא ‘wing, feather’ (DJBA 297a). Although MD (78a) records the meaning of ‘wing’ for Mandaic **gapa**, it is also found in NM in the sense of ‘feather’.³⁷

#2 גרמ ‘to gnaw bones’ (DJBA 302a). Add: Mandaic *g-r-m* ‘to gnaw’, omitted from MD but found in *Šafta d-Pišra d-Sumqa: akh liabiša ugarmḥ Iraṭiba* ‘he ate the dry and gnawed upon the moist’ (DC 23a:519–20).³⁸

גרמידא ‘cubit’ (DJBA 302b). Add: Mandaic (pl.) **garmidia** (MD 79a).

33. See Morgenstern and Schlüter 2016:121.

34. Reading of DC 29; DC 21 reads **ukd**.

35. On this meaning of **kraba**, see below.

36. The word is not commonly employed in NM (Mutzafi, P.C.). On such classicisms, see Mutzafi 2014:17–22.

37. Häberl 2009:319; Mutzafi 2014:21.

38. Similarly: **akh ‘l iabiša ugirmḥ Iraṭiba** (*Šafta d-Pišra d-Sumqa* DC 23a:540–541).

גשורה ‘beam’ (DJBA 305a) and כשורה ‘log, beam’ (DJBA 605b). Add: Mandaic **kšura** (MD 224a). As in JBA, **kšura** is used to mean a roof beam, e.g. **upuq mn tutia kšura hurda utpala** ‘go out from under the beam, the roofing-mat and the covering’³⁹ (MS 2054/79:9).

דבב ‘to murmur’ (DJBA 311a). MD’s **DBB** ‘to accuse (?)’ (MD 101b) is unfounded. The first citation is drawn from DC 22, a late and corrupt copy of the *Ginza*, and the reading **d-mdab** is a corruption of **d-mrar** (CS 2, 3, 4) ‘was embittered’. **haibin umdabin** (CP 455:8) is better interpreted from the root *d-a-b* ‘to be sorrowful’. There is presently no evidence for the root *d-b-b* ‘to murmur’ in Mandaic.

דוּתקא ‘family’ (DJBA 323a). Add: Mandaic ***dudqa**, pl. **dudqia** ‘homestead’ (not in MD), in the form **ududqaiun** (YBC 2364:22) according to the corrected reading of Abudraham 2017a:612. Abudraham also adduces the example **dudqia** (MS 1928/05:10).

דידבּתא ‘fly (f.)’ (DJBA 328a). Add: Mandaic **did[^]i[^]bta** ‘fly (f.)’, found in a narrative colophon from the 17th century (Morgenstern 2019:115). This is the feminine form of **didba** ‘fly’ (Morgenstern 2018a:195).

דיקננא ‘adult’ (DJBA 336a). In its original meaning ‘bearded one’, this word appears in Mandaic as a family name **diqnana** (Gs. 137:25).

דלי ‘to lift up etc.’, espec. Itpa. mng. 4, ‘to recover’ (DJBA 340a). Compare Mandaic **asia d-lauia asauata umdalia d-lauia mdalauata** ‘doctor who is above all doctors, and healer who is above all healers’ (*Sidra d-Nišmata*, CP 52:13–14). On mng. 3 ‘to go upstream’, see below, notes on שפל.

דפן ‘to strike’ (DJBA 347b). It is possible that the root *d-p-n* lies behind the verbs **mdpilkun mdpilak** in an epigraphic lamella formula: **dušai daišlkun daišlak udipai mdpilkun mdpilak unipai mnpilak mnpilkun** ‘Dušai will trample you (pl.) will trample you (sg.), and Dipai will strike you (pl.), will strike you (sg.), and Nipai will shatter you (sg.) will shatter you (pl.)’ (MS 2087/9b:21–24).⁴⁰

דקתא ‘powder, dust’ (DJBA 349a). There is no evidence for Mandaic **dqata** ‘small pieces’ (MD 113a), and the evidence presented in MD reflects a misreading of the source, wherein the form **badqata** is derived from the root *b-d-q*.⁴¹

דרוסתא ‘truth’ (DJBA 351b). DJBA compares JBA דרוסתא to Mandaic **drisuta** ‘uprightness’ (MD 114), but the exact parallel **drust** ‘truth’ is attested in Mandaic in *Šafta d-Pišra d-Sumqa* (DC 23a:662, not in MD).

הגתא ‘thistle’ (DJBA 360). For the collocation הַיזְמִי וְהַיְגִי, compare Mandaic **alma d-hagia hizmia iabšia** ‘until the thistles (and) prickly shrubs dry up’ (*Asfar Malwashi* 171:18).

הדדי ‘each other’ in mng. b. 2. בהדי הדדי ‘adv. together, simultaneously’ (DJBA 361b). Compare **uhaizak laipin kul trin abihdia hdadia** ‘and then they join every two of them together’ (*Šarḥ d-Zidqa Brika d-Paruanaiia*, DC 42a:684).

הדרא ‘convolution’ (DJBA 367b). Mandaic **hdara** (MD 131b) is better defined as ‘surrounding’ than ‘circuit’.

הוצא, הוצא ‘leaf of a palm branch, fence of palm leaves’ (DJBA 373b). The relationship of Mandaic **uša** to JBA הוצא, הוצא is uncertain. The Mandaic cognate is undoubtedly **huša** ‘palm frond’, found in the epigraphic corpus (not in MD),⁴² later **hukša** (MD 135b).⁴³

39. **tpala** may be a daubed roofing material.

40. See Morgenstern 2015a:282.

41. See Morgenstern 2017:156–157.

42. Morgenstern 2015a:277, 2015b:374 n. 28.

43. See in detail 2015b:374 n. 28.

זוטר 'small' (DJBA 403b). Compare now in the epigraphic corpus Mandaic **zuṭartia** 'small (f.s.)' (not in MD).⁴⁴

זירפא 'a disease' (DJBA 412a). **zirpa** 'embarrassment, shame' (MD 168a) is better interpreted as 'inflammation'.⁴⁵

זרעיתא 'family' (DJBA 422a). Add: Mandaic ***zrita** (?), pl. **ziriata**. MD 167b s.v. **ziruta**, **zruta** conflates two lexemes: **zruta** 'semination', and **ziriata**, the plural of ***zirita** (<**zarṣūā*) 'families'.

