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BY THIS AMULET OF THREE:
REUNITING AN AMULET FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE PINES SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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Cupid: 56 j'76 “”

Enoch: Z,,,,,,,,,ngsi8mnk

One day, hundreds of years ago, someone sat down with three long, narrow strips of paper and wrote and sewed together an amulet for Eliyahu ben Esther. That someone could have been Eliyahu himself, or someone trained in the magical tradition of the Jewish people (and likely, as we shall see, Islamic magical traditions). This amulet was probably carried with Eliyahu everywhere he went in a case of sorts (as discussed later). When it was, for whatever reason, discarded, it was not thrown away, burned, or left to disintegrate. It was placed in a genizah in Cairo, most likely that of the Ben Ezra synagogue,¹ by people who believed that the written name of God, appearing many times in the amulet, deserved to be properly handled, even when written in something that had outlived its original purpose. At some point, the three strips were separated, but the holes from the stitching remained.

When the genizah was emptied by western scholars, the fragments were separated. Two of them wound up in the library of the University of Cambridge in England in the 1890s. The third probably circulated on the local manuscript market for several decades until Jacob Mann, a professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, purchased a small collection of genizah manuscripts in Cairo during a trip to Egypt and Palestine in 1924. When that amulet was brought by Mann to Cincinnati, the three fragments of the amulet had found their new homes apart. The two fragments at Cambridge, although similar in shape and script, were not recognized as connected among the hundreds of thousands of fragments being analyzed in the University Library.

¹ See Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection*, Culture and Cultivation in the Middle East (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000), 80. Most of the contents of Cambridge's genizah collections were taken from the Ben Ezra Synagogue.

One of the fragments was catalogued among other amulets in the box labeled K1, and the other was catalogued, probably later, in AS, an “additional series,” among other magic documents as well as kabbalistic and philosophical texts.

The present work brings the full text of this amulet prepared for Eliyahu ben Esther back together in one document for the first time in hundreds of years. In it, the fears, anxieties, hopes, and humanity of this unknown figure of the past are rediscovered, and the magical world of angels, demons, disease, and powerful incantations is brought to light and analyzed. Through this analysis, one sees that the issues of past humanity are not quite so different from those dealt with today, even when magical avenues for addressing these issues may have been dispelled.

Background

“We come to this place for magic,” Nicole Kidman says in a now famous advertisement for AMC Theatres, highlighting the bewitching immersion of viewing films on the big screen.² The modern Western understanding of magic is, by and large, heavily influenced by the wizards, witches, and warlocks of popular books, films, and television shows. We, quite literally, come to theatres to experience magic.

The idea of magic has been rejected quite firmly by most high-control religious communities and those ideologically influenced by them. The rise of intellectual rationalism and increased skepticism of anything supernatural which emerged from the Enlightenment created further distance between “civilized” Western culture and

² AMC Theatres, "AMC Theatres. We Make Movies Better," advertisement, YouTube, September 8, 2021, <https://youtu.be/KiEeIxZJ9x0?si=LpZokADRZ6IzBG0G>.

“superstitious” magic. It is no surprise, then, that formal study of magic began with anthropological fieldwork in “nonliterate societies.”³

Much work has been done since these initial anthropological studies, especially regarding the Greek magical tradition, which spread around the Mediterranean with the conquests of Alexander and subsequent Hellenization of the Mediterranean world and greatly influenced the magical traditions of many cultures.⁴

However, scholars of all magical traditions still have trouble defining “magic.” Is magic a distinct cultural phenomenon or is it a part of “religion”? Is magic “magic” only when practiced by others? How does magic interact with and influence ritual and liturgical practices? Does magic exist at all? How can something so irrational be so pervasive throughout human history?

This confusion is made even more complicated by the fact that “magic” means something in modern English, and that meaning is quite different from the magic found preserved in manuscript traditions.⁵ This difficulty has led some scholars to abandon the vocabulary and concept of “magic” in favor of other terms. Naomi Janowitz suggests that

3 Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1*, Semitic Texts and Studies 1 (Sheffield, UK: JSOT, 1992), 12.

4 See Yuval Harari, *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kaballah [JMBRK]*, trans. Batya Stein (Detroit: Wayne State University Press), 70-79.

5 See Yuval Harari, “What is a Magical Text?: Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic,” in *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, IJS Studies in Judaica 4, edited by Shaul Shaked (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 108.

one view all “magical” texts of late antiquity as “ritual” texts, because “labels such as ‘magic’ are inseparable from their pejorative use in the past.”⁶

Others, faced with the difficulty of rationalizing magic practices, reject the idea of magic as separate from religion. John G. Gager, one such scholar, argues that “magic” is the religious practice of the other, going so far as to state that “Magic, as a definable and consistent category of human experience, simply does not exist.”⁷ This is an extreme position, which favors “religion” to the point of erasing “magic.”

Magic and “Family Resemblances”

The present study does not aim to solve these many difficulties in defining “magic.” It seeks to analyze an amulet composed of three manuscript fragments from the Cairo Genizah. Thus, the magical traditions at hand are those of Jewish medieval and early modern Cairo. One solution for the difficulty of terms which is sufficient for the present study is that proposed by Yuval Harari.⁸ Drawing on the concept of “family resemblances” coined by linguistic philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein and applied to Greek magic by Henk Versnel,⁹ Harari points out that there is a web of similarities between the practices known as “religion” and those known as “magic.”¹⁰

6 Naomi Janowitz, *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity*, Magic in History (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 2002), xiv.

7 John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 24.

8 Yuval Harari, *JMBRK*. An earlier version is published in Harari, “What is a Magical Text?,” 91-124. This idea was proposed first in an article in the *Festschrift* for Shaul Shaked and later in the scholar’s important book on *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kaballah*.

9 Henk Versnel, “Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion,” *Numen* 38: 177-197.

10 Harari, *JMBRK*, 162-169.

A good example is the similarity of language between Jewish religious liturgy and magical texts illustrated in the present study by the fact that a portion of the examined amulet (Fragment 3, ll. 31-35) also appears in a section of Saadia Gaon's prayerbook, as discussed below. Indeed, especially in more mystical Jewish traditions like Kabbalah, the line between what is magic and what is religion become increasingly difficult to draw. It is for this reason that Harari chooses to understand a web of "family resemblances" among magic, religion, mysticism, and ritual. Harari explains, "The density of the web of partial resemblances between them is what determines the realms that are more or less distinctively magical or more or less distinctively religious."¹¹ That is, one draws connections from extant texts to other texts, creating rough edges around groups of texts with especially dense connectivity to one another.

These texts then have their own connections to texts which have their own connections, until the entirety of Jewish literary tradition is a dense web of connected texts. There are areas of notable density in this mapping which can be identified as "magical," "religious," "liturgical," "philosophical," etc. This taxonomy, which draws its rough borders by density of similarities, is part of the "phenomenological" approach to magic proposed by Henk Versnel. This approach centers the phenomena understood to be magic and seeks to define "magic" by the similarities shared by these phenomena.

Gideon Bohak utilizes a similar approach in his landmark book *Ancient Jewish Magic*, stating that "we must remember that we are using 'magic' only as a heuristic device—a means to gather together a group of related cultural phenomena, texts and

¹¹ Harari, *JMBRK*, 169.

artifacts—and not as an explanatory category.”¹² Thus, the solution of family resemblances is not a solution of definition. It, rather, allows the work of the study of magic to begin despite the fuzziness of what “counts” as magic.

Yuval Harari proposes eight factors which indicate dense resemblance to “adjuration texts.” Adjuration texts are “the focus of magical texts.”¹³ That is, any text which contains a significant portion of these factors is likely to have a “family resemblance” to the texts we understand to be “Jewish magical texts.” These eight factors will now be examined with comparison to the present amulet. It is noteworthy that a text need not have all eight elements to be a Jewish magical text. Any one of these factors forms a connection to the family of resemblances of Jewish magical texts.

The first element is the self-definition of the text as an adjuration.¹⁴ This is done in the present amulet twice (Fragment 1, line 3; Fragment 3; line 48). The second is “an appeal to supernatural powers,” particularly angels and demons. The amulet does so in various places, discussed below. The third factor is “addressing these figures in the first-person singular.” The amulet does not appeal to angels or demons in this way, though appeals are made to God in the first-person singular (Fragment 1, line 24-25, 43-44). The fourth is use of various Hebrew verbs usually used in the direct address to these powers. These are also not used in the amulet, nor in the appeals to God, which are in Arabic and use a different (non-cognate) verb. The fifth element is a **בשם** + name formula, which

12 Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 58.

13 Harari, *JMBRK*, 171-172.

14 The eight factors listed and quoted in this paragraph are found in Harari, *JMBRK*, 172.

invokes the name of God and angels. This is used in Arabic and Hebrew in the amulet and is discussed below. The sixth factor is the use of “hastening and threatening formulas toward the supernatural powers.” This element was not found in the present text. A seventh factor is the “absence of formulations of request” toward the powers. The amulet does not use such formulae. The final element is the use of the magical client’s name and a matronymic formulation. The name is used for the amulet’s client, *Eliyahu ben/ibn Esther*, and it identifies him using his mother’s name, *Esther*.

Thus, the present amulet fits about five of these qualifications provided by Harari and can readily be studied alongside other Jewish magical texts.

Jewish Magic as a Field of Study

Now that the text has been identified as magical, a bird’s-eye view of history of the study Jewish magic is in order. Jewish magic has received pitifully little attention from scholars over the centuries, especially when considering the ubiquity of magical texts in the manuscript tradition. In an early study of *Hebrew Amulets*, Theodore Schrire notes that “Orthodox scholars” have long avoided study of amulets to avoid association with forbidden texts and practices.¹⁵ In a more recent study, noting a disparity between the field of Jewish magic and other fields of Jewish studies, Gideon Bohak recognizes that beyond religious hesitation, the lack of formal study is also due to “an ideological

15 Theodore Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets: Their Decipherment and Interpretation*. (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1966), 1.

bias that Jewish magic is not worthy of serious study,” rather than to a lack of sources or any other difficulty.¹⁶

Scholars also may have viewed magic as a contaminant in the Jewish tradition. One objection to the existence of *Jewish* magic is that it is a foreign practice occasionally brought in from the outside, like idol worship in the Bible.¹⁷ This idea, however, falls apart when confronted with the recognition that magic has long been an area of considerable depth and creativity in Jewish communities around the world. There are elements which were borrowed and “Judaized” from other magical traditions,¹⁸ but the idea that magic is not a natural part of the Jewish heritage is simply untrue.

The issue, then, arises: what is “Jewish magic”? Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked take a simple approach, identifying Jewish magic as textual “magic written by Jews and using Hebrew script.”¹⁹ Gideon Bohak affirms that texts written in Hebrew letters fall clearly into the category, but takes a more contextually oriented approach, which focuses on understanding what Jewishness meant across time and places and using that as a rubric.²⁰ For example, an Arabic text may not be considered Jewish today, but many medieval Jewish authors wrote in Arabic. The theory of family resemblances would also

16 Gideon Bohak, “Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 8, no. 1 (2009): 108.

17 Bohak, *AJM*, 227.

18 Bohak, *AJM*, 229.

19 Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, Magnes Press: 1985), 35.

20 Bohak, *AJM*, 295.

function well. Those texts which share significant elements (language, script, ideas, phrasing) with indisputably-Jewish texts are likely safe to be studied as Jewish texts.

Another issue is the perceived illicit nature of magic in biblical and rabbinic law. This topic is thoroughly discussed by scholars and will not be rehearsed here.²¹ The following quotation from Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked shall suffice:

Magic is officially condemned, but many people who practiced “magic” would deny that they indulged in a practice which was against Jewish law. They would say that they practice healing, protection, etc., and that they relied not on magical powers, but on the power of God and His angels.²²

“Scribalization”

One key difference between the anthropological fieldwork on magic and the study of historical magical traditions is the sources. While anthropologists of modern magic have the opportunity to engage directly with practitioners, scholars of the historical study of magic rely on extant texts, since the practitioners, clients, targets, and critics of the magic are no longer accessible. It is fortunate, then, that Jewish magic underwent a process of “scribalization” in the third or fourth centuries of the common era.²³ This process refers to the shift from verbal or material magic to textual magic, drawing on the power of written words.

This does not mean that magic was no longer performed verbally or through manipulation of nonverbal material objects. It does, however, indicate a point in time when the expression of Jewish magic began to shift toward written texts rather than these

21 For biblical prohibitions, see Bohak, *AJM*, 11-35. For rabbinic ideas, see Bohak, *AJM*, 351-425; Harari, *JMBRK*, 353-458.

22 Naveh and Shaked, *AMB*, 36.

23 Bohak, “Prolegomena,” 125.

ephemeral strategies. This shift was so complete by the Middle Ages that tenth-century Karaite heresiologist Ya'qub al-Qirqisani identified the primary vehicle of magic as the written word.²⁴ This shift and the ability of text to endure for many hundreds of years is the reason that scholars today can study magic from bygone ages.

Magic in the Cairo Genizah

The Cairo Genizah, the famous treasure trove of manuscripts “discovered” and emptied by European scholars in the 1890s, held many magic documents, estimated to be around twenty-five hundred.²⁵ The Genizah contains not only documents containing the name of God but also any document written in Hebrew script (and more that do not fit either criterion). This incredibly rich source of medieval magical documents only exists because the Genizah presents “a nearly unmediated slice of what was written” in Cairo, not a curated presentation of what *should have* been written.²⁶

The renowned early scholars of the Genizah, Solomon Schechter and Shlomo Dov Goitein, entirely ignored the magic fragments.²⁷ The magical Genizah fragments remained untapped until the 1960s, when Mordechai Margalioth published *Sefer ha-Razim*, a magical handbook which Margalioth pieced together from fragmentary copies

24 See quote in Shiffman and Swartz, 13-14.

25 Ortal-Paz Saar, “Geniza Magical Documents,” *Jewish History* 32 (2019): 477.

26 Shaul Shaked, “Medieval Jewish Magic in Relationship to Islam: Theoretical Attitudes and Genres,” in *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication, and Interaction: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner*, ed. Benjamin H. Hary, John L. Hayes, and Fred Astren, 97-109 (Brill’s Series in Jewish Studies 27. Leiden: Brill, 2000), 98-99.

