BRILL

Syriac Love Charms

Part II. The Prayer-Type

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Abstract

The first part of our inquiry on Syriac love charms was devoted to the recipe-type charms. This article edits four more Syriac love charms, which we attribute to the so-called prayer-type. The special features of this type of Syriac love charms are addressed and compared with that of the recipe-type texts, edited in Part I. The commentary to each text provides philological notes and parallels, both from within and outside of Syriac magical tradition.

This paper[1] represents the second part of our research on Syriac love charms. While the first part of the inquiry was devoted to the charms belonging to the recipe-type, in what follows we edit and analyse four texts belonging to the

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other group of Syriac love charms, the prayer-type. Three of these have been previously edited,[2] while the other two are published here for the first time. The prayer-type charms are much more widespread than the recipe-type. In contrast with the complete list of charms in the first part of our study, the list in the current article does not aim to be comprehensive but contains only a few representative examples. This article consists of two sections. In the first, we consider the features shared by the two groups, before addressing the special features of the prayer-type. In the second section we provide the four selected texts of the prayer-type charms accompanied by a commentary. The first text presented here is numbered '7', continuing the numeration of the first part of our study, containing texts 1-6. References to and in some cases descriptions of the manuscripts used, and reference to catalogue descriptions are presented in an Appendix.

1   On the prayer-type of Syriac love charms

In the paper devoted to the charms of the recipe-type we have outlined the special features that characterize this group of texts, among which the most prominent are *voces magicae*, ritual instructions, and almost complete absence of any links to Christianity. In this section, we describe the special features of the prayer-type texts and discuss both the differences and the similarities between the two types of Syriac love charms.

In addition to the texts edited below, in what follows we consider two more charms of the prayer-type from Codex A (Cod. A §30 and Cod. A §40) published by H. Gollancz.[3] These are not edited in the next part of our paper but feature in the discussion in the current section.

According to the available textual evidence, the charm edited as Cod A §40 is known in nine more variants (Be95, Be553, H 156, H 160, Bi583, NYPL 2, NYPL 3, Vi7, NH3). Most of the variants differ in minor details and mistakes. Only the

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2   For Text 9 see Isaac H. Hall, A Charm Worth Reading, *Hebraica*, 8 (1892); for Text 7 see Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection, Being a Collection of Syriac Charms, Now Edited for the First Time from Syriac mss.*, London, 1912, p. 19 (Cod A §30, Syriac text), p. xliii (Cod A §30, English translation); for Text 10 see Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "Abraham as Model in Christian Ritual: Evidence from Late Ancient and Medieval Greek and Syriac Magic," in: *Abraham as Ritual Model in Judaic, Christian, and Islamic Contexts*, ed. C. Bergmann and Th. Blanton, Leiden (*forthcoming*).

3   Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection,* p. 19 (Cod A §30, Syriac text), p. xliii (Cod A §30, English translation) and p. 25 (Cod A §40, Syriac text), pp. xlix–l (Cod A §40, English translation).

version in NH3 stands out as a specific redaction of this text, because it has its own series of objects of God's love: David – Moses – Joshua – Joseph – cattle and birds, as opposed to the sequence Solomon – Moses – Joseph in Cod A §40 and the other variants. A related text type is found in two manuscripts: Ma52, f. 22 and 44, and H 162, f. 42, under different titles ('For sweetness of everyone' in Ma52, and 'For love of everyone' in H 162, which is incomplete, the end is missing). In addition to the enumeration of various types of rulers, related to the purpose of this charm, it has a motif of fire ("cast the flame of benevolence towards the bearer of these writs into the heart of rulers"), which can also be found in the type represented by Cod A §40 with its variants, and the formula "follow him from house to house, from town to town, from village to village, from city to city, and from market to market" (cf. Part I, Text 4).[4]

Regarding the similarities between the recipe-type and the prayer-type, we begin with the obvious one, connected with their common aim: to instil love. This goal is supposed to be achieved by influencing the spell target[5] in a few spheres:[6] actions and behaviour,[7] physical condition,[8] thoughts and feelings.[9] Two of the specific parallels between the two types of charms can be identified as being of primary importance. The first employs the formula "may X neither eat, nor drink, until he/she sees Y". It is attested in Text 2 (of the recipe-type) and in Text 8 (of the prayer-type). The second one consists of the presence

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4 For this formula and its parallels see: Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection' and the Syriac 'Charms': New Texts and Perspectives for the Study of Magic and Religion," in: *Studies in the Syriac Magical Tradition*, eds. Marco Moriggi, Siam Bhayro, Leiden, 2021, pp. 77–140 (128).

5 Following Ortal-Paz Saar, we use the term "spell target" to denote a person whom the spell is intended to affect at the first place, and the term "spell beneficiary" when we refer to a person on whose behalf any magic act is being performed (either by himself or another person), see Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic: From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, Leiden, 2017, p. 32 (note 2).

6 This list is similar to what Saar calls "the preliminary goals of love magic" (Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*, pp. 60–62).

7 Cf. "A.B. may also go after M.D. and follow him from house to house…" in Text 4 (recipe-type) and "let people be subjugated to the bearer of these writs" in Text 8 (prayer-type).

8 Cf. "[so that] she will neither eat, nor drink, nor get up until she sees NN" in Text 2 and "may they neither sleep, nor slumber, neither eat, nor drink, until they see the bearer of these writs" in Text 8.

9 Cf. "deprive her of her mind and understanding" in Text 4, "may A.B. … burn with love of C.D." in Text 5, and "let the love of him, and the affection of him, and the desire of him, and the thought of him that bears these charms, fall upon his wife and upon his house" in Text 9.

of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS FIRE[10] in Text 10 and Cod. A §40 of the prayer-type and Texts 2 and 5 of the recipe-type.

However, although the six texts of the prayer-type discussed in this section all deal with love in a broad sense, they pursue a considerably wide range of goals. The aims of Texts 9 and 10 have the highest degree of similarity to that of the recipe-type texts (Text 3 in particular) intending to affect one or both of the members of a married couple. Text 7 and Cod. A §30 aim to establish peace in the family of the spell beneficiary and are designed to affect not only the spouses (or one of them), but all of the members of the household. Text 8 and Cod. A §40 are charms for favour and social appreciation and thus intend to reach a much broader social circle. Though at a first glance these charms may seem quite diverse regarding their goals and substance, they share many structural and formulaic features, some of which we address in this section, while others are outlined in the commentaries.

Compared with the recipe-type texts, the charms of the prayer-type have a more literary appearance. Unlike the recipe-type texts, they lack any *voces magicae* or ritual instructions. Their structure corresponds with that of a prayer and with most of the other Syriac charms: starting with an adjuration to the Trinity/Jesus Christ, they proceed with an imploration for assistance. Another element which distinguishes these charms from texts of the recipe-type, is that all six prayers included here base their requests on precedents from the Bible, appeal to the authority of Christian saints or both.

The other distinguishing trait of the recipe-type texts is their consistency in regard to the headings. In the table below, the headings of the recipe-type texts are compared with those of the prayer-type. To the last group we add two headings of the charms published by Gollancz (Cod. A §30[11] and Cod. A §40).

As the table shows, the headings of the recipe-type texts appear more stable, both regarding their syntactic structure and the root of the preferred term denoting 'love'. Considering the root, the terms for 'love' used in the headings of the first group are always derived from *rḥm*, while the second group shows a more diverse picture. Forms derived from *rḥm* are found in three headings, including Text 8 where the verbal form of *rḥm* is used instead of the noun. In

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10 See Ortal-Paz Saar, "Fire Symbolism in Late-Antique and Medieval Jewish Love Magic," *Groniek*, 220 (2019), pp. 315–316; Anna Cherkashina & Alexey Lyavdansky, "Syriac Love Charms. Part I. The Recipe-Type," *Scrinium*, 17/1 (2021), p. 79; Anna Cherkashina & Alexey Lyavdansky, "Syriac Love Charms. Part I. The Recipe- Type," *Scrinium*, 17/1 (2021), p. 79.