חבב 'to prefer something, love' (DJBA 424). Contra MD 129a s.v. **HBB**, **HMBB**, Mandaic *h-b-b* never means 'to love'. The expression **hubḥ urbubḥ**, cited in MD from ATŠ and translated 'love it and magnify it', is itself a citation in ATŠ from *Sidra d-Nišmata* (CP 57:12) meaning 'they were in it and grew within it'.⁴⁶ The verb **hubḥ** is derived from the root *h-w-y* 'to be', with the prepositional suffix **-bḥ** 'in it'.

חבילא 'damage, loss' (DJBA 425b). DJBA adduces the form **hbala**, but Mandaic also knows **hbila** (MD 129a), already attested in the epigraphic corpus (e.g. BM 91715 [Segal 084M]:15, 17, 18).

חיטפא 'the vowel *šewa*' (DJBA 453a). The noun **hiṭpa** is found in Mandaic in the meaning 'snatching' (Gs 60:9,10,12, 19; not in MD).

חלו 'to gird' (DJBA 461). The closest Mandaic parallel is **HLZ** (MD 148a). Only one example was known to the authors of MD, but it was employed by Macuch's informant Nāṣer Šābūrī on several occasions in his Neo-Mandaic folk tales (see Macuch 1989:219). I have also found it in a set of unpublished ritual instructions: **haliz qmašak** 'loop up your garment' (Berlin Ms or. oct 3752 envelope 11, b. 9).

חתר 'to break in' (DJBA 491b). Contra MD 155b, the verb **HTR** II 'to breach, to break in' is not attested in Mandaic. The context of MD's citation (ATŠ II 127) reads **ubsum uhtar** 'and they delighted and rejoiced'.

טחי 'to smear, to plaster' (DJBA 499a). The Mandaic form אטחילה (DC 46. 62:4, var. אטחאלה CS 24. 17a:17), appearing in the Late Mandaic *Baba d-Daiuia* series, is best derived from Neo-Mandaic (<Arabic) *t-w-h* 'to throw', which is commonly attested in these late spells.

טלולא 'jest' (DJBA 504a). For חוכא וטלולא compare Mandaic **uguhuka** (var. **ughuka** CS 26) **uṭalula** (AM 55:21).

טלי 'to jump down' (DJBA 504b). The evidence for this root in Mandaic is not compelling. MD 179b s.v. **ṬLA** 1 adduces two examples, the first of which is clearly a misreading. For MD's **šrian umṭalan**, cited from P.A. xii (a copy of *Pašar Harši*) and translated in 'loosed and removed', all manuscripts read **šriin** (var. **šrian** BL MS Or 6593) **umbaṭalan** 'loosed and removed' (e.g. DC 12:198). This implies that the reading **umṭalan** was either a transcription error by Drower or a scribal error in Anastase's copy of the text, which regrettably is no longer extant. Accordingly, the definition of the Mandaic root is dependent entirely on one uncertain form attested in all copies of the *Zarazta d-Manda d-Hiia* which is not entirely coherent. The context reads: **nizhia minai šibiahia d-lai hauma urugza šabqia uhaumaiun nipšar unišrun utiṭlia** 'May he remove from me the Seven that are letting loose their anger and passion against me; may their passion be exercised and may they be released and ...' (DC 44:105–109). The verb **utiṭlia** lacks the required agreement for the context and remains opaque.

44. Abudraham 2016:71 ff.

45. Geller 2005:302 compares the JBA lexeme to Akkadian *šarāpu*.

46. Drower 1959:39 translated 'in which it came into existence, was developed'.

טלפדא 'lentil, lentil-shaped object' (DJBA 506a). Add: Mandaic ***ṭlapa**, pl. **ṭlapia**, erroneously interpreted in MD 180a as 'eyelids'. The text reads: **ainaihun ḏ-hanik br našia damia ṭlapia zuṭia** 'those people's eyes look like small lentils' (AM 200:1–2).

טסא 'plate' (DJBA 508b). In Mandaic, **ṭasa** is specifically used as a strip of metal employed for the writing of an amulet (see Morgenstern 2015a:282), and that may be its meaning in JBA.

טפקא 'a baking surface heated from below' (DJBA 514a). As Mutzafi (2014:88) has established, contra MD, Mandaic **ṭapqa** does not mean 'tongs' but rather 'metal sheet, esp. used for cooking'. The context of MD's citation in *Diwan Abaṭur* reads **uminaihun ṭapqia ḏ-nhaša mšauin šit arqahata** 'and some of them set sheets of copper as six lands' (MS Rome B 25).

#2 טרשא 'deafness' (DJBA 519b). The citation from Jb 98:8 should be read **algia ṭrušia** 'dumb (and) deaf', but noun for 'deafness' in Mandaic is **ṭurša** (occasional variant **ṭruša**, MD 179a).

יבלא 'cynodon' (DJBA 522a). MD's imprecise definition of Mandaic **iabla** as 'grass' (MD 184a) should not be taken as indicating a difference in meaning.

ביד 'through, by means of' (DJBA 524a). Add: Mandaic **biad** 'by the hand of, by means of' (MD 59a). MD does not adduce examples in its entry, it is common in texts, e.g. **alma ḏ-hanath ninhar biad ptahil** 'until that shall shine through Pthil' (Gs 33:19–20).

יומא 'today' (DJBA 531a). DJBA compares Mandaic **amai** (MD 21b), found in the Late Mandaic wedding songs and reflecting Ahvaz NM *om̄y*.⁴⁷ However, the Classical Mandaic cognate is **iumai**, which frequently parallels 'tmal' 'yesterday' e.g. Gy 190:16, Gs. 84:12ff.⁴⁸

כווין 'shrink, contract' (DJBA 556a). In epigraphic Mandaic sources, CM *k-b-š* appears as *k-p-š*, and both forms are always used in the sense of 'be removed'.⁴⁹ It is perhaps better related to JBA #1 קפץ 'to jump, act quickly, rush' (DJBA 1032b).

כוותא, pl. כווי 'window, small opening' (DJBA 557a). To date, the Mandaic cognate is only attested in the plural, and MD's lemma **kaua** (MD 196a) represents an unconvincing attempt to reconstruct the singular form.

#1 כססא 'to chew, munch' (DJBA 592a). Contra MD 221a, it is unlikely that a cognate is found in Mandaic. The sources cited from AM and DC 40 are forms of the angelic/demonic name Abraxas, while MD's third source, taken from *Šafta ḏ-Pišra ḏ-Aini*, is better derived from *k-s-s* 'to rebuke'.