27 Bohak, *AJM*, 8.

found in the Genizah.²⁸ This kicked off a whirlwind of publications of magical handbooks, and in the 1980s, Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked published a landmark book of Aramaic amulets and magic bowls, some of which were Genizah materials,²⁹ followed by another volume of *Magic Spells and Formulae*.³⁰ More amulets from the Genizah were published in 1992 by Lawrence Schiffman and Michael Swartz.³¹ From 1994 to 1999, Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked published a three-volume collection of magical texts from the Genizah.³²

Many other fragments have been published in whole or in part in various articles, books, and dissertations as well. As of 2009, fewer than 150 Genizah magic texts had been published,³³ though several have come to print since then. This paper aims to contribute to the project begun by Mordechai Margalioth to bring these texts out of the obscurity of archival folders and digitized scans and into the ongoing discussion of these texts and the Jewish heritage that originally created and now preserves them.

Amulets

The text at hand is an amulet for Eliyahu ben Esther. In the context of Jewish magic, Yuval Harari defines an amulet as “an artifact bearing an adjuration

28 Mordechai Margalioth, *Sefer Ha-Razim: A Newly Discovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period*. (Jerusalem: Yediot Acharonon, 1965) [Hebrew]. See Bohak, “Prolegomena,” 109.

29 Naveh and Shaked, AMB.

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

31 Schiffman and Swartz, *HAITCG*.

32 Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, 3 vols., Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994-1999).

33 Bohak, “Prolegomena,” 127.

text...prepared for a defined purpose and in most cases to be used by a particular client.”³⁴ This aligns with the transcultural perspective on amulets defined by Christoffer Theis and Paolo Vitellozzi as ”objects...worn for protective, apotropaic, and other beneficial purposes.”³⁵ Harari’s definition is more narrow, however, limiting the scope to textual objects.

Amulets, then, are objects which harness powers through written text in the interests of their client. These interests are expressed in the aims of the amulets, usually understandable from the contents, which can be “love, economic successes, healing, finding favor with someone, suppressing people, and causing harm.”³⁶ Several of these aims are present in the amulet at hand and are discussed below.

Having discussed Jewish magic, the Cairo Genizah, and amulets, the discussion below will present the amulet, its text, a translation, and a detailed analysis of relevant codicological, textual, and paratextual elements of the amulet.

The Amulet

The amulet is preserved in three fragments—each a long, narrow strip of paper. One, HUC 1035, is held by the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, in Cincinnati, Ohio. The other two are held by Cambridge University, T-S AS 142.256 and TS K 1.166.

34 Harari, *JMBRK*, 218-19. 32w

35 Christoffer Theis and Paolo Vitellozzi, ”Textual Amulets from a Transcultural Perspective,” in *Textual Amulets from Antiquity to Early Modern Times*, eds. Christopher Theis and Paolo Vitellozzi, 1-9 (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 1.

36 Harari, *JMBRK*, 220.

Previous Publications

Bibliographies of these fragments are found on the Friedberg Genizah Project website.³⁷ While these three fragments have not been published, they have been mentioned in ten known publications by eight different scholars. The specifics of these citations will be mentioned at the appropriate points in the analysis of the amulet's contents. For now, it will suffice to present a brief survey of the use of the amulet's components in previous scholarship.

For centuries, the amulet lay in the quiet dark of a synagogue of Cairo, perhaps already separated into three parts. When the Genizah was “discovered,” the documents were shoveled out, sold, and transported across sea and ocean to their new homes. Upon their arrival, these documents were cataloged by librarians in their respective libraries and ignored for decades.

In 1985, Fragment 2 (T-S K1.166) was mentioned by Joseph Naveh in a footnote of an article discussing an Aramaic amulet.³⁸ Twelve years later, an Aramaic section of Fragment 3 (T-S AS 142.256) was noted as containing a similar prayer for healing found in a magic handbook published by Peter Schafer and Shaul Shaked in the second volume of their three-volume publication of Genizah magic texts.³⁹

Fragment 3 is the most cited of the three, probably because it is written primarily in Hebrew and therefore more accessible to scholars without familiarity with Islamic

³⁷ Accessible with an account at www.fjms.genizah.org.

³⁸ Joseph Naveh, “A Good Subduing, There Is None Like It,” *Tarbitz* 54, no. 3 (1985): 372 [Hebrew].

³⁹ Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked, 29, 430 [Index].

literature and magic or expertise in Arabic, which makes up a significant portion of the other two fragments. Over three years, from 2007 to 2009, Fragment 3 was cited in four scholarly works.

The first was an M.A. thesis completed by Shani Levi at Tel Aviv University. The thesis engaged the use of biblical figures and texts in magic texts from the Genizah. Levi mentions Fragment 3 as containing similar use of the Joseph narrative as another amulet.⁴⁰ The next year, the fragment was mentioned in a Ph.D. dissertation completed by Ortal-Paz Saar at the same university. Saar includes the amulet in two charts. One identifies the fragment, its beneficiary, and its purposes.⁴¹ The other notes the use of a passage from the Joseph story repurposed for its beneficiary.⁴² That same year, Gideon Bohak mentioned in a footnote in *Ancient Jewish Magic* that Saar had informed him that a portion of the fragment contains parallels to a magic handbook which was published by Naveh and Shaked in 1993.⁴³

The following year, Ortal-Paz Saar wrote a short piece for “Genizah Fragments: The Newsletter of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit of the Cambridge University Library,” which identified the three fragments as parts of “one remarkably long amulet” and gave a short description of the whole amulet’s contents.⁴⁴ This was the

40 Shani Levi, “The Integration of Biblical Verses and Biblical Characters in Magical Texts from the Cairo Genizah,” (master’s thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2007), 72.

41 Ortal-Paz Saar, “Jewish Love Magic: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages” (Doctoral dissertation, Tel Aviv University, 2008), 190 [Hebrew].

42 Ibid., 217.

43 Bohak, *AJM*, 148; Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*, 235-238.

44 Ortal-Paz Saar, “Genizah Offers Long-lasting Protection,” *Genizah Fragments: The Newsletter of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit* 58 (October 2009), 2.

first time the amulet was cited in a publication as a join, a group of fragmentary texts derived from the same original whole.

After the join was acknowledged, the fragments continued to be cited individually. The prayer for healing from T-S AS 142.256 was discussed by Dorothea Salzer, who notes its existence in liturgy as well.⁴⁵ It is interesting that T-S K 1.166 was chosen by Azize Uygün as one of a few examples of healing and protection amulets,⁴⁶ since it in no way seems prototypical of Genizah amulets or Jewish amulets.

The full amulet was listed in a table of “Genizah Magical Texts Prepared For or Against Named Individuals,” published in *Revue des études juives* by Gideon Bohak and Ortal-Paz Saar in 2015,⁴⁷ as well as in a list of magic texts alongside the gender(s) of their targets published in 2017 by Ortal-Paz Saar in *Jewish Love Magic*.⁴⁸

As can be seen from this survey of its publication history, the amulet has often been relegated to footnotes, and four of the amulet’s ten citations relate only to T-S AS 142.256. The only work which discusses the complete amulet beyond an index entry is Saar’s 2009 newsletter article, which is quite short. The analysis below will make significant progress in bringing this fascinating amulet out of the shadows of the footnotes and indices.

45 Dorothea M. Salzer, *Die Magie der Anspielung*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 134 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 159, 508 [Index]. See discussion below.

46 Azize Uygün, “Magical Texts from the Cambridge Cairo Genziah Collection,” *The Journal of the Human and Social Science Researches* 5, vol. 2 (2016): 370.

47 Gideon Bohak and Ortal-Paz Saar, “Genizah Magical Texts Prepared For or Against Named Individuals,” *Revue des études juives* 174, no. 1-2 (2015): 98.

48 Ortal-Paz Saar, *Jewish Love Magic: From Late Antiquity Through the Middle Ages*, (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 163.

Structure

The ordering of these fragments can be assumed from their contents. The first, HUC 1035, opens with a typical opening for a Hebrew amulet, 'in the name of.' This portion of the amulet is written in Arabic, and the phrase takes the form באסם, followed by the name of God. This phrase, الرحيم بسم الله الرحمن, is known as the *basmala*. It appears at the beginning of many Islamic amulets, as well as nearly every *surah* (chapter) of the Quran.⁴⁹ This makes for a fitting beginning to an amulet which was likely produced in a very Arabicized context of medieval Cairo.

T-S K 1.166 begins with בשם יי, the standard opening form for Hebrew amulets.⁵⁰ However, HUC 1035 is a more likely candidate to come first because the opening section ends with "by this amulet of three" (בחזק הדא אופק א תלאתי),⁵¹ an idea which more naturally fits the opening of a tripartite amulet than the middle.

Furthermore, in line 44 of T-S K 1.166, a list of divine names begins, which continue with the first line of T-S AS 142.256. The mention of "this amulet" (this time in Hebrew, בזה הקמיע, near the end of T-S 142.256 (ll.47-48) also makes a neat envelope for the amulet as a whole. T-S 142.256 is also the only of the three amulets to have blank space at the bottom.

49 Tawfik Canaan, "The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam*, ed. Emilie Savage-Smith, 125-177, Formation of the Classical Islamic World 42 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 129; William A. Graham, "Basmala," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 207, 211. The *basmala* is also discussed below.

50 Michael Swartz, "Scribal Magic and its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Hebrew and Aramaic Incantations from the Cairo Genizah," *Harvard Theological Review* 83 (1990): 172-173; Schrire, 17.

51 HUC 1035, ll. 3-4.

The amulet is written in Judeo-Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. The same writing style is used for all three, and the text switches between them freely, occasionally in the middle of a line. HUC 1035 begins in Arabic (lines 1-17), continues with a brief Hebrew invocation (17-22), and switches back to Arabic for the remainder of the text (23-55) until the acronym at the end, which represents a Hebrew phrase (58).

T-S K1.166 contains Hebrew, Aramaic, and Judeo-Arabic. It is the most jumbled of the three fragments. It begins with Hebrew (1-9), transitions to Aramaic (10-20?), back to Hebrew (20?-30) Arabic (31- 48, with Hebrew names in lines 43-46), and ends in Hebrew (49-55).

T-S AS 142.256 is mostly Hebrew (1-32, 51-60), with a portion of Aramaic (32-50). All three fragments begin with an “In the name of...” formula and end with a Hebrew acronym preceded by magic signs.

Textual Units

When one begins to study amulets, it becomes increasingly clear that they differ greatly in form, language, and content. This has not stopped scholars from attempting to synthesize the many forms and reconstruct a sort of formula for Jewish amulets. Both Theodore Schrire and Michael Swartz have discussed a prototypical Hebrew amulet formula.⁵² These formulae essentially contain the phrase בְּשֵׁם (‘in the name of’) followed by a name of God, invocation of and instructions to angels, thematic biblical verses, and a conclusion, typically containing אָמֵן and סֵלָה which are usually repeated.

⁵² Schrire, 163-180; Swartz, 172-179.

The tripart amulet does not fit this rigid structure, though all these elements are present in it. To the credit of Schrire and Swartz, this format was never meant by them to represent all amulets. The formula is for Hebrew amulets, and the authors themselves admit that few amulets contain all these elements in this sequence.

While it may appear rambling and unorganized, the tripart amulet, upon analysis, is found to contain discrete textual units which the amulet's author weaved together to form a complete whole.⁵³ The amulet contains units which have parallels in Islamic magic as well as others that have clear parallels with other surviving Jewish amulets. These units contain texts from the Hebrew Bible and Jewish liturgy, as well as from the Islamic world, including several quotations from the Quran. These powerful texts were crafted together to form this amulet for Eliyahu ben Esther.⁵⁴

The first fragment of the amulet, HUC 1035, opens with the *basmala*, an Arabic formula which opens every *surah* of the Quran and whose significance will be discussed in the following analysis. This section introduces the amulet's beneficiary, Eliyahu ben Esther, and contains a short invocation of God's blessing. The section ends after line 22, which contains a typical ending or transitional phrase: *אמן נצח סלה לעד*.

Lines 23-43 fit closely to a paradigm for textual units of Islamic talismanic scrolls described by Yasmine Alsaleh. Each division, called a *haykal* 'sanctuary,' begins with the *basmala* and contains an evocation of personal refuge, use of Quranic verses, and

53 This idea was derived from personal correspondence with Ortal-Paz Saar.

54 Another amulet was written for someone with the same name. The text of this amulet and a comparison to the tripart amulet can be found in Appendix 7.

ends with the *hawqala*.⁵⁵ In Fragment 1, lines 24-25, one finds an evocation of personal refuge for Eliyahu ben Esther. This evocation is part of a prayer which is also found elsewhere in Islamic literature, discussed below. It is followed by a list of evil things refuge is sought from, including two Quranic references. It ends with the *hawqala* in lines 40-42.

Line 43 contains another expression concerning refuge for Eliyahu ben Esther and ends with the abbreviation לתא"ר at the end of the fragment.

Fragment 2 opens with a common opening for Hebrew amulets, and this opening portion runs through line 30, אמן ואמן סלה סלה. It then contains quotations from three sections of the Quran before another evocation of personal refuge, which is followed by what appears to be divine names, through line 48. The amulet then invokes 'KTRY'L and GMR'L and ends with an acronym, א"ס for אמן סלה.

The first 32 lines of Fragment 3 form one textual unit, an invocation of grace and favor. This unit has striking similarities to T-S K1.152, and both are quite similar to the magical recipe for such an amulet laid out in T-S NS 146.32.⁵⁶ Lines 32 through the end of the amulet consist of an Aramaic prayer for healing which also has similarities to other sources⁵⁷ and an invocation of angels which serves both to strengthen the power of the

55 Yasmine F. Alsaleh, "'Licit Magic': The Touch and Sight of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2014): 124.

56 Bohak *AJM*, 148. See footnote 9, where Bohak credits Ortal-Paz Saar for recognizing the similarity of Fragment 3 to these two published fragments. For the publication of T-S K 1.152, see Schiffman and Swartz, 137-142. For T-S NS 146.32, see Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*, 235-238.

57 Fragment 3 was first mentioned in scholarly publication when it was recognized as containing similar phrases to a portion of a prayerbook which was later labeled 'amulet.' The phrases are also used in the siddur of Saadia Gaon. See Schäfer and Shaked, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, vol. 2, 29. See also Salzer, 159.

healing and to seal off the entire amulet with the power of the angels. Thus, all three fragments can be divided into two large textual units each.