11 On which see introduction to Text 7.

TABLE 1   Comparison of the headings of the prayer-type and recipe-type charms

Recipe-type		Prayer-type	
Text 1	Another [charm]: for love (*rāḥmūṯā*)	Text 7	For love (*ḥubbā*)
Text 2	Another [charm]: for love (*rāḥmūṯā*)	Text 8	Chapter on a person so that people may love (*rāḥmīn*) him
Text 3	Another [charm] for love (*rāḥmūṯā*): for a woman so that her husband would love her	Text 9	For the love (*rāḥmūṯā*) of a man and his wife
Text 4	Charm to excite love in a woman towards a man	Text 10	Another [charm]: for a man who hates his wife or for a woman whose husband hates her
Text 5	Charm to excite love in a man towards a woman	Cod. A §30 (= Text 7)	For reconciliation (*mšaynūṯā*) in the household
Text 6	For love (*rāḥmūṯā*) of everyone	Cod. A §40	For favour (*rāḥmūṯā*) in the sight of everyone

Text 7 'love' is denoted by Syr. *ḥubbā*. In the headings of Text 9 and Cod. A §30 there are no love-related terms: the first case contains the verb *snʾ* 'to hate' and Cod. A §30 employs a term for reconciliation (*mšaynūṯā*).

As mentioned, the headings of the recipe-type texts also show similarity in their syntactic structure. If we exclude Texts 4 and 5 from the consideration of this feature due to the lack of the original Syriac text, the headings of the four remaining charms are based on Syr. *d-rāḥmūṯā* 'for love'. In Text 3 this phrase is extended by *d-ʾattā d-rāḥem lāh baʿlāh* 'for a woman so that her husband would love her', in Text 6 – by *d-kulnāš* 'of everyone'. To sum up, among the headings of the prayer-type, only that of Text 9 fits the pattern of the recipe-type, while the other three show no indicators of a specific pattern.

2 Texts and Commentaries

2.1 *Text 7. For love (Ev1 ff. 46v–47v)*[12]

Syriac	Translation
ܕܣܘܬ̄ܐ[13] ܡܥܒܝܢ̈ܐ	**For love.** Oh, Christ!
ܥܠܟܢ̈ܐ ܕܒܝܠܬ.	Peace from the heavenly beings
ܘܫܝܢܐ[14] ܕܡ̈ܝܬܡܝ	and peace from the mortals.
ܢܘܥܕ̈ܐ[15] ܫܝܘ[16]	Set Your harmony
ܒܒܝܬܗ ܕܗܠܟܒ	in the house of he who bears
ܒܩܕ̄ ܗܠܝܢ.[17] ܘܝܗܘܐ	these writs. Let it be
ܒܝܢܗܘܢ̈ ܫܝܢܐ	harmony and peace
ܘܥܠܟܢܐ. ܘܣܘܬܐ	among them, and love,
ܘܐ̄ܘܝܘܬܐ[18] ܘܝܫܬܡܥܘܢ	and unity. Let them obey
ܠܬܚܕܕܝ ܐܝܟ	each other as
ܥܠܝܒܬܐ ܠܡܪܢ.[19]	the Apostles [obeyed] our Lord,
ܘܐܝܟ ܥܒܕ̄ܐ	as a slave [obeys]
ܠܡܪܗ.[20] ܘܐܪܥܐ	his master, and the earth [obeys]
ܠܐܟܪܐ. ܘܐܡܬܐ	a ploughman, and a maid

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12 Also Ye10 ff. 39v–40v, cf. Be95 f. 44r–v, Be553 f. 23v, H 160 f. 25v, Cod. A §30, ChAL95 f. 10v, KrA1 ff. 50v–51r, NYPL 2 f. 13r.

13 In all other mss. the charm is headed as *da-mšaynūṯā d-ḇaytā* 'For reconciliation in the household' and begins with an adjuration to the Trinity.

14 Be95, Be553, Cod. A, Ye10, H 160, ChAL95, KrA1 add ܪܒܐ 'great'.

15 Be95, Be553, Cod. A, Ye10, H 160, ChAL95, KrA1 add ܡܪܝܐ '(oh,) Lord'.

16 Be95, Be553, Cod. A, Ye10, H 160, ChAL95, KrA1 add ܘܫܠܡܟ 'and Your peace'.

17 Be95 and Be553 read: ܒܗ ܒܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܦܠܚܟ ܒܟ. ܗ. ܩܕ̄ ܗܠܝܢ 'in this house of Your worshipper, the bearer of these writs'. Cod. A, H 160, NYPL 2, ChAL95 read the same, but have ܦܠܚܝܟ 'Your worshippers' instead of ܦܠܚܟ 'Your worshipper'. KrA1 reads: ܒܗ ܒܗܢܐ ܒܝ. ܟ. ܗ. ܩܕ̄ 'amidst this family [of] the bearer of these writs'.

18 Be95, Be553, Cod. A, H 160, NYPL 2, ChAL95 read: ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܘܣܘܬܐ ܘܐܘܝܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܣܓܕܝ̈ 'and let them be in love and unity with each other'. Ye10 reads: ܘܝܗܘܐ ܫܝܢܐ ܘܣܘܬܐ ܒܝܢ ܠܗܢܐ' ܘܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܗ ܘܫܒܒܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܫܒܒܘܬܗ 'and let it be peace and love between him and the members of his family and the neighbours (lit. 'the children of the neighbours')'.

19 The phrase is absent from Be95, Be553, Cod A, H 160, NYPL 2, ChAL95, KrA1, but is present in Ye10 (ܐܝܟ ܕܫܡܥܝܢ ܥܠܝܒܬܐ ܠܡܪܢ 'as the Apostles listened to our Lord'). Instead Be95, Be553, Cod A, H 160, NYPL 2, ChAL95, KrA1 read: ܐܝܟ ܣܘܪܐ ܕܒܐܪܥܐ ܠܐܟܪܐ 'as the line in the soil [obeys] [its] ploughman'. KrA1 reads ܣܘܪܐ 'lines'. Cod. A and H 160 read ܠܐܟܪܐ 'ploughmen'. Hence, in Be95 (and the other mss., excluding Ye10) the analogies that mention a slave and a maid are not interrupted by the earth-and-ploughman analogy as they are in Ev1 and Ye10.

20 Ye10 reads: ܘܐܝܟ ܐܡܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܪܬܗ 'and as a maid [obeys] her lady' (the order of the analogies mentioning a slave and a maid is reversed).

ܠܡܪܬܗ²¹ ܬܫܬܡܥ	[obeys] her lady, by the prayers of
ܕܒܨܠܘܬ ܕܡܪܝܡ	[the Virgin] Mary and
ܘܝܘܚܢܢ²² ܐܡܝܢ ✥	John [the Baptist], Amen.

2.1.1 Commentary

The opening and the closing formulae give this text the shape of a Christian prayer. As stated in the first lines, this charm aims to establish peace and harmony in the whole family and thus is designed to affect not only the two spouses but the whole household. However, the analogies which follow "let them obey each other", a clear rhetoric of subjugation can be identified. In one case a widespread metaphor is presumably involved, which likens the spell target (the family) to a field and the spell beneficiary to a ploughman. This metaphor has both internal (Text 8) and external parallels in erotic lyrics and incantations.[23]

This charm is well attested in Syriac codices. All the texts can be attributed to two major textual variants. One is found in Ev1 and Ye10, among which we

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21   Ye10 reads: ܘܐܝܟ ܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܪܗ 'and as a slave [obeys] his master' and adds ܗܟܢ ܢܬܬܟܝܠ 'same way let his wife and himself, the bearer of these writs, be obedient to his father, his mother, and his neighbours. By the prayer of the beings in the flesh and of the spiritual beings.' Be95, Be553, Cod A, H 160, NYPL 2, ChAL95 add only ܘܗܟܢ ܢܬܬܟܝܠܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܦ. ܒܪ. ܦ. 'same way let the members of the household of so-and-so, son of so-and-so, be obedient'. Only KrA1 lacks any of these formulae, same as Ev1.