#2 כרבא 'stump of a palm branch' (DJBA 598b). Add: Mandaic **kraba** 'idem', misinterpreted in MD 222b s.v. **kraba 2** as 'crow'. The text of *Pašar Mihla* reads: **kḏ kraba mn ziqla** 'like a stump from a palm' (RRC 2C:387)⁵⁰

#1 כריא 'pile' (DJBA 601a). Mandaic **karia** (MD 201a) is better interpreted as 'illness' than MD's 'heap, ruins', following the reading of RRC 3F: **sipa ukaria nura uṭiba uhiuia** 'war (lit. the sword), sickness, fire, drowning and serpents'.⁵¹

כרכא 'city, enclosed area' (DJBA 602a). Add: Mandaic **krka** 'city' in the epigraphic corpus: **hršia ḏ-šaba krkia udtmania mahuzia** 'the sorceries of seven cities and of eight walled cities' (Pognon 27:3).

כתבא 'written document, etc.' (DJBA 608a). Add: Mandaic **ktaba** 'book' (MD 225a).

47. For the accurate transcription of this form, see Mutzafi 2016:408.

48. See Nöldeke 1875:351, Boyarin 1976:172.

49. See Abudraham and Morgenstern 2017:761, notes on ll. 35ff. and note 98.

50. See Morgenstern and Alfia 2013:170 n. 32.

51. Morgenstern 2018b:12.

לבינתא, לבינתא, לבינתא ‘brick’ (DJBA 617a). Add: Mandaic **lb’ita** in an epigraphic source: **ṭ’ina ulb’ita** ‘clay and brick’ (HS 3011:21). The epigraphic form better reflects the original noun pattern than later Mandaic **libta** (MD 235a).⁵²

להדיא adv. ‘alone’ (DJBA 619a). Mandaic **lhidaia/lhudaia** is better translated ‘lone-standing’.⁵³

לוהא ‘wooden plank’ (DJBA 619b). To date, **luḥa** is only attested in Late Mandaic in an Arabic-influenced context, and the diacritical mark on the **ḥ** indicates the Arabic phoneme *ḥ*. This implies that the sole example is to be regarded as a loanword from Arabic: **kdub ‘la luḥa d-ruṣaṣ bmḥaṭa d-nhas** ‘write upon a tablet of lead with a bronze stylus’ (DC 45. 70:9).

לופתא ‘coupling’ (DJBA 621b). Compare Mandaic **lupata** ‘joints’ (MD 234a).

מזיא ‘hair’ (DJBA 652b). Although MD 248a presents the lemma **manza** ‘hair, fur’, this is apparently not attested in Classical Mandaic, which employs **manzia** for ‘hair (of the head)’ and **zimta** for ‘follicle’. By contrast, NM has a singular form *manz*, *manz* ‘hair’, which appears to be a back-formation from the plural **manzia**.⁵⁴ NM also knows a plural form *manz*ככ.⁵⁵

מחשבתא ‘thought, intention’ (DJBA 658a). Rather than Mandaic **haṣabta**, compare Mandaic **mhaš(a)bata** (MD 259b).

מטלחא, pl. מטליא, מיטלי (DJBA 660b). Mandaic **mṭalalia** (MD 265a) appears only in the place name **bit mṭalalia**. It may be an exegetical translation of the Biblical toponym סוכות.

מידא ‘something’ (DJBA 663b). **minda** is the Late/Neo Mandaic form (for CM **mindam**) and is generally not declined.⁵⁶

מיכלא ‘eating, food’ (DJBA 667a). Mandaic **mikla** is characteristic of Post-Classical Mandaic.⁵⁷

מירסא ‘stomach ache’ (DJBA 673b). The Mandaic text cited has been transmitted in two versions: ‘**in ruha h’ d-iatba lmia ulkarka d-mia umitiqria mirsa** (Oxf. Bod. Syr. g2 (R):806–808) ≠ ‘**in ruha h’ d-iatba ‘l karsa d-mia d-‘umbia** (var: **d-‘umbh** [RRC 1R]) **umitiqria mirta** (DC 47:148-147). **mirta** is likely to be a secondary reading since it means ‘gall, venom’.

מיתאנא, מיתאנא ‘corpse, deceased one’ (DJBA 674b). Add: Mandaic **mitana** ‘a dead person’, subsumed in MD under **mita** ‘dead, death’ (MD 271a). See: **hazin baba kd baiit hazit atl gaiib basima** {{‘1}} ‘**la kdub bduq atutia riṣak hzit gnia mitana unhzith iatib hiia unhzith qaiim qatia** ‘This spell (is for) when you want to see if an absent person is healthy or not. Write (and) place (this talisman) under your head. (If) you see (him) lying down, he is a dead man; you see him sitting, he is a living man; if you see him standing, he is coming’ (DC 46. 38:5-7).

מכתבא ‘stylus, awl’ (DJBA 676b). Add: Mandaic **mkadpa**, erroneously interpreted in MD 271a as ‘shoulder piece’.

מסכניותא ‘poverty’ (DJBA 690b). Add: Mandaic **miskinuta** (A.O. 2576:21, 22).⁵⁸

מעברתא ‘passage’ (DJBA 693b). Add: Mandaic **mambarta** ‘ford, ferry-boat, etc.’ (MD 245b). The Mandaic evidence demonstrates that the loss of the etymological ‘*ayin* has resulted in compensatory gemination.

52. Abudraham 2017a:91 n. 447 proposes that the Classical Mandaic form has been remodeled after the geminate stems, e.g. **ginta** ‘garden’ etc.

53. Ford 1998:239 n. 133 and Morgenstern 2015a:278.

54. Macuch 1989:233; Macuch 1993:441; Häberl 2009:336; Mutzafi 2014:27.

55. Macuch 1989:223.

56. For a summary of the evidence, see Morgenstern 2018a:189–190.

57. See Morgenstern 2018a:198.

58. Published in Lidzbarski 1902: 102 text IV lines 22, 23.

מעלא 'entering' (DJBA 695a). From the context, the form from Gy 365:5 adduced in MD 243a s.v. **mala** is best interpreted as an infinitive used as a gerund. CS 1 reads **milak**.