The Text

Fragment 1

HUC 1035

Text

[1r]

- 1 באסם אלה ארחמאן
- 2 ארחים ובה נסתעין
- 3 בחק הדא אופק
- 4 א תלאתי
- 5 Magic Square
- 6 Line Drawings
- 7 בחק הדא אאסם
- 8 אעצים בוגהה
- 9 עצימה ובחק
- 10 הדא אאסם
- 11 Drawing
- 12 Drawing
- 13 Drawing
- 14 Drawing
- 15 Line
- 16 בחק הדא אאסמא
- 17 אעצימה שתעשו
- 18 חפצי ורצוני בשם
- 19 שדי שתתנו
- 20 חן וחסד לאליהו
- 21 בן אסתר אמן
- 22 נצח סלה לעד
- 23 באסם אלה ארחמן
- 24 ארחמים אועיד
- 25 אליהו אבן אסתר
- 26 בוגה אלה אכרים
- 27 וכלמתה אתמאם
- 28 אדי יגאובה שי
- 29 לא באר ולא

30 אתים ולא פאגר
 31 ובגמיע אסמא
 32 אלה אחוסנא מן
 33 שר אשיטאן
 34 ארגים ומן אלה
 35 ומן שר אום
 36 אציביאן ואולאדהא
 37 ומן שר אנפאתא
 38 ואלוקד ומן שר
 39 חאסד אא חאסד
 40 באסם אלה ולא
 41 חול ולא קוותן
 42 אא באלה אעאי
 43 אעצים אועיד
 44 אליהו אבן אסתר
 45 מן גמיע אעאהא
 46 ואאפאת ומן
 47 שר כל דבאתן
 48 דבי דנא ציתהא
 49 אן רבי עלא
 50 כול שיין קדיר
 51 ועלא כל
 52 סראטן מוסתקים
 53 ועלא כל אמרן
 54 עצים ובחק הדא
 55 אאסם אמובארך
 Drawings 56
 Drawings 57
 58 לי ת' א' רי⁵⁸

Translation

[1r]

- 1 In the name of God the Compassionate
- 2 the Merciful, in whom we seek refuge.
- 3 By the truth of this amulet
- 4 of three.

58 Probably לא תאונה אליך רעה

5 [Magic Square]
6 [Charaktères]
7 By the truth of this, the Magnificent name
8 in the presence of
9 his greatness, and by
10 this, the name.
11-15 [Drawings]
16 By the truth of the attributes
17 of the Almighty. May you bring about
18 my wish and my desire in the name of
19 Shaddai. May you grant
20 grace and favor to Eliyahu
21 ben Esther. Amen
22 Forever and ever and ever.
23 In the name of God, the Compassionate
24 the Merciful, who promises refuge for
25 Eliyahu ibn Esther,
26 In the presence of God the Noble
27 whose words are perfect,
28 who answers
29 neither the irreverent nor
30 the wicked nor the sinner.
31 And by all the attributes of
32 God the most Beautiful from
33 the evil of the *satan*,
34 who is accursed, and from 'LH
35 and from the evil of Umm
36 As-Subyan and her children.
37 and from the evil of those who blow on
38 knots and from the evil of
39 the envy of those who envy.
40 In the name of God. There is no
41 strength nor power
42 except in God the Exalted,
43 the Great, who promised refuge for
44 Eliyahu ibn Esther
45 from all disease
46 and misfortunes and from
47 the evil of all flies.
48 Drive their loud voices away from us.

49 Surely my lord is over
 50 all things supreme
 51 and over all
 52 straight paths.
 53 And over mighty
 54 princes. By the truth of this
 55 the blessed name.
 56-57 [Drawings]
 58 May no evil accident befall you.⁵⁹

Fragment 2
 T-S K 1.166

Text
 [1r]

1 בשם נְיִי אל עולם
 2 נעשה ונצליח אותם
 3 האותיות הקדושים
 4 שמרו אליהו בן
 5 אסתר מכל חולי
 6 רע ופגע רע ומזיק
 7 רע ושטן ושטנה
 8 ומבעלי עין רעה
 9 זכרים ונקובות
 10 בשם היוחד ושמו
 11 אחד ודשמה
 12 עזיזא מפורשא
 13 קדישא נורא
 14 ססינא מדכרנא
 15 עלך אבגידם
 16 המספקו פפספט
 17 גלש כב ששקט
 18 הפקד
 19 צצ וקדיש
 20 שמו
 21 זה שמי הוא שמו
 22 של מל מלכו של

59 See Footnote 58.

23	עולם זה הוא שמו
24	שאין לו כנוי
25	ברוך שם כבוד
26	מלכותו לעולם
27	ועד
28	Drawings
29	Drawings
30	אמן ואמן סלה סלה
31	והדא מעקבא
32	בין ידיה ומן
33	כלפה יחפצונה
34	באמר א~
35	תעלא א~
36	מן וראהם מחיט
37	ובל הו קראן מוגד
38	פילוחן מחפץ
39	אועיד אליהו אבן
40	אסתר באסמא
41	אעצימה ובהס
42	בונס אדר ובחק
43	בראהיא האיה
44	אופיה אשדי
45	יהוה צבאות אה
46	אה אה אמליהא
47	מרטוט כו זו
48	אנסא בנו
49	בשם אכתריא
50	הטמיד גמרא
51	Drawings
52	Drawings
53	Drawings
54	Drawings
55	א' ס'

Translation

[1r]

1 In the name of [Adonai] El Elyon

2-3 May we accomplish and succeed. These holy letters—

4 May they guard Eliyahu ben

5 Esther from all evil illness
 6 and evil accidents and demons
 7 of evil and *satan* and *satanah*
 8 and from those who wield the Evil Eye,
 9 male or female.
 10 In the name of the only one, whose name is
 11 one and who is from heaven.
 12 Stronger than can be explained,
 13 the holy, awesome
 14-18 []
 19 [] and holy is
 20 his name.
 21 This is my name, that is his name
 22 of the *ML* king of
 23 the world. This is his name,
 24 there is no other name.
 25 *Baruch shem kavod*
 26 *malchuto le'olam*
 27 *va'ed*.
 28-29 [Drawings]
 30 Amen and Amen. Selah. Selah.
 31 These are the successive angels
 32 from before him and from
 33 behind him, and they will protect him
 34 at God's command.
 35 May he be exalted. God
 36 encompasses them on all sides
 37 In fact, this is a glorious Quran
 38 preserved on a tablet.
 39 Grant refuge to Eliyahu ibn
 40 Esther, by the attributes of
 41 the Almighty. By the truth of
 42 [] and by the truth of
 43 *BR'YH H'YH*
 44 *'VFYH El-Shaddai*
 45 *YHVH* of Hosts *'H*
 46 *'H 'H* []
 47-48 []
 49 In the name of *'KTRY'L*
 50 the great and *GMR'L*

51-54 [Drawings]
55 Amen. Selah.

Fragment 3
T-S AS 142.256

Text
[1r]

1 בשם רחמיא בשם
2 חסדיא וחננא
3 וכנשיא שתתנו
4 חן וחסד לאליהו
5 בן אסתר שישא
6 ויהן קודם כל אדם
7 בעולם ולא יהיה
8 לבני אדם וחוה
9 רשות לדבר
10 ולפתוח ולענות
11 בשם יה ובשם
12 ברקיא וקדשיא
13 יה שתתנו חן וחסד
14 ויקר לא?ליהו בן
15 אסתר ואמצא
16 כקן ידו לכל
17 העמים וכאסוף
18 ביצים עזובות
19 כל הארץ אני
20 אספתי ולא יהיה
21 נודוד כנף ופוצה
22 פה ומצפצף וימצא
23 יוסף חן בעיני 'ה'
24 ויהי אדני את יוסף
25 כן ימצא אליהו בן
26 אסתר חן בשם
27 כרוביא המלאך
28 המהלך על כנפי
29 רוח וימצא חן
30 בעיני יְיָ בשכמ
לו

31 אביס⁶⁰ נעשה
 32 ונצליח תשלח
 33 אסותא דחיי
 34 ודרחמי מן קדם
 35 מימרא דשמיא
 36 לאסאה ית אליהו
 37 בן אסתר ויתסי
 38 מכל רוחין בישין
 39 ומהרהור ומן
 40 השגוע ומן כל
 41 פחד ובהלה בכוח
 42 אלו החזותמות יתסי
 Drawings 43
 Drawings 44
 Drawings 45
 46 בכוח אלו השומות
 47 שנכתבו בזה
 48 הקמיע תקא
 49 רפואה שלימה
 50 לאליהו בן אסתר
 51 ולא יוזק מעתה
 52 ועד עולם אנסל
 53 אכיר⁶¹ בשם פופיא
 54 דא אפריא עתא
 55 שפתיא זא
 56 שדי צבאות
 57 שמו יהיה יה יה⁶²
 58 שמוע
 Drawing 59
 60 כ' ת' ר' מ' ש'

End of amulet.

Translation

[1r]

60 Perhaps אמן ברוך יי סלה or אדיר במרום יי סלה

61 Probably אמן כן יהי רצון

62 Or יהיה והיה

1 In the name of *RHMY'L*. In the name of
 2 *HSDY'L* and *HNV'L*
 3 and *KNŠY'L*. May you grant
 4 grace and favor to Eliyahu
 5 ben Esther, may he be raised up
 6 and placed before all mankind,
 7 forever, and may there not be
 8 among the descendants of Adam and Eve
 9 authority to speak,
 10 to open, and to answer
 11 In the name of *Yah*, and in the name of
 12 *BRQY'L* and *QDŠY'L*
 13 *Yah*, may you grant grace and favor
 14 and honor to Eliyahu ben
 15 Esther. And I will find
 16 his hand in the nests of all
 17 the nations as if gathering
 18 abandoned eggs
 19 [of] all the earth. I
 20 have collected. There will be no
 21 flapped wing or opened
 22 mouth to peep. And Joseph found
 23 favor in the eyes of [Adonai]
 24 and *Adonai* was with Joseph
 25 Thus may Eliyahu ben [Esther] find
 26 favor in the name
 27 of *KRVBY'L* the angel
 28 He goes about on the wings
 29 of the wind. May he find grace
 30 in the eyes of *YHY' Baruch shem kevod malchuto le'olam va'ed*.
 31 Mighty on High is [Adonai]. Selah.⁶³ May we do
 32 and succeed. Send
 33 the remedy of life
 34 and mercy from before
 35 words of heaven
 36 to heal Eliyahu
 37 ben Esther. Grant healing

63 See Footnote 60. The second option could be rendered thus: "Amen. Blessed be [Adonai]. Selah."

38 from all evil spirits and
39 and imaginings and from
40 madness and from all
41 fear and panic. By the power
42 of these seals, grant healing
43-45 [Seals?]
46 By the power of these names
47 written in this
48 amulet, may there be
49 complete healing
50 for Eliyahu ben Esther
51 And may he not be harmed from now
52 until forever. Amen *Netzach Selah La'ad*.
53 Amen, yes, may it be [your] will.⁶⁴ In the name of *PVPY'L*,
54 *D'L*, *'PRY'L*, *'T'L*,
55 *ŠPTY'L*, *Z'L*,
56 *Shaddai* of Hosts
57 His name is *Yah Yah Yah Yah*⁶⁵
58 [Let it be] heard.
59 [Line]
60 Yes, you will be shepherded from heaven.

End of amulet.

Analysis

Codicological Analysis

Thorough codicological analysis of Genizah magical documents is untrodden ground. Most scholarly works that publish these fragments also include a codicological sketch, but no work, to the knowledge of the author, has been done focusing solely on the material aspects of the manuscripts. A codicological study of the magic contents of the Cairo Genizah, with comparison to general work on the materials and construction of

⁶⁴ See footnote 61.

⁶⁵ See Footnote 62. This could also be understood as “He [is/will be] and he was.”

Genizah manuscripts such as the recent important work by Zina Cohen,⁶⁶ would contribute greatly to the knowledge of these fragments, which are material objects created for use. A study comparing the materials used in the composition of magic texts compared with other types of texts, such as business documentation and prayerbooks, could aid in reconstructing the position of magic documents in life and society of medieval Cairo.

What follows is a codicological sketch of Fragment 1 (HUC 1035),⁶⁷ in the style of those offered by the volumes of published Genizah texts. A more thorough codicological sketch of this fragment, prepared according to a guide created by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger,⁶⁸ can be found in Appendix 4.

The amulet is quite long, measuring about 127 cm if all three fragments were once again placed in succession. The dimensions of all three fragments are presented in Table 1. The dimensions are all within 2 cm of one another. The range of height is 1.513 cm, and the range of width is 1.609.

Table 1. Dimensions of HUC 1035 / T-S K1.166 / T-S AS 142.256⁶⁹

Fragment	Height (cm)	Width (cm)
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66 Zina Cohen, *Composition Analysis of Writing Materials in Cairo Genizah Documents*, Cambridge Genizah Studies 15 (Boston: Leiden, 2021).

67 Despite viewing Fragments 2 and 3 at the Cambridge University Library, the author was unable to conduct comparable codicological analysis of these fragments. While it is possible that different paper was used for the three fragments, the fragments at Cambridge appear similar to Fragment 1 in color and have taken ink identically.

68 Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "Checklist for the observation and evaluation of Hebrew script," *Instrumenta BwB* (Books within Books) 2, 2013. See also the original, more detailed French version: Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "Un petit guide de description des écritures hébraïques," *Instrumenta BwB* 1, 2013.

69 HUC 1035, author's measurements; T-S K1.166 from Cambridge University Library at <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-TS-K-00001-00166/>; T-S AS 142.256 from Friedberg Genizah Project at www.fjms.genizah.org. Websites accessed May 7, 2024.

1. HUC 1035	42.3	5.0
2. T-S K1.166	42.3	5.6
3. T-S AS 142.256	42.989	7.926

The fragments were once sewn together, a discovery made by Ortal-Paz Saar upon realizing that the top and bottom of each fragment is pierced with needle holes.⁷⁰ When compared, the holes can be found to line up, as long as the stitching is not neat.

A small piece of the thread used remains woven through two of the top holes of Fragment 1. Identification of the fibers used in this string, compared to similar materials used in the binding of codices of other types of Genizah fragments, would aid in the study of the compositional materials of Genizah magic documents discussed above. Once sewn, the amulet was rolled, probably intended to be inserted into a leather or metal case and worn by Eliyahu ben Esther.⁷¹ The amulet was rolled from the top, toward the back, with the text facing outward. This can be seen from ink transfer on the verso sides of the fragments, which show the same text and paratextual elements as on the front, slightly lower than they appear on the front. This can be seen quite clearly in Appendix 2, which juxtaposes the two sides of Fragment 1. The presence of thread on the top of the first fragment may indicate that it was once sewn to and rolled around a central pin, though no pin survives.