22   Be95, Be553, Cod A, H 160, NYPL 2, ChAL95 add: ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܘܕܝܘܬܕܢܐ ܕܬܚܬܝܐ 'by the prayer of the heavenly beings and by the instruction of the mortals'. NYPL 2 reads ܬܚܢܢܬܐ 'by the imploration' and ChAL95 reads ܬܚܢܢܬܗ 'by her¦ implorations' instead of ܝܘܬܕܢܐ 'by the instruction'. Next Be95, Be553, Cod A, H 160, NYPL 2 read: ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܣܗ̈ܕܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܢ 'by the prayer of all the martyrs and the saints of our Lord'. ChAL95 reads closer to Ev1: ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܡܒܪܟܬܐ 'by the prayer of Blessed [Virgin] Mary'. KrA1 offers a combination of Ye10, Ev1 and the reading of Be95 (and other mss.) with a unique addition: ܒܨܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܡܒܪܟܬܐ ܝܠܕܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ. ܘܒܨܠܘܬ ܕܥܠܝ̈ܐ ܘܒܬܚܢܢܬ ܕܬܚܬܝ̈ܐ. ܒܨܠܘܬ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܣܗ̈ܕܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܢ. ܗܢܘ ܡ̈ܠܐܟܐ ܘܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܢܐܡܪܘܢ ܗܟܢ ܐܡܝܢ 'by the prayers of Blessed [Virgin] Mary and of John the Baptist, and by the prayers of the heavenly beings and by the imploration of the mortals, by the prayer of all the martyrs and the saints of our Lord. Let the material and immaterial beings (ܗܢ̈ܘܢܐ stands for ܗܢܘܢܐ), that is the angels and the human beings say: "So be it, amen".'

23   For the latest, cf. a passage from Akkadian love lyrics: "She is promiscuous, she is open: two are the men that "plough" them (fem.)" (Andrew R. George, *Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, Bethesda, Md: CDL Press, 2009, p. 73 (No. 12:20–21)). On the other examples of the field-metaphor in Akkadian love poetry see Nathan Wasserman, *Akkadian Love Literature of the Third and Second Millennium BCE*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016, p. 40, for a broader Ancient Near Eastern context see Marten Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible: Its Mediterranean Setting*, Groningen, 2000, pp. 1–2.

have chosen Ev1 as our main manuscript. The other textual variant is known from Cod. A §30, published by H. Gollancz,[24] as well as Be95 and Be553, H 160, NYPL 2, ChAL95 and KrA1. There is more variety in the texts belonging to the first variant than in those of the second textual variant. Ye10, though very similar to Ev1 in its first part, shows a lot of discrepancies, e.g., it lists the members of the household and also mentions the neighbours. Ye10 also contains a few more lines of text after the concluding formulae and 'amen'. These lines have no parallels in other mss. of this charm and seem to represent another charm, which in this one manuscript came to be attached to the first one. This part of text has thus not been taken into consideration for the following text-critical comparison.

Comparing with all other mss., our text lacks the Trinitarian formula and differs in the heading, since in all other mss., including Ye10, the charm is headed *da-mšaynūṯā d-ḇaytā* 'For reconciliation in the household'.

Comparing the two variants with each other one sees that our variant adds one more analogy ("as the Apostles [listened] to our Lord") and at the end addresses not the "saints and martyrs", but the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist.[25]

2.2   *Text 8. For a person so that people may love him* (*H 163 f. 48v–49r*)

ܦܘܼܚܡܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܢܸܪܚܡܘܢ ܠܹܗ	**Chapter for a person so that people may**
ܒܫ̣ܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ	**love him.** In the name of the Father, the Son
ܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. ܐܝܟ ܬܘܠܥܐ	and the Holy Spirit! As a woodworm[26]
ܒܩܝܣܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܣܘܣܝܐ	in the wood, as a horse
ܒܦܓܘܕܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܡܝܬܐ ܒܩܒܪܗ	in the bridle, as a dead person in his grave, as a fish in the depth
ܒܩܒܪܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܢܘܢܐ ܒܥܘܡܩܐ	
ܕܝܡܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܥܒܕܐ	of the sea, as the earth is subjugated

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24   Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection*, p. 19 (Syriac text), p. xliii (English translation).

25   For the discrepancies see the footnotes to the Syriac text below. Minor discrepancies that do not influence the meaning or the structure of the text are not considered.

26   See Robert Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Vol. 1, Oxonii, 1879, col. 509, *bṭyltʾ* 'insecti species quae lignum rodit, teredo', a *hapax legomenon* in the corpus. Payne-Smith compares it with a widely used term for a woodworm, *belṭīṯā*. According to Jessie Payne Margoliouth, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*, Oxford, 1927, p. 53, one should read *belṭīṯā* instead of *bṭīltā* in this passage. In our case it is not clear whether it is a scribal mistake or a variant of this term with metathesis.

ܢܕܡܐ ܠܐܚܕܙ.ܘܚܢ ܗܕܡܐ
ܢܠܗܐ ܣܠܟܗܐ ܢܥܡܟܚܕܘܗ
ܚܢܬܥܕ ܘܟܗܘܢܕ ܘܘܘܬܝܢ
ܘܟܢܚܙܝ ܡܝܢܢ ܘܗܠܟܢܐ ܠܚܘܡ
ܗܠܟܝ ܣܘܘܢܐ ܦܠܟܝ. ܙܝ
ܘܗܕܡܣܚ ܙܒܢ ܒܠܟ ܚܒܢܐ

ܗܕܢܝܚ ܗܕܡܐ ܒܠܟ ܕܣܠܩܗܘ

ܘܠܢ ܢܘܡܚܘܗ. ܘܠܢ ܢܘܘܗܘܗ
ܘܠܢ ܢܢܚܠܘܗ. ܘܠܢ ܢܥܗܘܗ.
ܠܘܢܗܕ ܘܢܢܦܡ ܠܗܠܟܝ ܢܩܕܢ
ܦܠܟܝ. ܬܝܠܩܗܘܗ ܘܗܕܘܗܒ
ܗܕܢܚ ܠܗܘܒܒܢ ܘܗܕܒ
ܝܘܢܢܒ ܗܠܚܕܙܢ. ܘܕܢܬܢ
ܘܘܥܠܟܥܢ ܝܢ ܘܢܗܒܝ:

to its ploughman, so, God,
mighty Lord, let people
be subjugated to the bearer
of these writs:
small and big,[27] male and female,
and children. As merciful as a father
towards his sons
is the Lord merciful towards His
worshippers.
May they neither sleep, nor slumber
neither eat, nor drink
until they see the bearer of these
writs. By the prayers
of the Blessed Lady Mary, of
John the Baptist, of the prophets
and the Apostles. So be it, Amen.

2.2.1 Commentary

Though the aim of this charm lies more in the field of social appreciation
than of love in a strict sense, its connection with other love charms becomes
unquestionable when one considers it on the formulae-level. Thus, it shares
the subjugation rhetoric in general and the earth-and-ploughman formula in
particular with Text 7. As noted in the first section, one formula ("may they
neither sleep… neither eat…") is shared with the Text 2 of the recipe-type.

Some of the analogies ("as a woodworm in the wood", "a dead person in
his grave", "as a fish in the depth of the sea") belong to the motifs of irrevers-
ibility and deep embeddedness. A very similar list of analogies, which men-
tions a dead person, a fish and a horse is found in two charms edited by
H. Gollancz: 'Before the Emir and the Judge' (Cod. C §10[28]) and 'Binding the
Navel' (Cod. C §13[29]).

Outside of the Syriac magical tradition, a similar formula is found in Coptic
magic, in a spell for inducing impotence. It reads:[30] "be like a corpse left in
a tomb".

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27   i. e., "low and great".

28   Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection*, pp. 82–83 (Syriac text), p. lxxviii (English
      translation).

29   *Ibid.*, p. 84 (Syriac text), p. lxxx (English translation).

30   Marvin W. Meyer & Richard Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*,
      Princeton—New Jersey, 1999, p. 181 (Text 87:9–10).