מרא 'spade' (DJBA 703a). Add: Mandaic **mhara** 'spade', misinterpreted as 'instrument for watering (?), watering pot (?)' in MD 259b s.v. **mhara 2** following the Western scholarly tradition.⁵⁹

מרבעתא 'resting place, womb' (DJBA 703b). Rather than Mandaic **marba 3** 'lair' (MD 252a), compare Mandaic **marbihta** 'lair, den, abode' (MD 252a).

מרהמנותא 'compassion' (DJBA 706a). Add: Mandaic **mrahmanuta** (Gy 21:22). The lexeme was omitted from MD.

מרק adj. 'perh. diluted' (DJBA 711a). The evidence for Mandaic **marqa** 'cleansing' (MD 255a) is problematic. The text cited in MD (DC 37, a late manuscript of spells) reads: **uainḥ sakia uanania birqa umarqa miṭra** 'and his eyes look and clouds of lightning and ... rain'. However, the passage is now attested in much earlier epigraphic source (Davidovitz 15:5, an unpublished magic bowl text), which reads **uainḥ sakia lanania d-birqa umiṭra** 'and his eyes look to the clouds of lightning and rain', omitting the word **marqa** entirely. It thus seems likely that **marqa** in the late copy is a poor phonetic variant of **birqa**, since it is absent from the more ancient version of the text and is not suited syntactically nor semantically to the context.

#2 מתנא*, pl. מתני 'loin' (DJBA 721b). Contra MD 257a s.v. **matna**, the singular form does not appear to be attested in Mandaic. Even if we accept the reading of DC 31 **matna** in AM 103:13 (rather than its variant **matnia** from CS 26. 92:8 and Berlin 120:12), it is to be interpreted as 'her loins', hence the final –a represents the 3 f.s. possessive pronoun rather than the singular morpheme.

מאני 'mother' (DJBA 725a). As Mutzafi (2014:82) has shown, Late Mandaic **nana** (MD 283b) and NM **nannō** means 'breast' rather than 'wet nurse'.

נהמא 'bread' (DJBA 733a). **nahma** is now also attested in epigraphic Mandaic (Abudraham 2017a:85).⁶⁰

נהר 'to stab' (DJBA 741b). There is no evidence for MD's **NHR III** 'to pierce, bore' (292b). The passage cited in MD is better interpreted as derived from *n-h-r* 'to illuminate' (291a s.v. **NHR I**).

ניבא 'canine molar, molar tooth' (DJBA 746b). Add: Mandaic **n'ba** (not in MD) in **n'bia ukakania** 'canine teeth and molars' (*Raza d-Abahata* 290).⁶¹

ניפקא 'excrement, swelling' (DJBA 753a). Contra MD, Mandaic **napqa** does not appear to have the meaning of 'excrement, evacuation of the bowels'. The correct Mandaic definitions would appear to be 'tumour' (cf. Syriac **ܢܦܩܬܐ**, SL 936) and, quite differently, 'anus'.⁶²

נפחא 'smith' (DJBA 760a). Add: **napaia**. The word was correctly identified by Drower in the spells against the evil eye, *Šafta d-Pišra d-Aini*: **uahituk lsadana d-parzla d-gabra napaia** 'and they put you⁶³ upon the iron anvil of a blacksmith' (DC 21:565–566),⁶⁴ but accidentally omitted from MD.

נקט 'to hold, take etc.' (DJBA 773a). This dialectal form is now attested in epigraphic Mandaic alongside the regular Mandaic root *l-g-t* (Abudraham 2017a:85).

נקטתא 'collection of excerpts' (DJBA 775a). Contra MD 229b, Mandaic **lgaṭa** is not attested in the sense of 'bunch, handful'. The expression **lgaṭa d-asa** adduced in MD from DC 24 is not found in that manuscript, and would appear to be a misreading of **lṭaga d-asa** '(to) the sprig of myrtle' (DC

59. For the correct interpretation, see in detail Mutzafi and Morgenstern 2012:173.

60. Professor James Nathan Ford was the first scholar to identify **nahma** in Mandaic.

61. Published in Burtea 2015:52.

62. On the latter meaning, see Müller-Kessler 1999a, Ford 2011:254 n. 14.

63. Drower incorrectly translated 'and they brought'.

64. Published in Drower 1938:3 (text), 11 (translation).

24:101). The expression **ṭaga d-asa** is found several times in that collection of *Šarḥ* texts (see also DC 24:114, 118, 345, 361).

נְקִישָׁא ‘clapping’ (DJBA 777a). While Drower knew only of the plural form **nqašia** (MD 306a), the singular is now attested in RRC 20 colophon l. 3: **ukul iuma qanaqšin hda nqaša** ‘and every day they strike a blow’.⁶⁵

נְשִׁיקְתָּא*, pl. נְשִׁיקוּתָּא ‘kiss’ (DJBA 779a). The plural form **nišūqiata** cited from *Alma Rišaia Rba* in MD 300a s.v. **nišūqta** has an older variant **nušiqiata**. We may also note that the singular form **nušaqtā** presented in MD 294a is a ghost word. Correct reading in DC 46. 18:8 is **unašaqtak** to be translated ‘and I kissed you’. The text is a copy of the magic spell *Šrita d-Šipulia*, paralleling **unšaqtak** ‘and I kissed you’ in the superior copy of DC 12:169.

סוּמָא ‘to put on shoes or sandals’ (DJBA 793b). Add: Mandaic *s-w-m*, in **sum msania sdiqia** ‘put on torn shoes’ (Gy. 25:15), and in a bowl-text: **msania d-parzla bligrai similia** ‘shoes of iron are put on my feet’ (Moussaieff 139:24).⁶⁶

סוּמְקָא, f. סוּמְקָתָא, סוּמְקָתִי ‘adj. red, dark, n. red object, redness’ (DJBA 794a). MD 322a s.v. **s(u)maq(a)**, **sumqa** conflates two lexemes: **sumaqa/sumaqtia** (adj.) ‘red’ and **sumqa** (n.) ‘ruddiness, red material’. MD’s citation **apra sumqa** ‘red dust’ (CP 373:5) is inaccurate, as the source reads **apra usumqa**. Accordingly, **sumqa** in this citation is to be interpreted as a noun and the passage thus corresponds to the previous citation in MD, **aqapra usumqa** ‘dust and ruddiness’ (Gy 34:3).

סוּחָר ‘to beg’ (DJBA 798b). As Mutzafi 2014:48–9 has shown, CM *s-h-r* has the meaning ‘to go around’, but NM (from the *Glossarium* onwards) preserves the ancient meaning of ‘to beg for charity’, which to date has not been attested in earlier Mandaic sources.