The amulet is written on paper. An analysis of Fragment 1 with light shining through the reverse revealed that it was written on what is known as “laid paper,” paper created by drawing a mesh of regularly laid wires through a vat of paper pulp. These

⁷⁰ Saar, “Genziah Offers Long-lasting Protection,” 2.

⁷¹ Saar, “Genziah Offers Long-lasting Protection,” 2. For amulets found within cases, see Yuval Harari, *JMBRK*, 218, fn 25.

wires cause depressions in the paper which are visible when backlit. These narrow lines lay perpendicular to thicker lines called chain lines, the arrangement of which aids in dating and locating the paper. The paper of Fragment 1 contains 16 visible chain lines, around 26mm apart. There are 27 laid lines in 50mm. Because sheets of paper were usually drawn with the laid lines parallel to the long edge of rectangular sheets, it is likely that HUC 1035 was cut horizontally, taking a strip off the bottom of a large sheet. Though the present study did not include a thorough codicological study of Fragments 2-3, their similar size, shape, and appearance lead one to believe their paper was taken in a similar way.

The physical attributes of paper can help somewhat in dating and locating the fragment. Indeed, Malachi Beit-Arié states that “the type of paper (like the type of parchment) attests, more than any other codicological attribute, to the manuscript’s provenance.”⁷² Zina Cohen notes that modern codicologists consider four types of paper: Oriental, Islamic, European, and Industrial,⁷³ but Beit-Arié divides the paper used for medieval Hebrew documents into Oriental (Islamic) and Occidental (European). The style of paper used in the tripart, with even laid lines and regularly placed, ungrouped chain lines, is almost certainly of European origin,⁷⁴ rather than Islamic North African origin. In his book on Arab papermaking, Jonathan Bloom notes that in the early fifteenth

⁷² Malachi Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Medieval Hebrew Codices based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts until 1540 using a Quantitative Approach* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2021), 246.

⁷³ Cohen, 39.

⁷⁴ Beit-Arié, 251-252, 261. On this latter page, Beit-Arié does cite “extremely rare” instances of Arabic paper with evenly spaced single chain lines, though all of those cited have chain spaces of 30-55mm, nearly half a centimeter wider than the chain spaces of HUC 1035 at 26mm.

century, an increased cost of living in Egypt and the already high cost of local paper production led to the import of a vast quantity of paper from Italy, where the economic, industrial, and agricultural context made papermaking more affordable and the export of paper lucrative.⁷⁵ European paper dominated the Egyptian paper market, and by the sixteenth century all dated Genizah documents are written on European paper.⁷⁶

Taking this as an approximate earliest date, the tripart amulet could be dated to the fifteenth to nineteenth century, when the latest of the materials were deposited in the Genizah.

The ink of Fragment 1 is brown. There is no indication of damage to the integrity of the paper on which the ink was placed, indicating a low acidity. The transfer of the ink onto the verso of the page while it was rolled should also be noted. The color of the ink is consistent, except where lines intersect, where the points of intersection are a bit darker.

Fragment 1 was written with a stub-shaped instrument about 2/3 of a millimeter in breadth, held at what appears to be a consistent angle in the hand. The angle does not appear to have changed from the standard writing position when the graphic elements were drawn. An exception would be the superscript lines over the words in lines 47-48, whose thickness would be different if written the same way, as evidenced by the disparity between the thickness of these lines and the cross-strokes of the letters they sit atop, especially in line 48. Thus, these marks were likely added after the lines were written, though their ink appears to be the same.

⁷⁵ Jonathan Bloom, *Paper before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001): 82-83.

⁷⁶ Bloom, 83.

One paleographic issue deserves mention here (though a more substantial paleographic inquiry can be found in Appendix 4), that of vocalization. The only vowel markings in the entire amulet occur in abbreviations of the Tetragrammaton. They are Tiberian vowel markings, יְי in Fragment 2, line 1, and יְי in Fragment 3, line 30. It is unclear why these two words would be vocalized in an otherwise unvocalized text, especially as they are different and when other euphemistic forms of the Tetragrammaton (Fragment 2, line 23; Fragment 3, line 57) lack vowels. A related phenomenon, however, is the placement of extremely short superscript lines above the right arm of the ש in שְׁדִי (Fragment 2, line 44; Fragment 3, line 56). These “dots,” while occurring alongside other superscript lines denoting divine names (as discussed below), likely serve to distinguish the letter ש and make very clear the use of the divine name. Perhaps these two exceptions to the amulet’s lack of vowel pointing are used to enhance the significance of the name of God.

Textual Analysis

Amulet's Aim

The amulet’s great length means that it is able to accomplish many different aims. Gideon Bohak and Ortal-Paz Saar summarized these aims as “to protect אליהו בן אסתר from sickness, demons, and the evil eye, and give him charm and grace in the eyes of all people.”⁷⁷ The expression of these different aims, as well as the textual and paratextual elements meant to empower the expressions, make up the content of the amulet. These aims can be divided into three categories: providence, protection, and healing.

⁷⁷ Bohak and Saar, “Genizah Magical Texts Prepared For or Against Named Individuals,” 93.

The amulet seeks providence in that it requests God to bring about the “concerns and desire” of Eliyahu ben Esther (1.12-17), as well as grace and favor before others (1.20; 3.4,13). The phrase “May we accomplish and succeed” is also used (2.2), which, though formulaic to the point of typicality,⁷⁸ is still an expressed aim of the amulet.

“Grace and favor” (הַן וְחֶסֶד) is a common aim for Jewish amulets. The phrase occurs in the long unit which begins Fragment 3, in which the phrase is used twice. It is also used in the small portion of Hebrew in Fragment 1. It is ubiquitous in Jewish magic, especially in amulets.

It is likely that the aforementioned unit of Fragment 3 is one which aims for success in commerce. The unit appears nearly identically in a magic recipe (T-S NS 246.32) for an amulet intended to aid its recipient in commerce.⁷⁹ Another amulet containing this unit (T-S K 1.152) specifically states that its purpose is commercial.⁸⁰

The goals of protection and healing are intertwined. The perspective of healing and medicine in the medieval Islamic world was closely tied up in theological perspectives on divine punishment and demonic activity.⁸¹ That being said, there are portions of the text in Arabic which seek refuge from illness, demons, the evil eye, as well as general evil (1.23-55; 2.31-48?). There is also one Aramaic section (3.31-52)

78 Swartz, “Scribal Magic,” 173. This phrase also begins many other Jewish documents, similar to (though not to the scale of) the use of the *basmala* in Islam as described elsewhere.

79 Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*.

80 Schiffman and Swartz, 140.

81 Peter E. Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2007): 144-145.

which has several liturgical parallels,⁸²discussed above. This section is explicitly requesting healing, in addition to protection from evil spirits and madness.

In the portions of text before and after the explicit statements of these goals, the amulet states the power through which these purposes are carried out. The two Arabic refuge sections, for example, both contain quotations from the Quran, which will be discussed later. The section in Fragment 1 also utilizes Arabic names of God, which are some of the ninety-nine names of God known in Islam. The Aramaic healing section, however, utilizes the power of magic seals (3.41-45) and the names written in the amulet (3.46-48). The unit for commercial success utilizes verses from the Hebrew Bible (3.15-24, 28-30), as well as the names of the angels *ḤSDY'L* (3.2), *ḤNV'L* (3.2), *KNŠY'L* (3.3), *BRQY'L* (3.12) and *QDŠY'L* (3.12). These divine elements, from which the amulet derives power, will be discussed in the next section, in comparison with textual parallels where relevant.

Divine Beings

God

The opening of this amulet, and most complete extant Jewish amulets, contains a reference to God, the single supreme deity central to the monotheistic cult of the Israelites and the traditions which grew out of it to be practiced by modern Jews, Christians, and Muslims. As the mono-deity of these monotheistic systems, God naturally plays a central role in much literature produced in these cultures. This extends even to magic traditions. Michael Swartz notes “the emphasis on the power of the name of God”

82 Salzer, 159.

as the first of three “prevailing elements” of Jewish magic.⁸³ Gideon Bohak notes that use of names of God has always been ubiquitous in—indeed, characteristic of—Jewish magical traditions.⁸⁴

The names of God are often accompanied in magic texts by names of angels (מלאכים). The presence and power of these angels, along with the many demons referenced in magical texts, may seem to indicate a breach of strict monotheism by the Jewish magicians. Gideon Bohak, however, argues that Jewish magic is quite consistent with Jewish monotheism and even argues that monotheism may explain the growth of Jewish magical tradition.⁸⁵

Bohak argues, in essence, that Jewish magic is not polytheistic because it views the lesser supernatural beings as acting under the overarching authority of God. He states that “Nowhere in the ancient Jewish magical texts will we find any divine being which would rival the Jewish God, or even challenge him, or even influence His actions in any major way.”⁸⁶ Bohak continues by noting that the centrality of the priest-led temple cult, and the resulting distance between lay people and God, left a gap. This resulted in a need for accessible means to accomplish goals such as healing. The monotheistic Jews, instead of adopting the magical means of their neighbors, appropriated them and developed new Jewish forms of magic.

83 Michael Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014): 20.

84 Bohak, *AJM*, 305.

85 Bohak, *AJM*, 52-59.

86 Bohak, *AJM*, 52.

While not breaching their monotheism, Bohak argues that this willingness to depart from cult-sanctioned mechanisms does indicate a divergence from the “simplistic biblical modes of Providence and its consequences for their lives.” While demonstrating a commitment to a monotheistic system through the centrality of God in magical practice, the fact that Jewish people have utilized magical means consistently throughout history does indicate that they have not accepted the simple idea that obedience to the covenant will bring good things and prevent bad things. In fact, it indicates the existence of a different level of cultural creativity and production beyond the elite religious authorities.

While the corpus of texts relevant to Bohak’s argument are ancient, much older than the tripart amulet, a close reading of the tripart amulet seems to indicate that its creator held similar views as those described, as will be demonstrated below.

The sociohistorical context of the tripart amulet was doubtless heavily influenced by Islam, evidenced by the use of Arabic and Quranic texts. The amulet’s redactor was, then, likely also heavily influenced by the Islamic understanding of angelology and demonology. We may take the amulet’s healing power as an example. In an article about the relationship between medieval Islamic medicine and magic, Liana Saif argues that after the rise of Sufism,⁸⁷ around the fourteenth century, the forces which cause illness and bring healing came to be understood in the Islamic world as sentient supernatural beings.⁸⁸ This ideology, that illness was caused by sentient supernatural beings, was

⁸⁷ A medieval Islamic mystical movement.

⁸⁸ Liana Saif, “Between Medicine and Magic: Spiritual Aetiology and Therapeutics in Medieval Islam, in *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period*, eds. Siam Bhayro and Catherine Rider, *Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity* 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 325.

complemented by a belief that all illness is sent by God as punishment, evidenced in the harsh theological explanation that the devastation of the Black Plague was sent to punish disobedience.⁸⁹ This system of supernatural beings who are submissive to the command of the monotheistic God is not unlike what Bohak described as the understanding of ancient Jews. The system is also similar to the understanding of demons expressed in rabbinic literature, discussed below.

We can see this worldview play out in the tripart amulet itself. The amulet includes a Quranic verse stating that God is over all things supreme (Fragment 1, ll. 49-50), yet the amulet invokes angels to secure the healing of Eliyahu ben Esther (Fragment 3, ll. 46-55).

The amulet contains many ideas about God, mostly expressed through the divine names used. While these names are formulaic and typical of Jewish magic, the specific names which appear vary greatly across amulets, and many are likely the personal choices of the amulet's composer. Table 2 contains a list of the names of God used in the amulet.

Table 2. Names of God

Name	Arabic Transliteration	Translation	Location (fragment.lines)
אלה ארחמאן ארחים	الله الرحمن الرحيم	God, the Compassionate, the Merciful	1.1-2, 1.23-24
אעצים	العظيم	The Mighty	1.8, 1.43
(א)שדי	—	(El) Shaddai	1.19, 2.44
אלה אכרים	الله الكريم	God the Bountiful	1.26
אלה אחוסנא	الله الحسنی	God the Beautiful	1.32
אלה אעאי	الله العالی	God Almighty	1.42

⁸⁹ Saif, 330.

protect monotheistic concepts.”⁹¹ The vastly influential Maimonides, who wrote much of his work from Cairo, where the amulet was found, was famously greatly opposed to anthropomorphism and included those who “maintain that [God] has a body or form” among those who “deny the fundamentals of the faith.”⁹² The amulet, however, twice mentions the “face” (פנים, Ar. بوجه) of God (Fragment 1, ll 8, 26). The only other anthropomorphic idea occurs in the Hebrew healing formula which begins Fragment 3. Joseph is noted as finding favor in God’s eyes, where the biblical text refers to Potiphar’s eyes (Fragment 3, l. 23). Interestingly, the verse mentioning going about on the wings of the wind is attributed to the angel KRVB’L, avoiding anthropomorphizing God. The section of the amulet in which these verses appear occurs in other Genizah texts, as discussed below, and one of the texts referring to God’s face also appears elsewhere in Islamic literature.

The use of the idea of God’s face in the Arabic portion may indicate that the amulet’s composer was more hesitant to introduce anthropomorphic ideas in Hebrew or Aramaic texts and less hesitant to do so in Arabic texts. There was no standard of belief on anthropomorphism in early Islam,⁹³ and this amulet may be evidence of the encroachment of Islamic anthropomorphism on the Jewish community of medieval Cairo and a divergence from the teachings of their great Maimonides.

91 Bill Rebigier, “Angels in Rabbinic Literature,” in *Angels: The Concept of Celestial Beings—Origins, Development, and Reception*, eds. Friedrich Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karin Schöpflin, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2007 (New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 630.

92 Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, vol. 1:5, trans. Eliyahu Touger (Jerusalem: Moznaim, 1990): 72. See *Mishneh Torah*, Teshuvah 3:7.