The merisms ("small and big", "male and female"), which are found after the list of analogies and intend to grasp the whole of humankind, are common in Syriac charms for obtaining favour, such as '[Of avail] before Kings, Rulers, Prefects, Satraps, and Chiefs'[31] and 'Another [Charm]: a Charm of St. Paul'.[32] Moreover, such merisms as "small and great" and "male and female" are also well attested in Coptic spells for social appreciation.[33]

2.3 Text 9. For the love of a man and his wife (H 163 f.62)

Syriac	English
ܕܚܘܒܗ[34] ܕܓܒܪܐ	**For the Love of a Man**
ܘܐܢܬܬܗ. ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ	**and his Wife.** In the Name of the Father
ܘܒܪܐ ܘܕܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ.	and the Son and the Holy Spirit.
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܪܚܡ ܐܕܡ ܠܚܘܐ.	As Adam loved Eve,
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܪܚܡ ܐܒܪܗܡ	as Abraham loved
ܠܣܪܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܪܚܡ	Sara, as Isaac
ܐܝܣܚܩ ܠܪܦܩܐ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ	loved Rebekah, and as
ܕܪܚܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܠܪܚܝܠ.	Jacob loved Rachel,
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܪܚܡ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܐܣܝܬ.[35]	as Joseph loved Asenath,
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܪܚܡ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܨܝܦܪܐ	as Moses loved Zippora,
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܪܚܡ ܕܘܝܕ ܠܒܬܫܒܥ	as David loved Bath-sheba,
ܗܟܢܐ. ܘܐܢܬ ܡܪܝܐ	so, Lord
ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ ܗܒ	God Almighty, let
ܚܘܒܗ ܕܚܣܝܐ ܘܪܚܡܬܗ	the love of him, and the affection for him, and the desire of him,

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31 Cod. B §12, see Hermann Gollancz, *The Book of Protection*, pp. 73–76 (Syriac text), pp. lxxii–lxxiii (English translation).

32 Kazan 4, f. 61v, see Анна Нуруллина (Черкашина), *Сирийские заклинания как продолжение арамейской заклинательной традиции поздней античности: исследование на материале рукописи ЦНБ КНЦ РАН 4*. Дипломная работа. [Anna Nurullina (Cherkashina), *Syriac Charms as Continuation of the Aramaic Magical Tradition: A Research Based on the Manuscript CNB KNC RAN 4*. [MA Thesis] (RSUH, 2012)], p. 95.

33 "Gather together for me all the people of this village, great (and) small, poor (and) rich, male and female" (Text 117:69–72 in Marvin W. Meyer & Richard Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, p. 235), see also Text 36:22–23, *ibid.*, p. 56. The phrase "the small and the great" is also found in a charm, that pursue an opposite goal, i.e., in a curse for ruining the spell target's business (Text 105:41, *ibid.*, p. 213).

34 Sic. Instead of ܚܘܒܗ.

35 Though Hall treats this word as a scribal mistake, it seems to be a normal rendering of this name in Peshitta.

ܘܣܘܥܪܢܗ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܣܘܳܪ̈ܐ   and the thought of him that bears
                                                                                                these

ܦܳܠܝܢ ܥܰܠ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܥܠ   charms, fall upon his wife
ܒܝܬܗ.ܘܐܝܟ ܕܚܡܐ   and upon his house. And as the sun
                                                                                                makes

ܥܒܕ ܬܚܘܡܐ. ܒܐܪܩܝܥܐ   his circuit in the firmament, so
ܗܟܢܐ ܠܒܗ ܘܣܘܥܪܢܗ   may the heart and the thought of
                                                                                                him

ܕܗܠܝܢ ܣܘܳܪ̈ܐ ܦܳܠܝܢ ܥܠ   that bears these charms make
ܒܝܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܬܬܗ.   the circuit upon his house and upon
                                                                                                his wife.

ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܒܚܘܒܐ ܘܒܐܘܝܘܬܐ   May they be in love and unity
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܝܗܘܢ.   all the days of their lives;
ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܘܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ ܐܡܝܢ: by the prayer of the prophets and
                                                                                                apostles. Amen.

2.3.1   Commentary

The text was first published by Hall in 1892.[36] Below we provide his translation without any changes, but the Syriac text was revised, and vocalization provided according to the manuscript.

According to its heading, the charm was designed for establishing or restoring mutual love between the two spouses, but from the body of the text one can deduce that it was intended to make one of the spouses, i.e., the husband, love his wife and his family. Such an amulet can be ordered by a wife, but it is clear from the text that it is to be worn by her husband. Compared with the other texts of this group the charm is exceptionally peaceful and the most prayer-like of all texts edited in this paper.

A formula that compares the love between the spouses with that of Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Rachel, Joseph and Asenath, Moses and Zippora, and David and Bath-sheba, is partly shared with Text 10, which also mentions Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Rachel, and David and Bath-sheba (see below). Outside the Syriac tradition, the formula is found in a love charm from the Cairo Geniza.[37]

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36   Isaac H. Hall, A Charm Worth Reading.

37   T.-S. AS 142.39, ll. 19–21: "wie die Liebe Abrahams zu Sara, wie die Liebe Isaaks zu Rebekka, wie die Liebe Jakobs zu Rahel, wie die Liebe Aarons zu Elischeba, wie die Liebe Elkanas zu Hanna, wie die Liebe Davids und Jonathans" (Peter Schäfer & Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, Vol. I, Tübingen, 1994, p. 196).

2.4 *Text 10. For a man who hates his wife or for a woman whose husband*
        hates her (H 156 f. 42)[38]

ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ	**Another [charm]**
ܕܓܒܪܐ ܕܣܢܐ ܗܘ ܠܐܢܬܬܗ	**for a man who hates**[39] **his wife or**
ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܗ ܗܘ ܕܣܢܝܗ	**for a woman**
	whose husband hates her. The One
ܗܘ ܕܐܘܩܕ[40] ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܚܘܒܗ ܕܣܪܐ	who inflamed
	Abraham with his love for Sarah,
ܘܐܘܩܕ ܠܐܝܣܚܩ ܒܚܘܒܗ	the One
ܕܪܦܩܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܘܩܕ ܠܝܥܩܘܒ	who inflamed Isaac with his love
	for Rebekah, the One who inflamed
	Jacob
ܒܚܘܒܗ[41] ܕܪܚܝܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܘܩܕ	with his love for Rachel, the One
	who inflamed
ܠܕܘܝܕ ܒܚܘܒܗ ܕܐܢܬܬ ܐܘܪܝܐ	David with his love for the wife of
	Uriah,
ܗܘ ܢܘܩܕ ܠܦܠܢ ܒܪ[42] ܒܚܘܒܗ	let that One inflame so-and-so son
	<of so-and-so> with love
ܕܦ.ܒ. ܠܦܠܢ ܒܪܬ ܒܚܘܒܐ ܕܫܘܗܒܬܗ	to so-and-so daughter of so-and-so.
	As a fire left
ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܫܠܗܒܝܬܐ[43] ܕܫܒܩ	*in a forest, as a flame which sets*

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38 See the publication of this text in: Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "Abraham as Model in
    Christian Ritual: Evidence from Late Ancient and Medieval Greek and Syriac Magic"
    (*forthcoming*).

39 Given the partial vocalization of the present text, there are two possible morphologi-
    cal interpretations of this form: 1) an active participle *sānē*; 2) a "passive" participle *snē*
    (though the term *qtīl* would be more appropriate, because it lacks unnecessary semantic
    load, see Gideon Goldenberg, "Aramaic perfects", in *Israel Oriental Studies*, Vol. 12, ed. Joel
    L. Kraemer, Leiden 1992, pp. 113–137) with non-passive meaning; 3) perfect 3ms wrongly
    vocalized. The second option should be dismissed on the following grounds: 1) Syriac dic-
    tionaries give only passive meanings for the form *snē*: "hateful, detestable etc."; 2) true
    verbal participles do not accept object pronominal suffixes. The first option is corrobo-
    rated by many other titles of Syriac charms which use participles to describe a situation or
    a problem to be resolved by a charm. Since the second verb form *sanyāh* in this sentence
    could only be parsed as perfect 3ms with the object pronoun 3fs, the parallelism in this
    sentence would support the third option, and a correct translation could read "for a man
    who hated his wife or for a woman whose husband hated her".

40 Ms.: ܘܐܩܕܗ.

41 Ms.: ܒܚܘܒ. The restored form ܒܚܘܒܗ is an abbreviation of ܒܚܘܒܗ.

42 This is a corrupted formula ܕܦܠܢ ܒܪ ܗܢܐ (or ܕܦܠܢܝܐ).

43 Ms.: ܫܠܗܒܬܐ. The extra yod in this form is to be considered as a spontaneous (and errone-
    ous) mater lectionis evidently reflecting /e/ in *šalheḇīṯā*.