סִיעֻתָּא ‘group, band’ (DJBA 807b). The comparison to MD 324a s.v. **siata** ‘pl. troops, bands, companies, hordes’ is problematic. The text that MD cites has reached us in several copies. DC 20 and DC 43E both read **ušaria akuat hauia bisiata**, which provided the basis for MD’s translation ‘as if they were in hordes’; the **bi-** prefix is taken as a prepositional suffix. However, a parallel copy of the same work preserved in DC 49 reads **hiuia bisiata** and in MD 62a s.v. **bisiata** ‘despised, vile, ugly’ is derived from the verbal root *b-s-y* and translated as ‘ugly snakes’. This interpretation was adopted in Burtea 2005:78, while Müller-Kessler 2010:464 translated ‘and dwell like despised snakes’.⁶⁷ The interpretation of **bisiata** as derived from *b-s-y* is unlikely since the noun **hiuia** ‘snake’ is generally construed as masculine (cf. MD 142a) and has a plural form of **hiuauata**, while **bisiata** would necessarily be a feminine plural form. This returns us to the interpretation of **bisiata** as a combination of a prepositional prefix **bi-** and a noun **siata**, though it is questionable if **siata** means ‘band’, as we do not find this noun used for groups of animals in any Aramaic dialect.

סִיפְתָּא ‘a disease’ (DJBA 808b). This word also appears in *Šafta d-Pišra d-Sumqa* (DC 23a:755) as an unidentified disease name (not in MD).

סַמְכָא, f. סַמְכָתָא ‘base’ (DJBA 820b). The closest Mandaic parallel is **simaka** (MD 327a) with variant **smaka**.

סַרְסַר ‘to castrate, transpose’ (DJBA 832b). The evidence for the Mandaic cognate of this root presented in MD 338 s.v. **SRS II** ‘to be castrated, emasculated’ is extremely weak. For DC 44’s **rat u’starsa**, a reading shared with DC 13 and translated in MD as ‘trembled and were emasculated’, DC 15 reads **rat u’star^h^az** while de Morgan’s copy reads **rat ubstarhaz**, a minor graphic corruption of DC 15’s corrected reading. It seems most likely that DC 15’s reading is correct and

65. Published in Morgenstern 2019:110.

66. To be published in Morgenstern, Forthcoming.

67. See further her comment in *idem*, 469.

that **u‘starhaz** is a phonetic variant or minor corruption of common Mandaic **u‘starhaz** ‘to be alarmed’. Note the parallel **rat u‘starhaz** in a Mandaic magic bowl published by Abu Samra (following the reading of Abudraham 2017a:280).⁶⁸

עוי ‘to cry, roar’ (DJBA 847a). The existence of Mandaic **AWA II** ‘to howl, cry’ (MD 9b) appears to be unfounded. The citation ‘**iai tuia lak** DC 43 I:102, translated in MD ““Woe” thou wilt bewail thyself’ is probably a scribal error for ‘**iaitia alak** ‘I shall bring upon you’. Compare ‘**iaitilak** ‘I shall bring you’ (CP 191:15, 16). RRC 1F reads ‘**iaituia lak**, while the parallel in DC 18:342–3 is similarly obscure: **riia mbuia** (interlinear correction: **tbihiia) alak**. Note that the same example is discussed under ‘**UA** (MD 342b) ‘to wail, howl’, where it is marked as doubtful. The noun supposedly derived from Mandaic **AWA II**, **mauiana** ‘howler?’ (MD 240b), is probably a scribal corruption in CS 16 (and RRC 3R) for **mihiana** ‘blow, wound’ (DC 36).

עילעא ‘rib’ (DJBA 855b). Add: Mandaic ‘**ila** ‘rib’ (MS 2087/1b:54) from an epigraphic source (not in MD).⁶⁹ This word probably also stands behind the previously unexplained phrase ‘**la npalh bdupnh** (Gy 84:8), which may be translated ‘a rib fell in his chest’.⁷⁰

#2 עכר ‘to make turbid, disturbed’ (DJBA 862a). MD’s **AKR II**, ‘**KR II** (MD 18a) ‘to make turbid or to hold back’ is a ghost entry based upon a misreading of the text. For MD’s **d-nikiriia**, the two independent textual witnesses, DC 8 and Vat. Borg.sir.175, both read **d-nikiriua**, which is correctly parsed in the entry **KRA II** (MD 222b) ‘to dig out, excavate’ (with the reading **d-nikiriuih**).

עניוהא ‘poverty’ (DJBA 872b). MD 26b s.v. **aniuta** 1 ‘lowliness, poverty’ draws its material from Nöldeke’s grammar but does not reference examples. We may adduce the following: **lania kd aniuth** ‘(to) the poor one according to his poverty’ (Gy 187:3).

עניינא ‘matter, topic, business’ (DJBA 872b). Mandaic ‘**niana** (MD 353b) means ‘answer’ or ‘responsive hymn’, and hence is derived from #1 עניינא (DJBA 871b) rather than #4 עניינא (DJBA 872a).

עסק ‘to engage in, deal with’ (DJBA 873b). All the citations adduced for Mandaic **ASQ**, ‘**SQ** (MD 29b) ‘to take pains with’ are to be derived from the Af. of **SLQ I** (MD 332a) ‘af. to raise up, lift up, remove, dislodge; call by name’.

1. **kd biniana bukra d-rabuta nsib umsuta minh lahuat bhanath aina uata unpal uiahtā** (var. DC 6: **d-ahṭa)** ‘**tasqlh** (var. DC 6: ‘**tasaqlh**) **uamar d-hṭit uasklit** (var. DC 6: **uaskilit) d-haṭaiia minh hun uiahtā unipšia lnapšaihun asiq unapšaihun gzariun** ATŠ I 258 ‘like the first edifice, who became arrogant and from whom there was no consolidation in that wellspring; and he went and fell and was called an abortion, and he said “I have sinned and acted foolishly!”; for sins came from him, and they called themselves abortions and miscarriages and they cut themselves off (or: circumcised themselves)’.

2. **kbaštinkun uasiqtinkun** *Šap. Qaš* DC 43 J:12 may be interpreted ‘I have subdued you and raised you up’, but DC 39:25 and Oxf. Syr. g(2)r:28 read **kbaštinkun uasartinkun** ‘I have subdued you and bound you’. Since **asr // kbš** is a word-pair – compare ‘**siria ukbišia** *Šap. Qaš* DC 43 J:200 = DC 39:481 = Oxf. Syr. g(2)r:450 – DC 43’s reading **uasiqtinkun** is likely to be a copying error.