93 See Livnat Holtzman, *Anthropomorphism in Islam: The Challenge of Traditionalism (700-1350)*, Edinburgh Studies in Classical Islamic History and Culture (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

Though the amulet is not puristic in rejecting anthropomorphism, the primary active agents of the amulet are angels, as well as the evil figures the angels are invoked against. Indeed, Schiffman and Swartz identify the relationship of humans to angels and demons to be the “principal concern” of amulets.⁹⁴

The use of angels in amulets is not a uniquely Jewish phenomenon. Gideon Bohak notes that Jewish, Greco-Egyptian, and Christian magical traditions had utilized similar divine names since antiquity.⁹⁵ Scholars also discuss the generative nature of angel names in magical traditions. These names were continually invented throughout the centuries,⁹⁶ resulting in a truly remarkable number of names, some of which have only been found in one source. Some angel names are “derived from key characteristics of that angel,” corresponding to the aim for which the angel is adjured.⁹⁷ Examples from the tripart amulet include the invocation of HSDY’L (חסדיא) and HNV’L (חנניא) in line 2 of Fragment 3 directly before a request for grace (HN, חן) and favor (HSD, חסד) in lines 3-4. The names of these angels contain the words for the things they are invoked to bring about.

Schiffman and Swartz go so far as to say that in their Genizah incantation texts, “it is mistaken to speak of the angels and demons as distinct figures whose roles persist and around whom legends grow.”⁹⁸ They see the angels as creations of the amulet

⁹⁴ Schiffman and Swartz, 34.

⁹⁵ Bohak, *AJM*, 296.

⁹⁶ Bohak, *AJM*, 307.

⁹⁷ Schiffman and Swartz, 36, 144.

⁹⁸ Schiffman and Swartz, 35.

makers, which were crafted for the amulet according to its purposes. Notable exceptions to this are angels which are mentioned in other extant literature, such as ‘KTRY’L (Fragment 2, l. 49), who is mentioned in the Talmud⁹⁹ and once in 3 Enoch.¹⁰⁰

Angel names are spread across major works of Jewish magic, such as the *Sword of Moses*¹⁰¹ and *Sefer Ha-Razim*,¹⁰² as well as in Jewish pseudepigraphic and apocalyptic texts like the books of Enoch. Probably due to the vast number of names, no compilation or analysis of the angels featured in Jewish magic or even within the limited corpus of the Cairo Genizah has been published. Such a project is complicated by the difficulty in distinguishing meaningless or garbled groups of letters from names intended to represent angels,¹⁰³ though Ortal-Paz Saar and Joris van Eijnatten of Utrecht University have been involved in a project which seeks to establish a database of angel names.¹⁰⁴ A preliminary version of this database, in the form of a spreadsheet, has been shared by

99 BT Berachot 7a. For a discussion on whether this passage refers to God or an angel, see Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Traditions* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965): 51-52.

100 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 52.

101 Moses Gaster, *The Sword of Moses: An Ancient Book of Magic* (London: D. Nutt, 1896); Yuval Harari, “*The Sword of Moses (Harba de-Moshe)*: A New Translation and Introduction,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 7 (2012): 58-98.

102 Margalioth, *Sefer Ha-Razim* [Hebrew].

103 One could, perhaps, limit the relevant names further by studying only those angels whose names end with divine epithets like אֱל- or הֵ-, or by limiting the study to those introduced with בְּשֵׁם formulae or adjured with typical adjuration language.

104 Ortal-Paz Saar and Joris van Eijnatten, “Computing Angel Names in Jewish Magic,” Paper presented at ADHO Digital Humanities Conference 2023, Graz, Austria, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8148465>; Joris van Eijnatten and Ortal-Paz Saar, “Mining Angels in Jewish and Coptic Magic Texts,” Paper presented at DH Benelux 2023, Brussels, Belgium. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7949674>.

Ortal-Paz Saar,¹⁰⁵ though the database only contains angel names appearing in published Genizah fragments.¹⁰⁶

Table 3 contains a chart of identifiable angel names in the tripart amulet alongside their locations. The chart reveals that these names appear in clusters (apart from KRVBY'L, who appears alone), and are all located toward the end of the amulet.

Table 3. Angel Names

Angel	Transliteration	Location (fragment.line)
אכטריא (הטמיד)	'KTRY'L	2.49(-50)
גמרא	GMR'L	2.50
רחמיא	RḤMY'L	3.1
חסדיא	ḤSDY'L	3.2
חנוא	ḤNV'L	3.2
כנשיא	KNŠY'L	3.3
ברקיא	BRQY'L	3.12
קדשיא	QDŠY'L	3.12
כרוביא (המלאך)	KRVBY'L	3.27
פופיא	PVPY'L	3.53
דא	D'L	3.54
אפריא	'PRY'L	3.54
עתא	'T'L	3.54
שפתיא	ŠPTY'L	3.55
זא	Z'L	3.55

Evil Figures

Just as the forces for good in the amulet are personified as supernatural angels, the forces for evil are personified as supernatural demons. The demonization of illness in Islamic culture as understood by Liana Saif is discussed above. Ida Fröhlich explains that

¹⁰⁵ The spreadsheet may be downloaded through Saar's page on Academia.edu, https://www.academia.edu/1707316/Angel_Names_in_the_Cairo_Genizah_Classification_and_Analysis.

¹⁰⁶ Ortal-Paz Saar, email message to author, April 16, 2024.

the demonization of illness occurred much earlier in Judaism with the creation of the books of Enoch in the last century or so before the common era.¹⁰⁷ Demons are also understood in rabbinic literature to be the source of a variety of evils,¹⁰⁸ and the rabbis of the Talmud position themselves as the appropriate intermediaries between demons and humans.¹⁰⁹ From the rabbinic creation of an effective amulet to protect from demons¹¹⁰ to the use of prayer to subdue their evils,¹¹¹ the Rabbis recognize (and share) the pervasive belief in demons and address it with rabbinic solutions. Among these solutions are the bedtime *Shema*¹¹² and the use of *mezuzot*¹¹³ and *tefillin*.¹¹⁴

Shaul Shaked discusses demons in incantation bowls, noting that they appear to fall between angels and humans in a hierarchy of God-Angels-Demons-Humans.¹¹⁵ In the

107 Ida Fröhlich, "Demons and Illness in Second Temple Judaism: Theory and Practice," In *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period*, eds. Siam Bhayro and Catherine Rider (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 83.

108 BT Berakhot 6a.

109 See Harari, *JMBRK*, 392-407. This pertains particularly to the Babylonian Talmud, but similar themes are also present in the Jerusalem Talmud.

110 BT Pesachim 111b.

111 BT Kiddishin 29b.

112 JT Berakhot 1:1.

113 BT Avodah Zarah 11a.

114 JT Peah 1:1, in which a Rabbi sends a mezuzah and explains that it has protective force. See Bohak, *AJM*, 368, fn 46.

115 Shaul Shaked, "Jews, Christians, and Pagans in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls of the Sasanian Period," in *Religions and Cultures: First International Conference of Mediterraneum*, eds., Adriana Destro and Mauro Pesce, Academic Studies in Religion and the Social Order (Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, Binghamton University, 2002): 77-81. See also Gideon Bohak and Dan Levene, "Divorcing Lilith: From the Babylonian Incantation Bowls to the Cairo Genizah," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 63, no. 2 (Autumn 2012): 197-217. Bohak and Levene discuss a continuity between the bowls and Genizah magic

Genizah magical documents, however, Schiffman and Swartz argue that “demons are seen primarily as causes of disease.”¹¹⁶ This could be due to the brevity and purpose-driven nature of magical texts, which rarely explain theology or cosmology before getting into practical instruction or efficacious magical texts. In any case, demons are so often adjured alongside illnesses that it is often difficult to distinguish which words refer to animate spirits and which to physical conditions.¹¹⁷ The conflation of medical conditions with demons bearing their name is not a phenomenon unique to Genizah magic, however. In the Babylonian Talmud, in Gittin 67b, the Rabbis discuss the case of a divorce document issued under temporary insanity (קורדיקוס), which they identify as the name of the demon that causes temporary insanity.¹¹⁸ The word identified as a demon is also a Greek medical term.

One named evil force mentioned in the amulet is *satan* the outcast (Judeo-Arabic, אשיטאן ארגים, Fragment 1, l. 33). This term is used without the definite articles in Quran 81:25, where it is stated that the revelation comes not from an outcast *satan*. A similar (anarthrous) term is used in a Hebrew portion, שטן ושטנה, though the inclusion of *satanah* here, as well as the lack of the definite article, may indicate a general category of gendered demons.

recipes by illustrating that a recipe from the Genizah uses the same structure of a divorcing incantation as is found in the incantation bowls.

¹¹⁶ Schiffman and Swartz, 35; Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*, 35.

¹¹⁷ Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*, 35.

¹¹⁸ See Bohak, *AJM*, 374.

Another named force is Umm As-Subyan, a jinn similar in function to the Jewish Lilith.¹¹⁹ Indeed, some scholars conflate the two.¹²⁰ The amulet protects from “Umm As-Subyan and her children” (Judeo-Arabic, אום אציביאן ואולאדהא; Fragment 1, ll. 35-36). The Arabic name is defined by Moshe Piamenta as referring to “a female demon...with donkey’s legs, capable of transforming a man to an ass¹²¹.... She scatters her children everywhere, so that when a passer-by happens to tread over one of them and harm him, she takes revenge by harming the passer-by.”¹²² Piamenta also references a Yemeni folk legend, which refers to Umm As-Subyan as a “great jinn” who only loves what is ugly and deformed as she is.¹²³ Lilith, the mythological first wife of Adam, could be the referent in the Jewish mind here, though it is likely that the composer of the amulet, who demonstrates familiarity with other parts of Islamic culture, would also know of the dangers of Umm As-Subyan the jinn. In any case, the term *lilith* can also be used generically as a type of demon.¹²⁴ Without any narrative or other description, it is difficult to pin down what or who was intended.

119 “Jinn” refers to supernatural folk figures, the origin of which predates the rise of Islam. The Quran and other foundational Islamic literature concede the existence of jinn as superior to humans but limit them as being under the control of the Almighty. See Jaqueline Chabbi, “Jinn,” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, vol. 3, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001): 43-50. It appears that they function roughly equivalently to demons.

120 Gershom Scholem, *Demons, Spirits, and Souls: Studies in Demonology*, ed. Esther Leibs (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Israeli Communities in the East, 2004): 65. [Hebrew]

121 This idea is not particularly remarkable unless juxtaposed with the Arabic prayer discussed below, which also has a relation to being turned into a donkey. Perhaps this was a particular fear of Eliyahu ben Esther.

122 Moshe Piamenta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 12.

123 Ismā’il bin Ali al-Akwa, *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyyah*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dar al-Māref, 1968): 222. [Arabic]

124 Harari, *JMBRK*, 237, fn 84.

The evil eye (עין רעה; Fragment 2, l. 8) has been addressed by Jewish amulets since at least the time of the Talmud.¹²⁵ The evil eye can be either the ill will of those who envy or the supernatural negative consequences of this envy.¹²⁶ According to the Babylonian Talmud, “the seed of Joseph” is immune to the eye’s harm,¹²⁷ which could be the reason for the inclusion of the portion of the amulet which wishes for Eliyahu ben Esther to find favor in the eyes of God, as Joseph did.

Table 4 contains each evil or negative thing which the amulet purports to protect against and its location in the text.

Table 4. Things Protected Against

Text	Location (fragment.line)
מן שר אשיטאן ארגים	1.33
ומן אֵה	1.34
ומן שר אום אציביאן	1.35-36
ואולאדהא	
ומן שר אנפאתא ואלעוקד	1.37-38
ומן שר חאסד אא חאסד	1.38-39
מן גמיע אעאהא	1.45
ואאפאת	1.46
ומן כל דבאתן דבי דנא	1.46-48
צוהא	
מכל חולי רע	2.5-6
ופגע רע	2.6
ומזיק רע	2.6-7
ושטן ושטנה	2.7
ומבעלי עין רעה זכרים	2.8-9
ונקובות	
מכל רוחין בישין	3.38

¹²⁵ Harari, *JMBRK*, 386-392.

¹²⁶ The amulet also protects from envy in Fragment 1 lines 38-39, which are discussed below as lines borrowed from the Quran.

¹²⁷ TB Bava Batra 118a-b; TB Berakhot 20a, 55b. See Harari, *JMBRK*, 391-2.

ומהרהור	3.39
ומן השגוע	3.39-40
ומן כל פחד ובהלה	3.40-41

Textual Parallels

Arabic Literature

Detailed work comparing Jewish amulets with Arabic Islamic amulets has yet to be conducted but would contribute greatly to the scholarly understanding of the interactions of Jews with the surrounding Muslim culture under Muslim rule. Despite their prominence among the magical texts of the Cairo Genizah, Arabic magical texts and those exhibiting heavy Islamic influence have hardly been approached by scholars of Jewish magic.¹²⁸ This lacuna indicates a rich ground for further study.

The influence of the Islamic Arabic-speaking world of the amulet is manifest in the use of Arabic as well as the use of direct Quranic and Islamic quotations. The first Quranic text encountered in the amulet is the *basmala*, which opens the amulet. The *basmala* is the first line of every *surah* of the Quran except the ninth, though it is traditionally only counted as an *ayah* in the first chapter, *Al-Fithah*.¹²⁹ The first *ayah* of *Al-Fithah* is compared to the opening of the tripart amulet in Table 5. The *basmala* is the opening line of any Islamic document of significance, including legal contracts.¹³⁰ It is

128 For an up-to-date survey of the scant extant studies, see Gideon Bohak, "Specimens of Judaeo-Arabic and Arabic Magical Texts from the Cairo Genizah," in *Amulets and Talismans of the Middle East and North Africa in Context*, Leiden Studies in Islam and Society 13 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 17, fn. 7.

129 Graham, 207-209.

130 Ibid., 210-211.

also ubiquitous in Islamic amulets.¹³¹ The *basmla*, as well as mentions of refuge, are essential elements of Islamic amulets. These formulae of refuge occur three times in the tripart amulet (Fragment 1, ll. 24-25, 43-44; Fragment 2, ll. 39-40), indicating a significant influence of Islamic magic on the Arabic portions of the amulet.