ܡܪܢ: ܠܡܘܢ ܘܚܒ ܢܥܡܠܘܬܗ‍ܝ *mountains ablaze,*[44] let these servants of yours be inflamed

ܘܢܬܘܩܕܘ‍ܢ ܒܚܘܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܬܪܝܗܘܢ and burn with love

ܒܚܝܠܟ ܬܣܒܝ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ‍ܝܢ to each other. By your power, God of gods

ܘܡܪܐ ܡܪܘܬ‍ܐ[45] ܫܝܢ[46] ܘܫܠܡܟ and Lord of lords, let your peace and your well-being

ܢܡܠܟ ܒܝܢܬܗܘ‍ܢ ܡܚܕܐ ܘܠܥܕܡܐ reign between them from now till eternity. Amen.
ܠܥܠܡ ܐܡ‍ܝܢ

2.4.1　Commentary

The title of this text is unique within the Syriac tradition of charms, it designates its purpose to overcome aversion between spouses.[47] On the other hand, the body of the text says nothing about hatred, it is all about love. Therefore, this text could just as well have been entitled 'For Love'.

The Aramaic (and Hebrew) verbal root *snʔ*/*sny* has drawn much attention in connection with its possible use in the legal formula for divorce. It has been argued that the phrase "I hate you" functioned as a divorce formula in the Aramaic documents from Elephantine.[48] Even if the phrase "I hate you" does not have a performative force as a legal formula, it is nevertheless related to a divorce procedure in the Elephantine documents and in the Bible.[49] As a hypothesis, the title of the Syriac text under discussion may refer to curing a situation which could lead to a divorce. Since there are no attestations of this

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44　Ps 83:14 according to the standard Peshitta version. An allusion to this biblical text may be found in Gollancz' Cod. C §8: ܐܝܟ ܢܘܪܐ ܕܝܩܕܐ "as the fire that burneth", see Hermann Gollancz, *Book of Protection*, p. lxxviii (English translation), p. 82 (Syriac text).

45　Ms.: ܘܡܪܘܗ.

46　Ms: ܫܝܢ. The phrase *šaynāk wa-šlāmāk* "your peace and your wellbeing" is known from a number of Syriac liturgical texts, e.g.: Hermann Adalbert Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus sive Hymnorum, canticorum, sequentiarum circa annum MD usitatarum collectio amplissima*, Vol. 4., Lipsiae, 1855, p. 228.

47　The only other text aiming to overcome hate in the corpus of Syriac charms has animal as its target: "For the cow which hates her calf or (her) mistress", Gollancz' Cod. A §24 (Gollancz' translation is corrected); see also ChAL43, f. 14v; Be 95 f. 38r and many other versions of this text. For spell to induce hatred see: Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*, passim.

48　Jacob J. Rabinowitz, "Marriage contracts in ancient Egypt in the light of Jewish sources," *Harvard Theological Review*, 46/2 (1953), pp. 91–97. For the refutation of this theory see: Raymond Westbrook, "The prohibition on restoration of marriage in Deuteronomy 24:1–4," in *Studies in Bible* (*Scripta Hierosolymitana*), Vol. 31, ed. S. Japhet, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986, pp. 387–405.

49　Raymond Westbrook, *ibid.*

phrase in connection with divorce in Classical Syriac sources, this hypothesis cannot be proven based on our current knowledge. Therefore, this charm is rather to be compared with spells purported "to reignite the love of a married couple"[50] e.g. Jewish texts from Cairo Genizah, 'A woman who does not love her husband' and 'A man who does not love (his) wife' (T-S K 1.95, page 3:9–19, 4:1–3).[51]

As evident in the notes to this text, it may well be that the present copy of this charm is corrupted. The first part of the title is problematic: "for a man who hates his wife…". One would expect the opposite as a formulation of the purpose: "for a man hated by his wife…". Nevertheless, one could imagine a male client who wants to overcome his own negative attitude towards his wife and restore love in the family. If we assume that the title is corrupted, the text could be emended by adding the preposition *l-* before *ʾaṯṯēh*: *d-ḡawrā da-snē la-ʾṯṯēh* 'for a man hated by his wife'. This emendation would also solve the ambiguity of the form *snʾ* (see footnote 38).

The text is organized as a tripartite composition: 1) the formula "The One who inflamed X with his life to Y… let that One inflame so-and-so with love to so-and-so"; 2) "As a fire left in a forest, as a flame which sets mountains ablaze, let these your servants be kindled and burn with love for each other"; 3) "By your power, God of gods and Lord of lords, let your peace and your well-being reign between them from now till eternity." The three sentences conform to each other, as each has injunctive clauses as their syntactic core: "let… inflame (*nšalheḇ*)"; "let… be kindled (*neštalhḇūn*)"; "let… reign (*nemloḵ*)". The first and the second sentences form a semantic unit using the vocabulary of fire to express the conceptual metaphor (LOVE IS FIRE).[52]

Appendix 1

The Manuscripts
This section discusses only the manuscripts used for the publication of the texts in this article.[53] For the descriptions of the mss. H 160, H 162 see the first part of this research.[54] The recent publication of the catalogue by M. Zellmann-Rohrer

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50 Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic*, p. 60, n. 83.

51 *Ibid.*

52 Cf. other manifestations of this metaphor in our corpus: Text 2, Text 5 and Cod. A §40.

53 For the rest of the manuscripts discussed throughout the paper, see: Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" pp. 81–99.

54 Anna Cherkashina & Alexey Lyavdansky, "Syriac Love Charms. Part I. The Recipe-Type", p. 90.

purports to be exhaustive for the manuscripts of Syriac charms.[55] Therefore, the sigla from that catalogue are added in brackets in the cases when our sigla follow the system adopted in Part I. In other cases, the sigla from the catalogue of Zellmann-Rohrer are used.

Be95

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Sachau 95.[56] 60 fols. Modern western foliation in pencil. Quire marks in Syriac letters. Dimensions: 8 × 5.5 cm; textblock: 7 × 4 cm; 13 lines to the page; 28 pages include diagonal writing.[57] Paper, black ink, titles in red. 16 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, unvocalised. State: good; most of the pages slightly stained. Contents: charms and spells, 46 sections. Title: "Amulet of protection" (ܟܬܒܘܢܐ ܕܢܛܘܪܬܐ).[58] According to the colophon (f. 58v – 59r), copied in 1778/9 by Ṣlībā son of Ğammō from the diocese Taimar (Van region), resident of Salmas at that time. The name of the client in the colophon is partly erased, but it may be tentatively read as ʿĪṣā son of Sānam; the same name appears several times on the margins throughout the manuscript alongside other names of possible subsequent owners (users).

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55   Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'", *ibid.*

56   Eduard Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen handschriften der Königlichen bibliothek zu Berlin*, Vol. 1, Berlin: Behrend, 1899, pp. 367–372, no. 107; Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" p. 81.

57   A typical page layout: several upper lines and several bottom lines are vertical, but the main body of the text on a page is written diagonally.

58   We suggest emending the widespread term "Book of Protection", introduced by Gollancz, to "Amulet of Protection". There is much variation in the titles of the collections of Syriac charms, but very often a title opens with the word ܚܡܬܐ (H 160, H 162, Cod. A, Lo6673, StP4, Vi7) and its orthographic variants ܚܡܘܬܐ (Cod. C) and ܚܡܬܐ (NH3). This type of the title is used for Cod. A and Cod. C, published by Gollancz. As may be seen from the variants ܚܡܘܬܐ and ܚܡܬܐ, this word should be treated as a Neo-Aramaic *kṯəwta/kliwta/ klifta/kləwta/kṯuṯa/kṯūta/ktuta/ctuyta* 'amulet, talisman' (see e.g., Geoffrey Khan, *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*, Vol. 3, Leiden—Boston, 2016, p. 123; Shabo Talay, *Neuaramäische Texte in den Dialekten der Khabur-Assyrer in Nordostsyrien*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 444; Hezy Mutzafi, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Betanure* (*Province of Dihok*), Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 358). The meaning 'amulet' for / ܚܡܘܬܐ / ܚܡܬܐ ܚܡܬܐ is corroborated by some other titles of the collections of Syriac charms: ܣܕܪܐ, ܣܕܪܐ (Be95, Be553, LoA167, NYPL 3, Pr2) 'anathema(s), charm(s)', ܣܕܪܐ (Pa347, StPS11) 'amulet', cf. *seḏrā xarzayyā* (Kazan 4) "series of amulets". Some five "protective" Syriac booklets have the titles opening with ܟܬܒܐ (Bi316, Bi583, H 163, Ev1, StP18), which may be translated as 'book'. But the overwhelming evidence of other titles confirms our suggestion that the meaning "amulet, talisman" dominates the titles of the collections of Syriac charms.