3. Drower misread the citation from *Dab*; DC 8 had been corrected at the end of the citation from **rihmia** (sic) to **ria** (sic). However, RD reads at this point: **damin larqa d-trin šutapania d-**

68. Abu Samra 2013 line 17. See further the notes on בער above.

69. Published in Morgenstern and Schlüter 2016:125.

70. Compare the doubts expressed in Lidzbarski 1920:85 n. 1.

bkuṣṭa biniuia uasquia ušalmuia usquia (var. DC 8: **uasquia**) **lbit riš** ‘they are similar to a land of two partners who built it up in truth and raised it up and perfected it and raised it up to a house of perfection’. There is no reason to assume that the two verbs **uasquia** are derived from different roots.

4. The citation ascribed to DC 43 is from DC 13: **hin šaria gabaria umalakia d-hšuka unišmata masqin lginzaihun** ‘if the strong men and angels are released, they will send souls off to their treasures’ ≠ **d-hin šaria gabaria umalakia d-hšuka unišmata masqan manzaihun** ‘that if the strong men and angels of darkness are released, the souls will remove their hair’ (DC 44:355–7). Neither reading is particularly satisfactory in its context.

5. Inf. **asuqia: qum** ‘**zal lalma d-anat aītīlak lmiqria minh abnia uasuqia lka** ‘rise,⁷¹ go down to the world that you have brought (forth) for yourself to create from it sons and to raise (them) up to here’ (*Bit Mišqal Aini* 227–8). All parallel copies of this text share similar readings.

6. **mn qudam nhura** ‘**tasaqlh** ATŠ I 253 ‘before the Light resisted it’ is a broken citation; the text reads **aminṭul d-mn qudam nhura hzun** ‘**tasaqlh** ‘**nza ugadia**, which Drower 1960:178 translated: ‘because before the (rule of) Light, lo, it (Darkness?) was named the she-goat and he-goat’. Drower’s original interpretation is superior to that proposed in MD, but ‘**tasaqlh** should be translated ‘it was called (by name)’.

7. **masiq anašia dagalia hauia** AM 31:19–20. The meaning of this expression is opaque, but **masiq** may be derived from *s-l-q*; compare **mkabiš dagalia** (AM 22:16).

ערא ‘bay tree’ (DJBA 878b). Add Mandaic **ara, arqa** ‘bay tree’ (not in MD). See above, notes on ביתתא.

פוגלא ‘round radish’ (DJBA 888b). Add Mandaic ***pugla**, pl. **puglia**. The word is attested in Late Mandaic and Neo-Mandaic (*pogla*), but was misread in MD 367b as **pulgia** and glossed ‘mugwort, wormwood’.⁷²

פדיא ‘a bird’ (DJBA 895b). As Tal 2002 has shown, this word also has the variant פדייא and is to be interpreted as a participle meaning ‘hatching’ from the root p-ṣ-ṣ. The same root appears to be attested in Gs. 13:24: **kd šipra d-laqna qina ulapa ulahualh bnia** ‘like a bird that has not built a nest and not hatched and not had offspring’.⁷³

פיקדא ‘a type of demon’ (DJBA 903a). The Mandaic parallel to this noun is ***piqda** or ***paqda**, attested in the plural forms **piqdia** (MD 371b) and **paqdia** (MD 362b). The plural **piqdia** is already found in the epigraphic corpus (ROM 949.94 [McCullough E]:9). As already noted in MD, the evidence for Mandaic **piqdia** in the ascribed meaning of ‘restraints, spells to impede or keep back’ is paltry, since its single attestation in *Diwan Abatur* is not supported by the earlier, more accurate Rome manuscript of the work, which reads **pugdamia**.

פלגא ‘half, waist’ (DJBA 910a). The citation from *Asfar Malwaši* adduced in MD 361a l. 3 is both partial and misleading. The text reads: **mn palga lilai** ‘**limia ugaṭinia šaqa uptiin** (var. **uptia** CS 26) **kraia**, meaning ‘from the middle upwards her legs are strong and thin, and her feet are wide’ (AM 21:22–22:2).

71. Ingressive.

72. Mutzafi and Morgenstern 2012:170, Mutzafi 2014:84.

73. I owe this reference to James Nathan Ford.

1# פלי ‘to split open’ (DJBA 912b). There is no clear evidence for MD’s **PLA II** ‘to separate, divide, remove’ (MD 373a). MD’s first citation is to be ascribed to the root *n-p-l*. The second citation **plibh taqata d-br anašia** (for which the correct reference is DC 45. 85:27) appears in an uncertain context, and its reading is not supported by the parallel in DC 46. 175:2, which reads **gaiib liba taqata d-br anašia** ‘bends the heart ... of men’. The meaning of **taqata** is unclear.

פתח ‘to break, tear’ (DJBA 949b). The citation from Mandaic adduced in MD is uncertain, since **ptutia gilda** may perhaps mean ‘pieces of leather’.⁷⁴ The following citation from the same work better exemplifies the use of this verb in Mandaic: **Imikal mn bisraiun lsiba umištia mn zmaiun Iriuia upatutia pagraiun kd tulia d-nura maṭialun** ‘to eat from their flesh to satisfaction and to drink from their blood to satiation, and to tear apart their bodies like worms that fire has reached’ (*Šafta d-Pišra d-Sumqa* DC 23a:602–605).

1# צבת ‘to prepare, offer’ (DJBA 951a). The only citation adduced in MD 289b s.v. **ŠBT** has been misinterpreted. The text reads: **hak d-baiitun šabitulh** ‘the one whom you wish to baptize’ (DC 42b). MD 396b s.v. **ŠPT** is parallel to DJBA’s 1# צבת, צוות ‘to prepare, offer’ and #2 צבת, צוות ‘to group together, repair, attach’.

#2 צוץ ‘to squint’ (DJBA 954a). The verbal use of *ṣ-w-ṣ* is never attested in Mandaic, and it is possible that the JBA forms מצוץ, מצוץ are also adjectival forms.