Table 5. Comparison of HUC 1035 with Al-Fithah 1:1

Al-Fithah 1:1	HUC 1035, ll. 1-2 (Transliteration)	HUC 1035, ll. 1-2 (Transcription)
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	1 باسم الله الرحمن 2 الرحيم	1 באסם אלה ארחמאן 2 ארחים

Notably, the *basmla* is traditionally written in Arabic without the prosthetic *alif* in اسم,¹³² though the Judeo-Arabic here retains the *alef*. There are extant Judeo-Arabic copies of the Quran from the Cairo Genizah in which the *basmla* lacks the *alef*,¹³³ and the use of it here is puzzling.

The next Quranic text is derived from *Al-Falaq*, the one-hundred-thirteenth *surah*¹³⁴ of the Quran. This and the following *surah*, *An-Nas*, are closely related as the chapters in which the Prophet seeks refuge from evil. Because of this theme of protection,

131 Kathleen Malone O’Conner, “Amulets,” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, vol. 1, edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001): 78.

132 Graham, 211.

133 T-S NS 223.21, 1v; T-S Ar. 51.62, 1r. See also Manuscript DMG Arab 5, fol. 6a, published in Aleida Paudice, “On Three Extant Sources of the Qur’an Transcribed in Hebrew,” *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 236.

134 A *surah* is a ‘chapter’ of the Quran. The Quran is composed of 114 *surahs*, all of which are named for a name of Allah. The first number in a Quranic reference refers to the *surah* number, not a division within the *surah*. The second number refers to the *ayah*, ‘verse’ (pl. *ayat*). Thus, the first *ayah* of the twenty fourth *surah* *An-Nur* may be referred to as *An-Nur* 24:1 or simply Quran 24:1.

these two *surahs* are extremely common in Islamic magic.¹³⁵ This usage is somewhat ironic, however, since the Prophet is seeking refuge from supposed Jewish workers of magic (*Al-Falaq* 113:4). There is a tradition that this pair of *surahs* (known together as *Mu'awwidhatayn*, 'Verses of Refuge') was given by the angel Gabriel to the Prophet after he had been struck with illness due to aggressive magic from Jewish adversaries in Mecca.¹³⁶ The recitation of the *surahs* was said to protect the Prophet from this evil magic. The text of *Al-Falaq* 113:4-5 appears in Table 6 alongside the Judeo-Arabic of Fragment 1, ll. 37-39 and an Arabic transliteration.

Table 6. Comparison of HUC 1035 with *Al-Falaq* 113:4-5

Al-Falaq 113:4-5	HUC 1035, ll. 37-39 (Transliteration)	HUC 1035, ll. 37-39 (Transcription)
وَمِنْ شَرِّ النَّفَّاثَاتِ فِي الْعُقَدِ ٤	37 ومن شر النفاثات 38 والعوقد ومن شر	37 ומן שר אנפאתאת 38 ואעוקד ומן שר
وَمِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ إِذَا حَسَدَ ه	39 حاسد الا حاسد	39 חאסד אא חאסד

As one can see in a comparison of the transliteration with the Quran's Arabic, there are slight differences in the language, but the core meaning is undoubtedly the same as the Quranic text.

The next Quranic text is also in Fragment 1 and is likely drawn from *An-Nur* 24. The text in the amulet contains phrases from the ends of *ayah* 45 and *ayah* 46. The beginning is slightly different and may have been influenced by Hud 11:57, which contains the same beginning formula but with *ربي* rather than *الله*.

¹³⁵ Canaan, 131.

¹³⁶ Canaan, 131.

Table 7. Comparision of HUC 1035 with Hud 11:57 and An-Nur 24:45-46

Hud 11:57	An-Nur 24:45(end)-46	HUC 1035, ll. 49-52 (Transliteration)	HUC 1035, ll. 49-52 (Transcription)
إِنَّ رَبِّي عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ حَفِيفٌ	(45) إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ (46) لَقَدْ أَنْزَلْنَا آيَاتٍ مُّبِينَاتٍ ۖ وَاللَّهُ يَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ	(49) ان ربي على (50) كول شي قدیر (51) وعلى کل (52) صراط مو	49 אן רבי עלא 50 כול שיין קדיר 51 ועלא כל 52 סראטן מוסתקים

Note also that most of *ayah* 46 is omitted, and the final two words are tacked onto the end of 45 with another *وعلى كل*. This deletion results in presenting God (literally, ‘my lord’) as supreme over all straight paths rather than guiding those God wills to straight paths.

Another Quranic text with a parallel in the tripart amulet is *Ar-Ra’d* 13:11, which appears in Fragment 2, ll. 31-35. This verse, which deals with angels, is fitting for an amulet in which angels’ names appear just 14 lines later.

Table 8. Comparison of T-S K1.166 with Ar-Ra’d 13:11

Ar-Ra’d 13:11	T-S K1.166, ll. 31-35 (Transliteration)	T-S K1.166, ll. 31-35 (Transcription)
لَهُ مُعَقِّبَاتٌ مِّنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِ يَحْفَظُونَهُ مِنْ أَمْرِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّىٰ يُعْزِرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ وَإِذَا أَرَادَ اللَّهُ بِقَوْمٍ سُوءًا فَلَا مَرَدَّ لَهُ وَمَا لَهُمْ مِّنْ دُونِهِ مِنْ وَالٍ	31 هذا معقبا[ت] 32 بين يديه ومن 33 كلفه يحفظونه 34 بامر الله 35 تعالا	31 והדא מעקבא 32 בין ידיה ומן 33 כלפה יחפצונה 34 באמר א- 35 תעלא

The first word is notably different in the amulet from the Quranic text, which refers to a general ‘him,’ while the amulet contains a demonstrative pronoun, ‘this.’ The deonym at the end of the phrase is composed of a vertical downstroke followed by a curled line reminiscent of a tilde (~). The rounded ends, however, can be understood to refer to the two *lams* and the final *haa* which follow the *alif* in the Arabic word *allah*

(‘God’). The next line contains the same form, which leads into the next Quranic quotation. The second word is notably missing the final *taa*, which has been inserted in brackets in the transliteration.

The next Quranic text is from *Al-Buruj* 85:20-22, appearing just after the previous text in Fragment 2, ll. 35-38. This is the most striking Quranic quotation, and perhaps the most striking line in the amulet: “And God encompasses them from all sides. Surely this is a glorious Quran, on a preserved tablet.” It is unlikely that the use of the word ‘Quran’ here is intended to mean the literal Quran, despite that being its most common use. It is possible, however, that the inclusion of the name of the Quran may be simply to draw on its power, as perceived in the popular surrounding culture.

Table 9. Comparison of T-S K1.166 with *Al-Buruj* 85:20-22

Al-Buruj 85:20-22	T-S K1.166, ll. 35-38 (Transliteration)	T-S K1.166, ll. 35-38 (Transcription)
20 وَاللَّهُ مِنْ وَرَائِهِمْ مُحِيطٌ	35 ا[الله]	35 ا[الله]
21 بَلْ هُوَ قُرْءَانٌ مَجِيدٌ	36 من وراهم محيط	36 מן וראהם מחיט
22 فِي لَوْحٍ مَحْفُوظٍ	37 ويل هو قرءان موجد	37 ובל הו קראן מוגד
	38 في لوح محفوظ	38 פילוהן מחפץ

This text also appears in Cambridge Mich. E.33, where it is handwritten into a decorative frame of a medieval block-printed Arabic amulet.¹³⁷ Thus, the use of the passage in magic is attested, and it is attested specifically in magical texts which were accessible to the Jewish community in Cairo. A broad study of Judeo-Arabic amulets of the Cairo Genizah may be able to illuminate the use of this passage.

137 Karl R. Schaefer, “Eleven Medieval Arabic Block Prints in the Cambridge University Library,” *Arabica* 24, no. 2 (2001): 218. A photo of the amulet is included in Karl R. Schaefer, “Malleable Magic: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets and Their Audiences,” *Manuscript Cultures* 49 (2022): 153.

Another passage of Islamic literature has been found to contain notable similarities to the text of Fragment 1 (ll. 24-40). The parallel is found *Al-Muwatta*, a collection of *hadith* collected by Imam Malik ibn Anas, an eighth century Islamic scholar. In it, a figure says, “If it had not been for some words which I said, the Jews would have made me into a monkey.”¹³⁸ The words he is recorded as saying appear in Judeo-Arabic in the tripart amulet and are presented in Table 10 alongside the text from HUC 1035. The irony of the usage of this prayer here is quite obvious.

Table 10. Comparison of HUC 1035 with *Al-Muwatta* 51:12

<i>Al-Muwatta</i> 51:12 ¹³⁹	HUC 1035, ll. 24-34 (Transliteration)	HUC 1035, ll. 24-34 (Transcription)
أَعُوذُ بِوَجْهِ اللَّهِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي لَيْسَ شَيْءٌ أَعْظَمَ مِنْهُ وَكَلِمَاتِ اللَّهِ التَّامَّاتِ يُجَاوِزُهُنَّ بَرٌّ وَلَا فَاجِرٌ الَّتِي لَا وَبِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ الْحُسْنَى كُلِّهَا مَا عَلِمْتُ مِنْهَا وَمَا لَمْ أَعْلَمْ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ وَبَرّاً وَذَرّاً.	24 اعوذ 25 أليهو ابن اسתר 26 بوجه الله الكريم 27 وكلمته التمام 28 الذي يجاو به شي 29 لا باز ولا 30 ائيم ولا فاجر 31 وبجميع أسماء 32 الله الحسننا من 33 شر الشيطان 34 الرجيم امن...	24 אועיד 25 איהו ابن אסתר 26 בוגה אלה אכרים 27 וכלמתה אתמאם 28 אדי יגאו בה שי 29 לא באר ולא 30 אתים ולא פאגר 31 בגמיע אסמא 32 אה אחוסנא מן 33 שר אשיטאן 34 ארגים ומן...

“I seek refuge with the
immense Face of Allah –
there is nothing greater than
it – and with the complete
words of Allah which neither
the good person nor the
corrupt can exceed and with
all the most beautiful names
of Allah, what I know of

I, Eliyahu ibn Esther, seek
refuge in the face of God the
Bountiful and in his perfect
words, which answer
anything. Not with evil nor
the corrupt?? The name of
God the Fortress from the
evil of the adversary, the
outcast.

138 *Al-Muwatta* of Imam Malik ibn Anas: *The First Formulation of Islamic Law*, trans. Aisha Abdurrahman Bewley, (Norwich: Diwan Press, 2014): 706.

139 Imam Malik ibn Anas, *Al-Muwatta*, (Al-Furqan Publishing Group, 2003): 409.

them and what I do not
know, from the evil of what
He has created and originated
and multiplied.”¹⁴⁰

Biblical

Another literary corpus more commonly repurposed in Jewish magic is the Tanakh. The ubiquity of biblical quotations in Jewish magic was noted early on in the recent increase in scholarship in the late 20th century. Naveh and Shaked noted in 1993 that the use of biblical quotations is “clearly visible in all varieties of Jewish magic, in the Mesopotamian bowls, the Palestinian amulets, as well as the magic material from the Cairo Geniza, and is also widely attested in late mediaeval and modern Jewish magic practice.”¹⁴¹ Michael Swartz notes that the Hebrew amulets of the Cairo Genizah often include biblical verses near the end “to guarantee that the power of scripture will be brought to bear on the magic.”¹⁴² Dorothea Salzer notes that, at least in cases of written incantations, biblical allusions may function as *materia magica*, the things through which power is harnessed to achieve the goal of a magical act.¹⁴³ The amulet under examination utilizes several harnessing agents, such as direct appeal to God, to angels, and magic signs. The writer also likely drew inspiration from existing magical handbooks, as will be discussed below.

¹⁴⁰ *Al-Muwatta*, trans. Bewley, 706.

¹⁴¹ Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*, 22.

¹⁴² Michael Swartz, “Scribal Magic,” 178.

¹⁴³ Salzer, 177.

Until recently, the study of magic lacked a formal study of the use of biblical quotations in magical texts. As previously mentioned, Shani Levi produced an analysis of the use of Tanach in magic texts from the Cairo Genizah for an M.A. thesis advised by Gideon Bohak in 2008.¹⁴⁴ Dorothea M. Salzer, however, was the first to commit a monograph to biblical references and allusions in Jewish magic, with the publication of *Die Magie der Anspielung* in 2010. In the estimation of Yuval Harari, the book “touches on almost every angle of magic culture reflected in [the Genizah magic] texts.”¹⁴⁵

Salzer analyzes biblical allusions through a theory of intertextuality. In her book, she identifies over five hundred texts from the Tanakh which are used in the magical texts of the Genizah.¹⁴⁶ This theoretical framework divides the relevant texts into pretext (“Prätexte”), that is, the source text (in this case the Tanakh) and manifest text (“manifeste Texte,” or “Macroformen,” ‘macroforms’), the text which in some way uses the source text.¹⁴⁷ This foundational study will feature heavily in the following analysis of the use of biblical allusions in the tripartite amulet.¹⁴⁸

All of the biblical texts in the amulet occur in the first portion of Fragment 3, which has been identified by Ortal-Paz Saar as parallel to two Genizah texts whose

144 Shani Levi, “The Integration of Biblical Verses and Biblical Characters in Magical Texts from the Cairo Genizah,” (master’s thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2007).

145 Harari, *JMBRK*, 154.

146 Salzer, 60.

147 Salzer, 30.

148 Though the preceding analysis did not utilize this framework, Salzer’s framework would also function well in the analysis of Quranic quotations.

similarities were discovered by Yuval Harari.¹⁴⁹ These texts are T.S K 1.152, an amulet,¹⁵⁰ and T-S NS 246.32, a magic recipe book,¹⁵¹ the former being a “finished product” of the latter, which is an instructional manual.¹⁵² A comparison of these three texts can be found in Appendix 5.