Be553

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Or. Oct. 553.[59] 37 fols. Modern western foliation in pencil. Quire marks in Syriac letters. Dimensions: 8 × 6 cm; textblock: 6.5 × 4.5 cm; 21 lines to the page; 26 pages include diagonal writing. Paper, black ink, titles in red. 15 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, unvocalised. State: good; most of the pages slightly stained. Contents: charms and spells, 51 sections. Title: "Amulet of protection" (ܣܕܪܐ ܕܢܘܛܪܐ). According to the colophon (f. 34v – 35r), copied in 1799 by Ṣlībā son of Ğammō from the diocese Taimar (region Van), at that moment resident of the region of Urmia.[60] Ownership remark, added by another hand (f. 36r) says that it belonged to Joseph, son of Ḥannā from the village of Burashan (Baranduz district, Urmi region).[61]

ChAL95

Chicago, Ashurbanipal Library no. BF1622.S95 C43. 46 fols. Quire marks in Syriac letters. Dimensions: 12 × 9 cm; textblock: 9 × 6 cm; 17 lines to the page; 9 pages include diagonal writing. Paper, black ink, titles in red. 21 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, unvocalised. State: many pages are faded and/or ragged on the margins; several pages are missing at the beginning; it appears that in the present binding some of the folios are displaced; the binding is almost fully destroyed. Contents: charms and spells, 62 sections. According to the colophon, it was copied in 1803 in the village of Tūlū (Tergāwār district, Hakkari, Turkey). Name of the scribe is partly preserved: "priest …, son of the deceased Safar, nephew of Mar …, bishop of….". The manuscript is written for Balula(?) son of Warda, his mother *šplʾ*(?)". The manuscript was donated to Ashurbanipal Library by Vasily Shumanov in 2005, to whom it was gifted by its former owner, the late Arseny Semenov, who lived in St. Petersburg.

Ev1

Evanston, IL, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary [ex-Seabury-Western Theological Seminary], Archives, The Styberg Library, Syriac 1. 62 fols. Modern

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59   Eduard Sachau, *Verzeichniss der syrischen handschriften*, Berlin, 1899, p. 911, no. 345; Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" p. 82.

60   An analysis of the scripts and contents of two Berlin manuscripts, Be95 and Be553, allowed to Duaa Rashid to conclude that Be553 was copied either directly from Be95 or from the similar manuscript not by Ṣlībā son of Ğammō, but by another person, who for some reasons did not want to reveal his name and copied a manuscript with its colophon (Rashid D. "Two Manuscripts of Syriac Charms from the Collection of the Berlin State Library". A paper read at the seminar "Traditions of Magic in Near East and Caucasus", HSE University, Moscow, 16 June 2021).

61   David Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, Louvain, 2000, p. 782.

western pagination in pencil. Dimensions: 13.5 × 9.4 cm; textblock: 10.5 × 6.5 cm; 8 lines to the page. Paper, black ink, titles in red. 3 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, vocalized. State: good; some of the pages are stained. Contents: charms and spells, 27 sections. Title: "…. of protection" (ܕܢܛܘܪܐ …).[62] Colophon is missing.[63] The first three pages and the last three pages have illustrations and East Syriac writing by different hand.

H 156 (CaH156)

Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 156.[64] 46 fols. Modern western foliation in pencil. Dimensions: 11 × 8 cm; textblock: 9.5 × 6.5 cm; 20 lines to the page; 15 pages include diagonal writing. Paper, black ink, titles in red. 14 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, partly vocalized. State: mostly very good; a few pages at the beginning and at the end contain faded sections. Contents: charms and spells, 76 sections. Title: "Evangelists for Protection of Youths" (ܐܘܢܓܠܣܛܐ ܕܢܛܘܪܐ ܕܥܠܝܡܐ). The colophon (f. 41r) says that it was copied in 1826 by deacon Denḥa, son of deacon Rašo in the village of Razgā (Tergāwār district, Hakkari region).[65] According to the ownership note made with a different hand (f. 46), it belonged to a Russian (ܐܘܪܘܣ) named Dorothey, son of Ivan and Anna from the Russian city Saratov, now residing in the village of Kusi (Anzel District, Urmi region).[66]

H 163 (CaH163)

Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library Ms. Syr. 163.[67] 66 fols. Modern western pagination in pencil. Dimensions: 10 × 7 cm; textblock: 7 × 5 cm; 12 lines to the page. Textblocks are in frames. Paper, black ink, titles in red. 15 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, partially vocalized. State: excellent. Contents: charms and spells, 53 sections. Title: "Book of protection for people from all kinds of evil and hateful (things)" (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܢܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܢܫܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܒܝܫܐ ܘܣܢܝ). According to the colophon (f. 65), copied in 1808/09 by the priest Haydeni, son

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62   Zellmann-Rohrer reads ܟܬܒ ܕܢܛܘܪܐ (Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection," p. 84), but the photography at our disposal does not allow us to see the first word clearly.

63   For further details and literature see: Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection," p. 84.

64   Moshe Henry Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library: A Catalogue*, Leiden, 1979, p. 103; Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection," p. 83.

65   David Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation*, p. 791.

66   *Ibid.*, p. 788.

67   Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 105; Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection," p. 84.

of the priest Yabo (Yahbo) from the village of Gessa (c. 1791 – c.1822)[68] "for a patron from Gūnādēktā, resident of ʿŪmādyā".[69]

KrA1. Krasnodar, anonymous private collection.[70] 74 fols. Quire marks in Syriac letters. Dimensions are unknown, because the ms. is known only via photographs. Textblock is surrounded by a double-lined frame; 15 lines to the page. Paper, black ink, titles in red or in white on the black background. The only illustration is the seal of Solomon; decorations. Script: East Syriac, very rarely vocalized. State: the manuscript was restored; some pages are stained. Contents: charms and spells, 69 sections. Title: '"Temple" of protection' (ܗܝܟܠ ܕܢܛܘܪܬܐ). The manuscript was created by three scribes. The colophon of the main part was erased intentionally.[71] Paper, 74ff. East Syriac. Textual block includes 15 lines. 69 chapters; the only illustration is the seal of Solomon.

NYPL 2 (NY2941/2)

New York, Public Library, MssCol 2941 vol. 2.[72] 27 fols. Modern western foliation in pencil. Dimensions: 11.5 × 9 cm; textblock: 9 × 6.5 cm; 24 lines to the page; 4 pages include diagonal writing. Paper, black ink, titles in red. 13 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, unvocalized. State: most of the pages are damaged, text is missing from several pages; a number of initial pages are missing. "Copied in late March of an unknown year by one Elijah (damaged colophon), assigned to the 18th century (Bcheiry); later ownership note of Joseph son of *šḥynh*".[73]

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68   David Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation*, p. 813.

69   Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" p. 84 with further details about this manuscript.

70   The analog (film) photographs of this manuscript were provided to us by the late Stephan Sado.

71   Анна Нуруллина (Черкашина), *Сирийские заклинания как продолжение арамейской заклинательной традиции поздней античности* [Anna Nurullina (Cherkashina), *Syriac Charms as Continuation of the Aramaic Magical Tradition of the Late Antiquity*], p. 22; Анна Нуруллина (Черкашина) & Алексей Лявданский, «Сирийская версия Сисиниевой легенды» [Anna Nurullina (Cherkashina) & Alexey Lyavdansky, "The Syriac Versions of St. Sisinnius' Legend"], in *Сисиниева легенда в фольклорных и рукописных традициях Ближнего Востока, Балкан и Восточной Европы* [*St. Sisinnius' legend in folklore and written traditions of the Near East, Balkans, and eastern Europe*], ed. A.Toporkov et al., Moscow, 2017, p. 217.

72   Iskandar Bcheiry, "Syriac Manuscripts in New York Public Library," *Hugoye*, 11/2 (2011), pp. 141–159 (143-149); Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" p. 87.

73   Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" p. 87.