#2 צוציחא ‘crying, whining’ (DJBA 995b). Contra MD 390b s.v. **ṣusia** ‘incantations’, there is no evidence for this word in Mandaic. The correct reading in both of the texts cited in MD (AM 25:12 and 64:3) is **unusia**, and **nusia** is also attested in AM 6:9 in the expression **unusia d-haršia nibdulh**. The word occurs in epigraphic Mandaic in the phrase **unusia d-qumlia** (Nachlass Rudolf Macuch lamella a16) and its parallels,⁷⁵ and is found in several Syriac magic bowls.⁷⁶ Finally, it is preserved in a Jewish magic formula from the Cairo Geniza: ליליא וגוקיא ואשקא וערויחא.⁷⁷ From its contexts it appears to mean ‘illness’ or ‘infliction’, but the etymology remains unclear.⁷⁸

צוצלא ‘small dove’ (DJBA 956a). Contra MD 394b s.v. **ṣiṣlia 2**, this word does not mean ‘small doves’. In fact, MD’s **ṣiṣlia 1** ‘any kind of continuous noise: buzzing, cracking, humming’ and MD’s **ṣiṣlia 2** represent the same lexeme. MD’s misinterpretation arose due to Drower’s failure to identify **ṣaida** as meaning ‘temple (of the head)’.⁷⁹ The passages cited in MD’s are to be interpreted: ‘**hab gunahia Iriša uṣiṣlia 1 ṣaida** ‘they gave rumbling to the head and ringing to the temple(s)’ *Pišra d-Pugdama d-Mia* (DC 51:331–332) and **utiṣiqlun ṣiṣlia mn ṣaida** ‘and remove ringing from the temple(s)’ (DC 51:48).

צילחחא ‘hemicrania, migraine’ (DJBA 960a). Compare also Mandaic **ṣilita** (MD 393b).

קיה ‘to become sour, tart’ (DJBA 990a). As MD implies but does not explicitly state, the examples in its entry **QWA** ‘to be(come) strong’ (MD 405b) are Arabic loans. For MD’s **d-aqauia ziuā d-ainia**, the manuscript reads **uiaqauia zi^h^ua d-ainia**. **uiaqauia** is a conjugated Arabic form.⁸⁰ All other examples are found in the *Glossarium* and are certainly Arabic loan forms.

74. Mutzafi 2014:36 n. 10.

75. Müller-Kessler 1998:342.

76. Moriggi 2014 texts 16:6, 22:12.

77. Schäfer and Shaked 1997 text 54:1a:8.

78. See the proposals in the aforementioned publications.

79. The correct interpretation of the Mandaic lexeme for ‘temple’ was first proposed in Müller-Kessler 1999:346 and n. 28, which she apparently proposed as an emendation though it is the material reading of the manuscript. Müller-Kessler also overlooked Drower’s misunderstanding of **ṣaida** later in the same text, MD’s correction of Drower’s initial reading of **niṣlia** for **ṣiṣlia**, and the correct interpretation of **ṣiṣlia** in its context.

80. On this passage, see Morgenstern 2015:387. On the use of conjugated Arabic forms in late Mandaic contexts, see Morgenstern 2019:104 n. 16.

קטרא 'cloud' (DJBA 1009a). JBA's meaning 'cloud' would also suit Mandaic in the expression **giṭra rba d-mia**, i.e. 'a great rain cloud' (AM 192:15)⁸¹

קינסא 'piece of wood, twig' (DJBA 1014a) and קיסא 'wood, twig' (DJBA 1014b). Ostensibly, Mandaic **qisa** 'wood (?)' (MD 411a) and **qinsa** (*ibid.*) are cognates of the JBA form. However, the only evidence for Mandaic **qisa** is probably a scribal error. Drower's copy of the *Diwan Abatur* (DC 8) reads **balaur hu d-qisa lh**, which MD struggled to interpret as 'it is of crystal, upon which there is wood(?)', but the earlier Vatican copy reads: **d-qisamik lh** 'upon which it rests'. By contrast, **qinsa** is attested in the collocation **sikina ukinsa** (*Šafta d-Pishra d-Sumqa* DC 23a:617) with the meaning of two types of demonic threat, but it is unclear if **kinsa** is related to the JBA lexeme (perhaps is 'piece of wood used as a weapon').

קיקלתא, קילקלתא 'garbage dump' (DJBA 1015b). Add: Mandaic **qiqilta** (MD 412a). Contra MD, Mandaic **qiqilta** does not have the meaning of 'dung' but rather 'rubbish heap'.⁸²

#2 קפץ 'to shrink, contract' (DJBA 1033a). See above, notes on כוץ.

קצץ 'to cut down, cut off, stipulate' (DJBA 1034a). Contra MD 414b s.v. **QSS**, this root is not attested in Mandaic. MD's single supposed attestation is based upon a misreading. The text reads: **hazin dmuta d-šitil d-qaiim biardna uqišabalh ladam gabra qadmaia** 'this is the image of Šitil who stands in the Jordan and baptizes the Adam, the primordial man' (Dab = RD 42). The **qi-** prefix is the present tense marker.⁸³

#1 קרס 'to become sour' (DJBA 1045a). There is no firm evidence for MD's QRS 'to dry up; pa. to afflict, destroy' (MD 416a). MD's first citation has been extracted from its context, which is a series of incomprehensible magic words: **btiksir qup d-iaqup darqaqs harqup harqus a^a^qas qis qidsamia qarar blišanun giaail iaubqa ṭuriaail abrurna giaail** (DC 44:759–764). The second citation, also from DC 44 (1900–1901) reads **ulmišdinun**⁸⁴ **u l miqarsinun**, but the parallel copies (de Morgan, DC 15) read **ulmišdinun ulmiqarqilinun ulmiqarqisinun** 'to cast them down and overthrow them and encircle them' (cf. MD 416, s.v. QRQL and QRQS). It would thus appear that DC 44's reading results from haplography and that the existence of the verbal root *q-r-s* in Mandaic is unlikely.

קשא 'elder' (DJBA 1048a). It is worth noting that the lemma **qaša** (MD 403b) is the result of an emendation. As the entry notes, the text reads **qašia** though the form is in the singular.

שבת 'to rest on the Sabbath, be annulled' (DJBA 1107b). Add Mandaic *š-b-t* 'to be annulled' (not in MD), found in the epigraphic corpus: **anatun šbtun umbṭlin** 'you have been annulled and are negated' (ROM 931.4.2 [McCullough D]:9).