The first biblical text encountered in the amulet begins in Fragment 3 in lines 15-22, which quote Isaiah 10:14. This text, in which Assyria’s commercial success is described, is used in the amulets probably to ensure financial security for Eliyahu ben Esther.¹⁵³

Table 11. Comparison of T-S AS 142.256 with Isaiah 10:14

BHS ¹⁵⁴	T-S AS 142.256 1r 15-22
<p>וּתְמָצָא כְּקֶן יָדוֹ לְכָל הָעַמִּים וְכַאֲסוּף בִּיצִים עֲזוּבוֹת כָּל-הָאָרֶץ אֲנִי אֶסְפְּתִי וְלֹא יִהְיֶה נוֹדוֹד כִּנֹּף וּפּוּצָה פֶה וּמִצְפָּץ:</p> <p>My hand found, like a nest, the wealth of the nations. As if gathering abandon eggs have I gathered all the earth, and there was no flapping of a wing or opening of the mouth to chirp.</p>	<p>וּתְמָצָא כְּקֶן יָדוֹ לְכָל הָעַמִּים וְכַאֲסוּף בִּיצִים עֲזוּבוֹת כָּל-הָאָרֶץ אֲנִי אֶסְפְּתִי וְלֹא יִהְיֶה נוֹדוֹד כִּנֹּף וּפּוּצָה פֶה וּמִצְפָּץ:</p> <p>May I find his hand upon all the nations like [in] a nest. As if gathering abandoned eggs, may he gather all the earth. May there be no flapping of a wing or opening of the mouth to chirp.</p>

There are seven differences between the pretext and the manifest text here, which can help in identifying the type of biblical repurposing this is, according to Salzer’s

149 See Bohak, *AJM*, 148, fn. 9.

150 Schiffman and Swartz, 137-142.

151 Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*, 235-238.

152 Bohak, *AJM*, 148, fn. 9.

153 Schiffman and Swartz, 39, 140-141. T-S K1.152, which the authors discuss in these passages, states this purpose explicitly for its target, Shalom ben Zuhra (lines 19-21).

154 *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, eds. K. Elliger, W. Rudolph, and A. Schenker (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997): Isaiah 10:14. All biblical texts in the present paper are taken from this edition.

framework. As noted by Salzer, plenary and defective spellings are not significant to analysis of the textual transfer from pretext to manifest text, and these vocalic-consonantal differences have been indicated with italics in the above figure. The four more noteworthy differences are indicated in bold.

The first two differences would be classified by Dorothea Salzer as pseudo-quotation (“Pseudozitat”), in which pretexts appear with only slight changes in the manifest text.¹⁵⁵ More specifically, this is an example of substitutional pseudo-quotation, in which morphemes or words are replaced by words which are not synonymous to those of the pretext.¹⁵⁶ The changes (ותמצא → ואמצא and ידי → ידו) are shifts in person and gender (third person feminine → first person common; first person common → third person masculine). Similarly, the last bold shift (היה → יהיה) represents a shift of the verbal form (the so-called “Perfect,” or *qatal* → the so-called “Imperfect,” or *yiqtol*). The shift from להליל → לכל is an example of a substitutional pseudo-quotation functioning on the word-level which could be attributed to the similar sound of these consonants.

The next biblical text is Genesis 39:4. This is another example of a substitutional pseudo-quotation, though the amulet only contains the first part of the verse. The only thing that has been changed is the shift from a third person singular pronominal suffix (ו-) to a representation of the Tetragrammaton.

Table 12. Comparison of T-S AS 142.256 with Genesis 39:4

Genesis 39:4 (BHS)	T-S AS 142.256, ll. 22-23
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¹⁵⁵ Salzer, 34.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 36-37.

22 וימצא	4 וימצא יוסף חן בעיניו וישתת אתו ויפקדהו על-
23 יוסף חן בעיני 'ה'	ביתו וכל־יש־לו נתן בקדו:

This usage is interesting because the referent of the suffix in the Genesis narrative is Potiphar, not God. This exhibits the flexibility allowed with the biblical text by magicians who took on the role of redactors in their crafting of amulets. As discussed above, the affiliation with Joseph could help protect Eliyahu from the Evil Eye, from which the seed of Joseph is exempt, according to the Babylonian Talmud.¹⁵⁷

This is followed immediately by another substitutional pseudo-quotation, this time of Genesis 39:2, which substitutes *Adonai* for the Tetragrammaton.

Table 13. Comparison of T-S AS 142.256 with Genesis 39:2

Genesis 39:2 (BHS)	T-S AS 142.256, l. 24
24 ויהי אדני את יוסף	2 ויהי זהה את־יוסף

The next quotation is, at long last, a genuine quotation, with no morphological changes from the source text. Somewhat similar to the shift of referent in the use of Genesis 39:2, however, the referent in the biblical text of Psalm 104:3 is God, while the referent in Fragment 3 is the angel KRVY'L.

Table 14. Comparison of T-S AS 142.256 with Psalm 104:3

Psalm 104:3 (BHS)	T-S AS 142.256, l. 28-29
28 המהלך על כנפי	3 המקרה במים עליותיו השם־עבים רכובו המהלך
29 רוח	על־כנפ־רוח:

This biblical text is absent from the recipe for a similar amulet (T-S NS 246.32) in the text published by Naveh and Shaked. Upon review of the high-definition images of the fragment available on the Friedberg Genizah Project, however, the text can be read as

¹⁵⁷ See Footnote 127 above.

follows, beginning in the middle of line 19: ...**נפּי רוּחַ וְנַח מְצֵא**... The beginning of the twentieth line is crumpled, and the ink has flaked off from much of the letters through **מְצֵא**. The six letters indicated in bold can still be made out, however.

The line directly after this, **וּמְצֵא הָן בְּעֵינֵי יוֹי** (Fragment 3, ll. 19-20), appears in the recipe and the parallel amulet as ...**וְנַח מְצֵא**... Perhaps the writer of the tripart amulet mistook the ה of **וְנַח** for the ה of **רוּחַ** in a recipe and mistakenly left out the name of Noah. This would explain the odd lack of Noah from the text of Fragment 3 when it is present in the other two parallel fragments.

In addition to these direct uses of Scripture, the amulet also contains allusions to the Bible. In line 8 of Fragment 3, ‘all mankind’ is referred to as **בְּנֵי אָדָם וְחוּהָ**, the children of Adam and Eve. Schiffman and Swartz note that this formula is especially common in amulets which seek to grant **הָן וְחֹסֶד**, like T-S K 1.6, T-S K 1.42 (line 17), and K1.168 (line 49).¹⁵⁸

Liturgical

As noted by Dorothea Salzer, the relationship between attitudes of magic and liturgy is difficult to ascertain.¹⁵⁹ This is especially true when discussing texts that are not part of the “standard” liturgy, like piyyutim.

The Aramaic prayer for healing, as mentioned above, has parallels found in medieval Jewish liturgy, particularly in the Brit Milah liturgy of Rav Amram Gaon and of Saadia Gaon, as well as two other Genizah fragments, one held by Jewish Theological

¹⁵⁸ Schiffman and Swartz, 68.

¹⁵⁹ Salzer, 159.

Seminary, ENA 2231.1,¹⁶⁰ and another at Cambridge, T-S K1.144. The entire relevant portions of these texts are presented in Appendix 6 alongside the relevant portion of the amulet, but the short section of the text which is nearly identical across the five sources is presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Comparison of T-S AS 142.256, lines 32-41 with Parallel Texts

¹⁶¹ סדר ר' עמרם גאון	סדר רב סעדיה גאון ¹⁶²	T-S K1.144, 1v, right, ll. 4-5 ¹⁶³	ENA 2231.1, 1r ll. 6-10 ¹⁶⁴	T-S AS 142.256, ll. 32-41
תשתלח אסותא דחיי וּדְרַחְמֵי מִן קֶדֶם מִימְרָא דְשְׁמִיָּא לְאַסְאָה לְנִרְיָא הָדִין וּיְתַקְרִי שְׁמִיָּא פְלוּנִי בִּישְׂרָאֵל.	תשתלח אסותא דחיי וּדְרַחְמֵי מִן קֶדֶם מִימְרָא דְשְׁמִיָּא לְאַסְאָה לְפְלוּנִי בֵּר פְלוּנִי	4 בעגלא תשתלח אסותא דחיי ורחמי לאסאה יתיה ולרחמא 5 אליה לפי בר פלי דיצריך לאסו בישרי	6 תשתלח אסותא דחיי ורחמי לאסאה 7 מן קדם מימרא דשמיא 8 לאסאה לפי רק ולשיזבא לאימיה 9 דינוקא הדין דהיא צריכה אסו 10 בישרא	32 תשלח 33 אסותא דחיי 34 וּדְרַחְמֵי מִן קֶדֶם 35 מִימְרָא דְשְׁמִיָּא 36 לְאַסְאָה ית אליהו 37 בן אסתר

The relevant portion of both siddurim are included in the Brit Milah liturgy, both recited after the cut is made, to encourage its healing. This portion also appears in the Brit Milah liturgy for the Yemeni rite.¹⁶⁵

160 Schäfer and Shaked, *MTKG* II, 29. See also Salzer, 159.

161 Rav Amram Gaon, *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, ed. Shlomo Goldschmidt (Jerusalem: Mossad, 1971), 179 (קעט) [Hebrew].

162 Rav Saadia Gaon. *Siddur Rav Saadia Gaon*, eds. I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B. I. Joel (Jerusalem: Makitzi Naradim, 1970): 99 (צט) [Hebrew].

163 Transcription from Schäfer and Shaked, *MTKG* II, 31.

164 Unpublished.

165 *Siddur Tefilah: Nusach Teman Shami*, eds. Zohar Nadaf and Oren Matzrafi (Jerusalem: Oren Matzrafi, 2004): 573. [Hebrew]

T-S K1.144 is part of a three-part join published by Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked.¹⁶⁶ This text is part of the *Pishra de Rav Hanina ben Dosa*,¹⁶⁷ and the portion following it is a prayer attributed to Abraham *avinu*, which is followed by one attributed to Jacob *avinu*. The document contains “prayers, incantations, and *segullot*,” though Schäfer and Shaked identify this portion of the text as a prayer.¹⁶⁸ The fragment from JTS is also identified within the Friedberg Genizah Project as a prayer, and it contains no texts which have indications of magical elements.¹⁶⁹

Another parallel with Jewish liturgy found in the text is more familiar to standard modern liturgy: ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד. This formula appears in Fragment 1, lines 25-27, and in the form of an acronym in Fragment 3, line 30. In both of these places, it appears to function as a section-ending or transitional element.

Paratextual Analysis

There is also value in discussing elements present in the manuscript beyond the text itself. Yuval Harari has produced a short introduction to these elements in medieval and early modern Jewish magical handbooks,¹⁷⁰ and Gideon Bohak has discussed the use

¹⁶⁶ Schäfer and Shaked, *MTKG* II, 27-78.

¹⁶⁷ Gideon Bohak, *A Fifteenth Century Manuscript of Jewish Magic: MS New York Public Library, Heb. 190 (Formerly Sassoon 56)*, *Sources and Studies in the Literature of Jewish Mysticism* 44 (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2014): 230. The text also appears in the *Pishra de Rav Hanina ben Dosa* which appears in MS New York Public Library, Heb. 190.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁶⁹ www.fjms.genizah.org, information for New York, JTS ENA 2231.1.

¹⁷⁰ Yuval Harari, “Functional Paratexts and the Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Manuscripts of Magic,” in *The Visualization of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Marcia Kupfer, Adam S. Cohen and J.H. Chajes, 183-210 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepolis, 2020).

of *charaktêres* in ancient and medieval Jewish magic,¹⁷¹ but no lengthy work on paratextual elements in Jewish magic has yet been produced. What follows is a short analysis of the paratextual graphic elements in the tripart amulet.

Magic Square

The magic square appears in the beginning of the amulet and is designated as Fragment 1, line 5. Two types of magic squares which were used in medieval Jewish magic: mathematical magic squares, which came only through influence from Islamic magic, and “SATOR AREPO-type” magic squares.¹⁷² In mathematical magic squares, the sum of all the rows and columns is the same. The SATOR AREPO-type utilizes letters which form words in the rows and columns.

The trouble with the square in the tripart amulet is that it is not symmetrical but contains three rows and four columns. Further trouble comes when one tries to read the swirling signs within the square. Tewfik Canaan, in a discussion of similar phenomena, mentions that 4x3 “seals” do exist,¹⁷³ though these are used with Arabic numbers and letter-numbers (similar to Hebrew Gematria), which are not the symbols used here.

171 Gideon Bohak, “The *Charaktêres* in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic,” *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 47 (2011): 25-44.

172 Bohak, *AJM*, 432.

173 Canaan, 162.

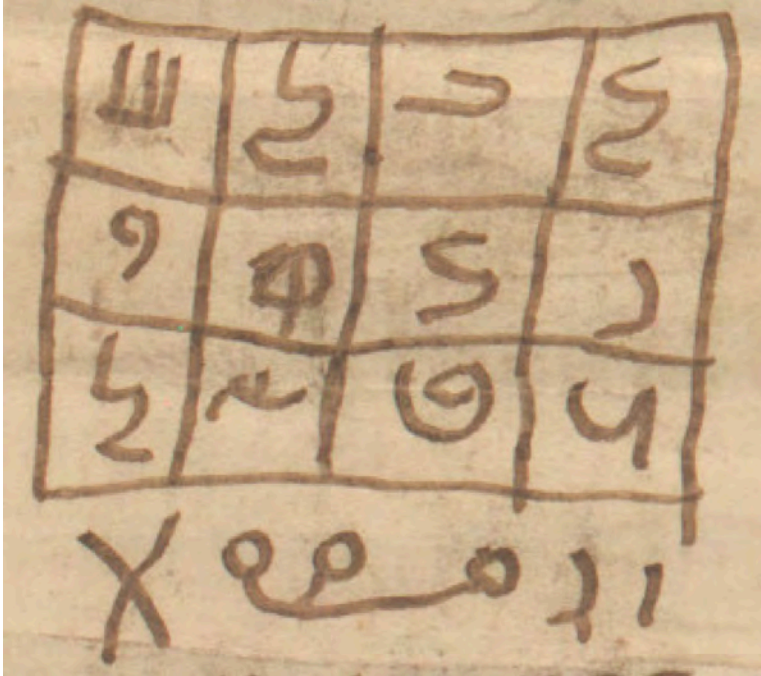


Figure 1: Magic Square and Charaktêres (Fragment 1, Lines 5-6)

Courtesy of the Klau Library, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

Some of these symbols are similar to the Tifinagh symbols discussed in unpublished work by Lloyd Graham on African apotropaic talismanic rings.¹⁷⁴ Tifinagh is a writing system for Berber languages of North Africa and has been used since before the common era.¹⁷⁵ The identifiable symbols are briefly noted in Table 16.

Table 16. Identifications of the Symbols of the Magic Square

1. Probably a ψ .	2. Possibly the Tifinagh symbol ξ , /i:/.	3. Probably Arabic \aleph .	4. See symbol 2.
5. Probably Arabic \aleph .	6. Possibly the Tifinagh symbol Φ , /b/.	7. Possibly Arabic \aleph .	8. Probably Arabic \aleph .