Ye10

Yerevan, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran) Syriac ms. 10.[74] 46 fols. Modern western foliation in pencil. Quire marks in Syriac letters. Dimensions: 11 × 8 cm; textblock: 8.5 × 6 cm; 17 lines to the page. Paper, black ink, titles in red. 17 illustrations, decorations. Script: East Syriac, unvocalized. State: good; some pages are stained. Contents: charms and spells, 52 sections. Title: "Protection for all people" (ܢܘܛܪܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ). According to the colophon (f. 43), copied in 1749 in the Upper Gāwar in the village of Pirzālan by the priest Sūlāqā, "cousin of the bishop John of Azerbaijan, from Alṣān; later ownership notes of ʿAnūšābāson of Tawmwē and Mūraṯ (effaced) daughter of same."[75]

Addenda et corrigenda to Part 1

1. P. 70, n. 10. The correct text of note 10 is: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St. Petersburg), syr. 4 (StP4), f. 34r–34v; Michail Sado Collection (St. Petersburg), ms. 20 (StPS20), f. 13v.[76]

2. P. 73. There is one more textual witness for Text 1, Michail Sado Collection (St. Petersburg), ms. 5 (StPS5), f. 80. This version repeats the one in the Kazan ms. verbatim, which is another confirmation of the exceptionally close affinity of these two manuscripts.

3. An addition to the commentary for Text 4 (pp. 82–85). The formula "and follow him from house to house, from town to town, from village to village, from city to city, and from market to market" has been mentioned in Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'", p. 128 in relation to ms. Ma52, f. 22 and 44 (see also the present paper above). The presence of this formula in Ma52 confirms the authenticity of Badger's text, whose Syriac original had been lost.

4. Text 2: for "N son of N" read "N daughter of N" (p. 78).

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74 Elena Mescherskaya "The Syriac Manuscripts of Protection in Matenadaran" (in Russian), *Palestinskiy Sbornik, n.s.*, 27 (1981), pp. 93–105 (96–101); Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" p. 90.

75 Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection,'" p. 90.

76 For the sigla in brackets see: Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, "More on the 'Book of Protection'", pp. 81–99.
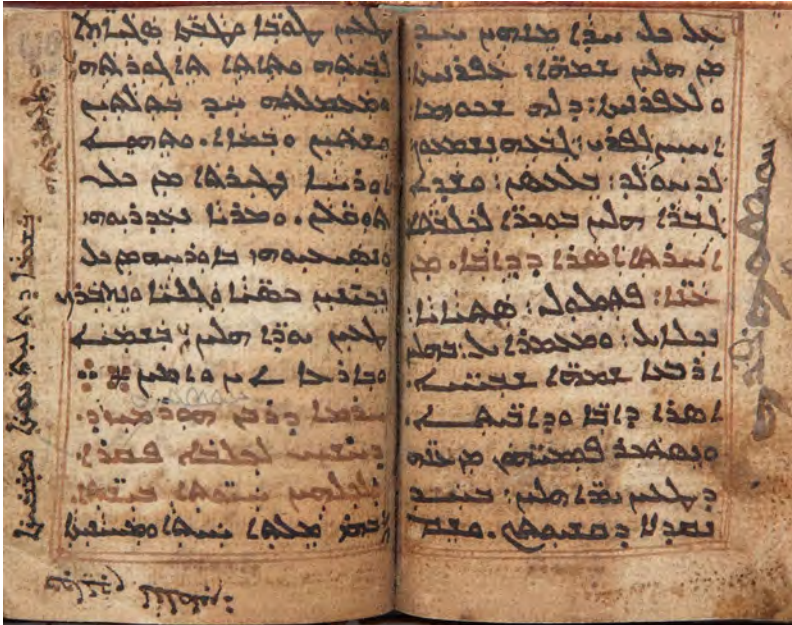
FIGURE 1   Ms. 4, the Central Scientific Library of the Kazan Scientific Center of
the Russian Academy of Sciences (Kazan, Russia), Oriental collection
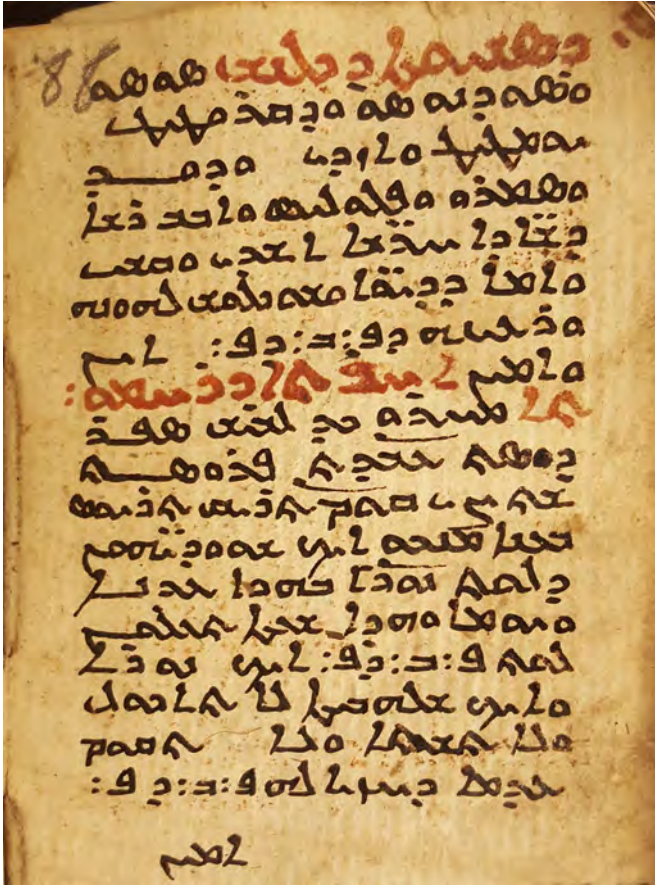(Kazan 4) f. 47 (Text 1)

FIGURE 2   MS Syriac 160, Houghton Library, Harvard University
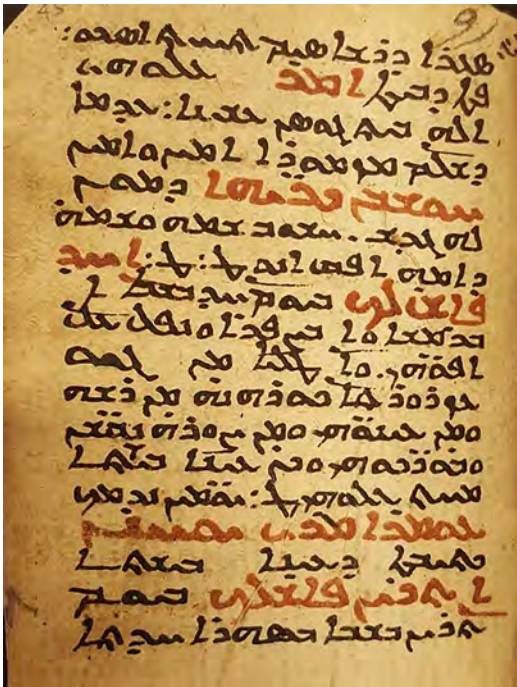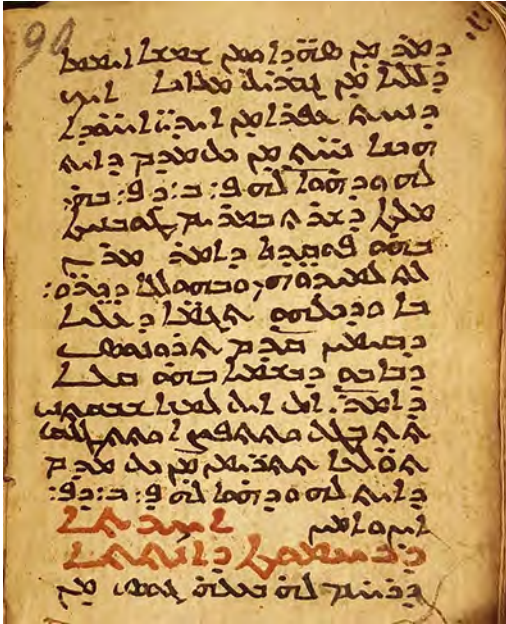(H 160) f. 43v (Text 2)