שוגריא 'basket woven out of palm leaves' (DJBA 1115b). A plural form of this word is attested four times in *Šafta d-Pishra d-Sumqa* but was overlooked by the authors of MD. In all cases, it appears in parallelism with **salia** 'bags, baskets', e.g. **šudai uqurbanai zahba bsalia ukaspa bšagruata** 'my bribe and my gift is gold in bags and silver in palm-leaf baskets' (DC 23:462–3); in one instance it appears in the phonetic variant **bšaglauata** (DC 23:692–3).

שקה 'perh. to dredge' (DJBA 1128a). The comparison to Mandaic **ŠHP I** 'to flow' (MD 451a) is misplaced, since as MD noted, **šahpia** in the expression **iardnia bziuak šahpia** is certainly a late

81. The precise reference is missing in MD.

82. See Morgenstern 2011:86–89.

83. See Nöldeke 1875:379. As Nöldeke keenly noted, it is characteristic of post-Classical Mandaic texts. See further Morgenstern 2018a:191.

84. Sic! Contra MD's reading **ulmišdinun**.

miscopying⁸⁵ for **šahbia** (<*šābāhī, root š-b-h), the reading found the better textual witnesses. Lidzbarski (1920: 267 l.10) correctly translated ‘Die Jordane prangen durch deinen Glanz’. There is no connection between this word and JBA 𐤊𐤁𐤀𐤁.

שילהי ‘end’ (DJBA 1135b). Add: Mandaic **šihla** ‘bottom, lowest part, end’ (MD 461a).⁸⁶

שלדא ‘corpse’ (DJBA 1146b). Contra MD 442a s.v. **šalda**, this form does not mean corpse. It is part of a demonic name that is split in that manuscript over two lines: **šaldašā il** (DC 44:1871–1872). DC 13 reads **šaldaš il**.

שלל ‘to sew together’ (DJBA 1150a). Add: Mandaic š-l-l ‘to sew’ (not in MD), found in *Zihrun Raza Kasia*: **ukd iahib^htu^h ušṭlia mištalalb^h šuba ṣṭlia d-mn rba qadmaia** ‘and when you give him the garments, seven garments are sewn within it⁸⁷ from Great Primordial One’ (DC 27:221).

שפודא ‘spit’ (DJBA 1169a). Add: Mandaic **šapuda**, not in MD but found in *Šafta d-Pishra d-Sumqa*: **sirit bkursia d-parzla ubšapudia d-nhaša** ‘you are bound on iron chairs and on bronze spits’ (DC 23a:295–296).

שפל ‘to go downstream’ (DJBA 1171b). Ford (Forthcoming) has noted that the same meaning is found in Mandaic in *Pugdama d-Mia*: **špilbkun šapala umdalibkun** ‘they went downstream in you (the living waters) and shall go upstream’ (DC 51:715–716). The root d-l-y is also used to mean ‘to go upstream’ in JBA.

שפלא ‘low level’ (DJBA 1172a). Contra MD 444a, s.v. **šapala 1** ‘lowland, lower region, valley’, this Mandaic lexeme does not have the additional meaning of ‘degradation’. The citation **šapala uzaqapa** DC 12: 261 is not supported by other textual witnesses of *Pašar Harši*; indeed, one such witness for the same passage is cited in the MD entry **šapala 3**, where the reading **šapala uzarapa** is interpreted ‘capers and palm-leaf’. These words appear in instructions for the preparation of an amulet, and the context requires that they be interpreted as ingredients in a magical recipe: **hazin baba dra kuza hadta d-lamšarai uatna bgauḥ šapala uzaqapa** (var.: **uzarapa**)⁸⁸ **umiša halia ušatria ušahpia d-asa ušahpia d-lania uhauia šrita lman d-sir** ‘(For) this spell take a new unused jug and place in it capers and palm-leaf (?)⁸⁹ and sweet oil and savory and myrtle leaves and tree leaves and there will be release for the one who is bound’ (*Pašar Harši* DC 12:260–263).

שיפתא ‘lip, shore, edge’ (DJBA 1188b). For the plural form שיפתא, compare now Mandaic **siptatun** ‘their lips’ (BM 91731 [Segal 090M]:7). To date, this form has not been found in Mandaic manuscript sources.

תילא ‘ruin-mound’ (DJBA 1205a). The singular of the Mandaic parallel, **tila**, is now attested (Moussaieff 154:5–6).⁹⁰

תאניתא ‘fig tree’ (DJBA 1205b). Compare Mandaic singular form **tinta** (MD 486b).

תלה ‘to fall apart’ (DJBA 1208a). The Mandaic verb **talh** may be related to this verb; see e.g. **talh ašiath unpal** ‘The walls broke up and fell’ (Gs 83:1; cf. Gs 84:14, 17). This root is not recorded in MD.

#1 תרי ‘to warn’ (DJBA 1233a). It is unlikely that **TRA I** ‘to warn, admonish, instruct, discipline’ (MD 490a) exists. The first citation is, as MD notes, better derived from **ATR I** ‘to

85. Contra MD, the source of this late reading is DC 3. 232:8, a very late copy of the prayer book, not DC 6, an early copy of the *Alf Trisar Šiualia*.

86. On the etymology of this word, see Ben-Haim 1940:77.

87. In the lightworld.

88. Variant in MS Or 6593 (MD’s “Lond.[on] roll B”) l. 529, Berlin MS orient Oct. 3634 l. 261. The latter text is related to the PA text cited in MD.

89. I am unable to identify the source of MD’s translation.

90. To be published in Morgenstern Forthcoming.

awaken' (MD 43b), while the citation from Dab, **kita 'I napšaihun tra**⁹¹ should be interpreted according to Gy 99:8 cited s.v. **TRA II: kita taria bdima** Gs 99:8 'she bedeweth the clods with her tears'.

Bibliography

Dictionary abbreviations

DJBA – M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, and Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

DJPA – M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* 2. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press and Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

MD – E.S. Drower, and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963.

SL – M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon. (A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum)*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns and Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2009.

Collection abbreviations

BM – British Museum

DC – Drower Collection, Oxford

M – Shlomo Moussaieff Collection, Herzliya

ROM – Royal Ontario Museum, published in McCullough 1967.

MS – Martin Schøyen Collection, Oslo and London

RRC – *Rbai* Rafid Collection

Pognon – Texts published in Pognon 1898

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91. This is the reading of DC 8. The earlier Vatican manuscript reads **kita Inapšaihun tba**, but in light of our comments here, it seems that DC 8 preserves the better text.

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