FIGURE 3   MS Syriac 160, Houghton Library, Harvard
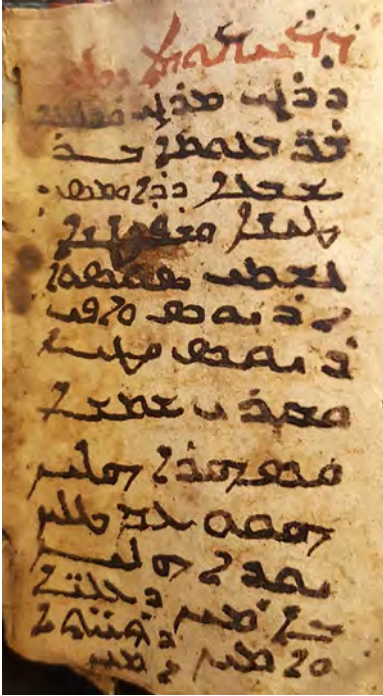University (H 160) ff. 44v–45r (Text 3)

FIGURE 4
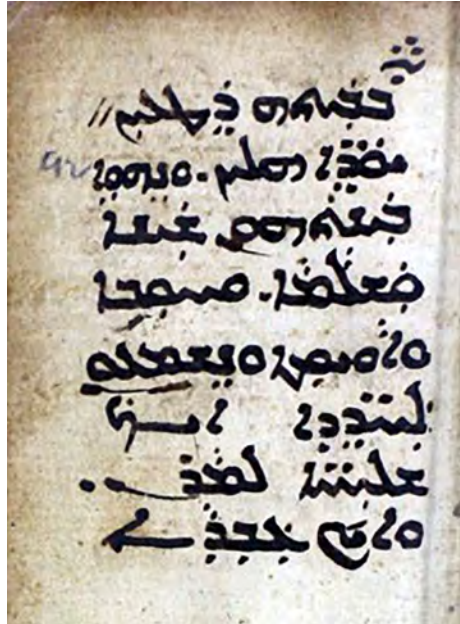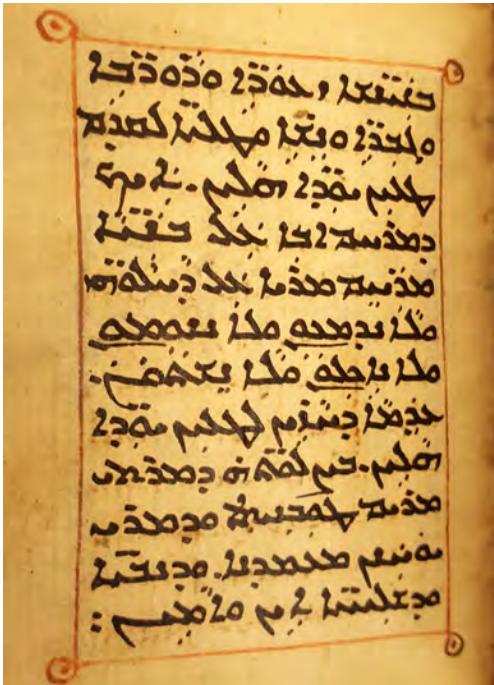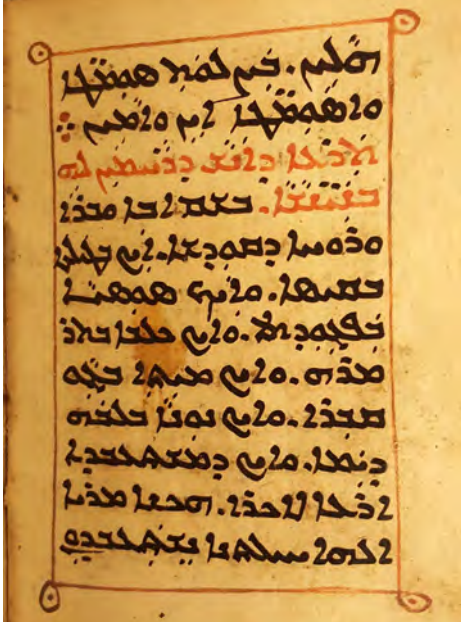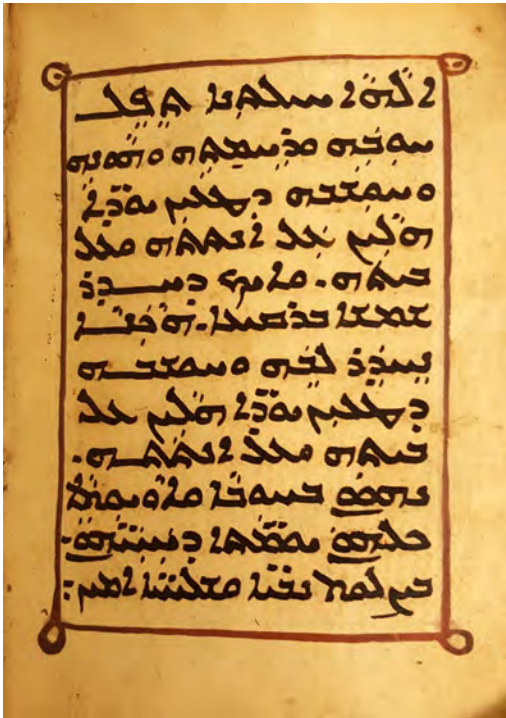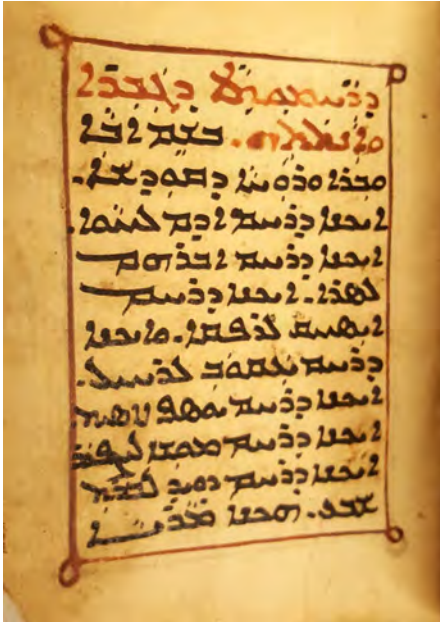MS Syriac 162, Houghton Library, Harvard
University (H 162) f. 1v (Text 6)

FIGURE 5   Ms. Syriac 1, Archives, The Styberg
            Library, Garret-Evangelical Theological
            Seminary, Evanston, Illinois, USA (Ev1),
            ff. 46v–47v (Text 7)

FIGURE 6   MS Syriac 163, Houghton Library,
Harvard University (H 163) ff. 48v–49r
(Text 8)

FIGURE 7   MS Syriac 163, Houghton Library, Harvard
University (H 163) f. 62 (Text 9)
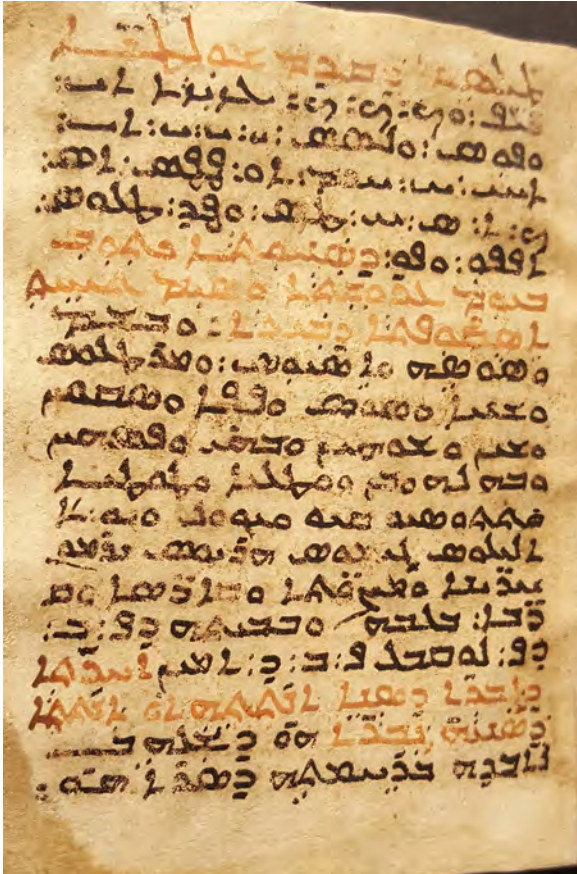
FIGURE 8   MS Syriac 156, Houghton Library, Harvard
             University (H 156) f. 42 (Text 10)