¹⁷⁴ Graham Lloyd, "The Magic Symbol Repertoire of Talismanic Rings from East and West Africa," Unpublished, 2014.

¹⁷⁵ "Berber (Tefinagh)," In *The Routledge Handbook of Scripts and Alphabets*, 2nd ed., eds., George L. Campbell and Christopher Mosele, 58-60 (London: Taylor and Francis, 2012).

9. See symbol 2.

10. Unsure.

11. Probably Arabic
ق.

12. Unsure.

No attempt at making sense of these possible letter arrangements has been successful. It is possible that they have either been corrupted or were not ever semantically significant.

Charaktêres

The *charaktêres*, also known as *Knottenschrift*, are ubiquitous in magical texts. These are the symbols typically composed of small circles connected by lines. Having probably emerged from Greek magic, they had found their way into just about every magic tradition in the world by the Middle Ages.¹⁷⁶ These magic signs¹⁷⁷ have been shown in the Genizah texts to sometimes have been meticulously copied over centuries,¹⁷⁸ though the *charaktêres*-like sigla in the tripart amulet do not seem to represent a sophisticated traditional use of the *charaktêres*.

The first instance of a phenomenon similar to *charaktêres* is line 6 of Fragment 1, shown in Figure 1, below the square. The only *Charaktêresque* feature of this line is the circles on the middle shape, and this is arguably not a technical use of *charaktêres*. This word may be the Judeo-Arabic word גשא, which in Arabic may be غشأ, “cover, darken,”¹⁷⁹ though that meaning is difficult to make sense of in the context.

176 Bohak, *AJM*, 271.

177 Bohak, “The Charaktêres,” 26. Bohak defines a “magical sign” as “any sign which looks more or less like an alphabetic sign or a simple ideogram, but which does not belong to any of the alphabets used in that specific magical text, or to any known system of meaningful symbols.”

178 Bohak, “The Charaktêres,” 34.

179 Joshua Blau, *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2006), 479.

The next instance of similar phenomena is designated lines 11-15 of Fragment 1, which are in Figure 2.



Figure 2: Charaktêres (Fragment 1, Lines 11-15)

Courtesy of the Klau Library, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

The only sense that can be supposed for these symbols is that they seem to have some visual correspondence with the Arabic name of God, الله. Both the Hebrew Tetragrammaton and the Arabic name of God are four letters, three plus one. Tawfik Canaan notes that الله is used creatively in graphic elements of Arabic amulets.¹⁸⁰ This theory is further supported by the text directly preceding the symbols, which reads, “By this, the name [of God]” (Fragment 1, ll. 9-10). This phrase does not unambiguously refer to the following symbols, however, and the amulet’s composer could be using “the name” (אֵלֹהִים) as a divine name in its own right. The symbols in the second row are most

¹⁸⁰ Canaan, 135.

similar in form to the name. The top symbol has four open spaces, and the three dividing lines are reminiscent of the first three vertical strokes of الله. The fourth “line” consists of eight circles, which can be visually divided into two groups of four. The right group has three vertical lines like الله, and the left group has the two center dots connected in a somewhat similar shape to the connection of the *lams* in الله. This is simply a recognizable pattern, and the intention of the writer likely cannot be determined conclusively.

The theme of three vertical lines continues in the drawings at the bottom of Fragment 1, which are shown in Figure 3.

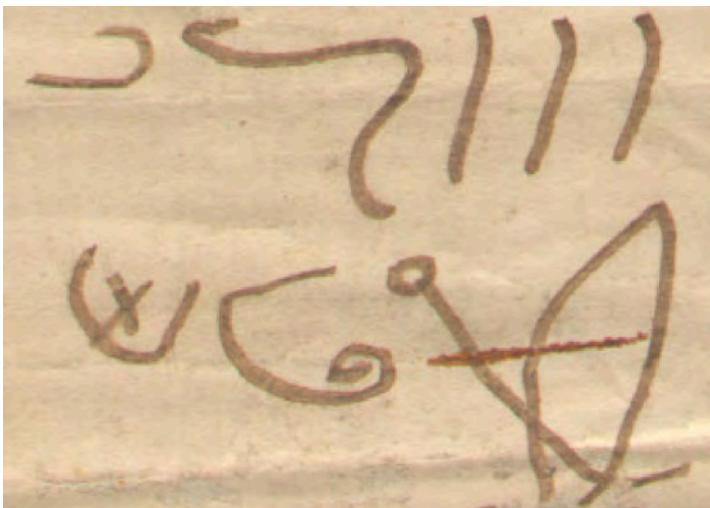


Figure 3: Drawings (Fragment 1, Lines 56-57)

Courtesy of the Klau Library, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

There is a grouping of three vertical lines on the right of the top line. In the middle is a form similar perhaps to an Arabic number 6, ٦, and a form which resembles a ٨. The middle form in the lower row could be a ٢, though the forms beside it are difficult to identify.

Two portions of Fragment 2 contain symbols similar to *charaktêres*, designated as lines 29 and 51-53. These can be seen in Appendix 2, which contains a photo of the

fragment. This group contains the same ψ shape as Fragment 1 line 6, though the other sigla next to it are also capped with circles. This line looks much less like Hebrew letters capped with circles than the line from Fragment 1.

Above this line of *charaktêres* is a group of shapes (designated Fragment 2, l. 28) composed of dots with several layers of lines beneath them. The shape on the right is a very strange geometric form. The meaning of these symbols is difficult to surmise in the immediate context, and they differ from any symbols noticed among the published Genizah magic documents.

The second portion of *charaktêres* occurs at the end of Fragment 2. The first line in this group, like previous ones, has ψ -like shapes. Line 52 has a four-armed ψ , similar to the unusual letter on Tefillin. Like the end of Fragment 1, the second fragment ends with drawings that are seemingly not semantic (line 53).

Fragment 3 contains no *charaktêres* proper, but it does contain dot-line forms somewhat similar to those in Fragment 2, line 28. This may be helpful for identifying both groups of signs, as they are introduced as “seals” (חותמות, Fragment 3, l. 42). See Appendix 3 for an image of Fragment 3. It is then clear that these elements are not simply decorative but contribute to the power, “כוח” (Fragment 3, l. 41) of the amulet itself. Yuval Harari identifies such things as performative elements which “are held to bear performative powers that support and strengthen the verbal adjuration.”¹⁸¹

181 Harari, “Functional Paratexts,” 187.

The end of Fragment 3 does not contain drawings like those of Fragments 1-2, though the word שמור (l. 58) is underlined with a line (designated l. 59) which curls up at the end and is intersected by a short line near the middle.

The meaning of all these symbols is uncertain, especially in this amulet, where the symbols appear in small groups, in most cases with no clear introduction or other connection to the surrounding text.

Outlining

A portion of Fragment 2 (lines 10-20) is enclosed in a series of “boxes.” The “boxes” group lines 10-14 and isolate each line from 15-18. Lines 19-20 may be grouped together only because line 20 is a single word. The “boxes” begin with rather sharp angles and get gradually more curved at the corners, so that lines 19-20 are enclosed on the lower side by a continual curve. The line on right side of the “boxes” only extends to the middle of line 16, leaving the right side of lines 16-20 open on the right.

This is clearly an intentional strategy to isolate the text for some reason. The text inside the lower boxes is quite difficult to decipher, and four words begin with doubled letters (ססינא, l. 14; פפספט, l. 16; ששקט, l. 17, and צץ, l. 19).

Overlining

Many words in the amulet are indicated with one to two small lines across the top, probably as close to a “dot” as the stub-tipped writing instrument would allow. All of these words are included in Table 17 together with their locations in the amulet, and a visual example of overlining can be found below, in Figure 4, over שדי in Fragment 1, line 19.

Table 17. Overlined Words

Overlined Word(s)	Location
שדי	1.19
אה	1.34
דבאתן דבי דנא צותהא	1.47-48
לתאר (acronym)	
בהס בונס אדר	2.41-42
בראהיא האַי אופיה אַשדי יהוה	2.43-46
צבאות אה אה אה	
אמליהא מרטוט כו זו אַסנסא בנו	2.46-48
אכתריאַ	2.49
גמרא	2.50
אס (acronym)	2.55
רחמיאַ	3.1
חסדיאַ	3.2
וחנואַ	3.2
וכנשיאַ	3.3
אדם וחוה	3.8
יה	3.11, 3.13
ברקיא	3.12
וקדשיאַ	3.12
ה	3.23
אדני	3.24
כרוביא	3.27
יְיִ	3.30
בשכמלו (acronym)	3.30
אביס (acronym)	3.30
אנסל (acronym)	3.52
אכיר (acronym)	3.53
פופיא	5.53
דא	5.54
אפריאַ	5.54
עתאַ	5.54
שפתיאַ	5.55
זא	5.55
שדי צבאות	5.56
שמו יהיה והיה	5.57
כתרמש (acronym)	5.60

Several considerations arise from this list. The overlined words fall into three categories: names of God, names of angels, and acronyms. Three sections of undeciphered text are also overlined: Fragment 1, lines 47-48 and Fragment 2, lines 41-42 and 46-48.

Word Size

There is one final paratextual element that warrants comment, word size. The word **שׁוּ** appears twice as large (about 4mm tall) as the rest of the surrounding text (about 2mm tall) in Fragment 1 line 19 and Fragment 2 line 44. This is probably either an effort to maintain the distinction and sanctity of the name of God or an attempt to leverage more power from this very powerful name.

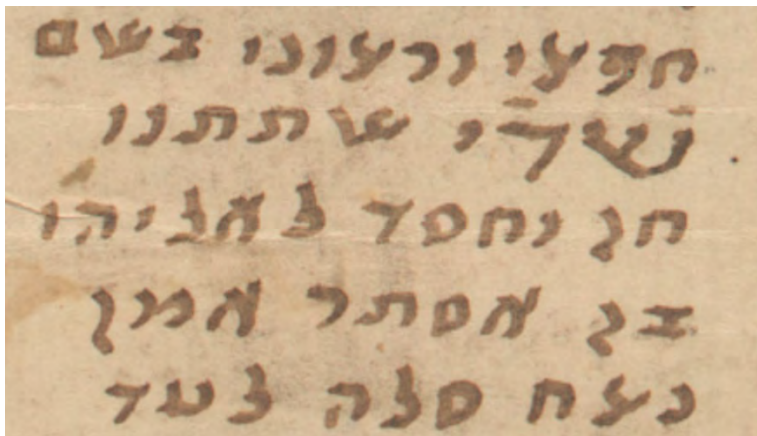


Figure 4: Oversizing of **שׁוּ** (Fragment 1, l. 18-22)

Courtesy of the Klau Library, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

Conclusion

The goal of the present work is to contribute to the study of Jewish magical traditions by bringing one of its performative texts out of obscurity and illuminate what is significant about it. Having examined the manuscript and its textual and paratextual elements, we see the heavy hand of Islamic influence on the Jewish magical tradition of

the later Genizah magic documents, including direct quotations from the Quran. We have also seen a Hebrew passage which is present in two other known magical texts and probably many more.

This analysis is still only a preview of the information which this amulet can bring to the field of Jewish magic study, especially as the field continues to grow and mature. Being able to contextualize the amulet using comprehensive studies of medieval Jewish magic traditions and the influence of Islamic magic on them would present a much clearer picture of the amulet in its historical and cultural context.

The amulet having been reunited, the work shall continue, and the study of Jewish magical traditions will continue to blossom, shedding light on the daily lives of people who, though separated from modern society by thousands of years, share many of the same concerns, fears, and hopes as people today. May we learn from them.

Appendix 1

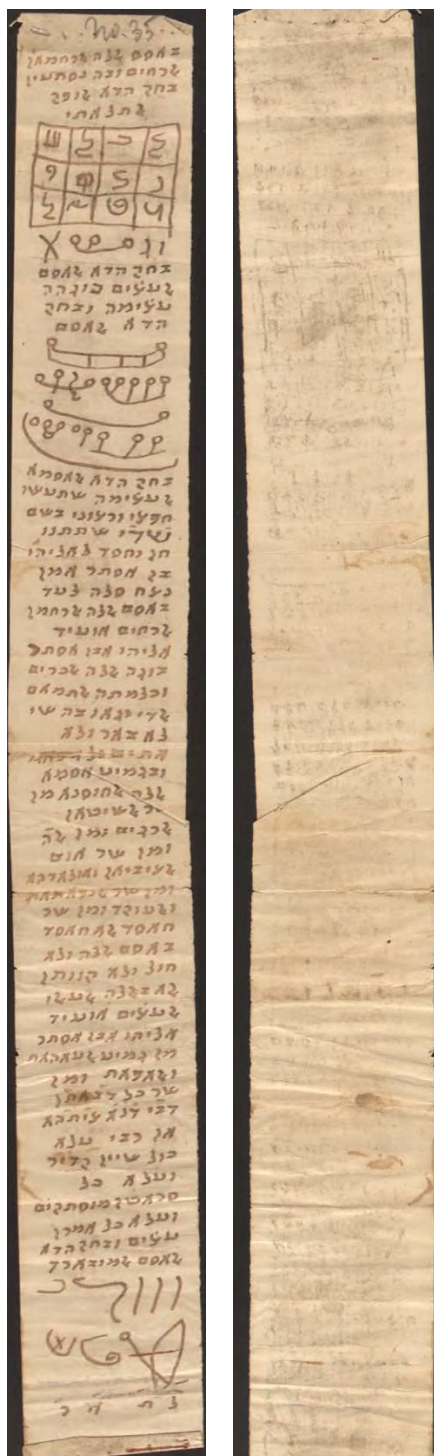


Figure 5. HUC 1035 recto and verso (Fragment 1)

Courtesy of the Klau Library, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion.

Appendix 2



Figure 6. T-S K1.166 (Fragment 2)

Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Appendix 3



Figure 7. T-S AS 142.256 (Fragment 3)

Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Appendix 4

The following codicological analysis of Fragment 1 (HUC 1035) was prepared on February 29, 2024, according to a “Checklist for the observation and evaluation of Hebrew script,” prepared by Hebrew codicologist and paleographer Judith Olszowy-Schlanger.¹⁸²

Checklist for the observation and evaluation of Hebrew script

I Presentation

1. Identification of the documents
 - HUC 1035
2. Writing material
 - Laid paper; no visible water mark, 27 laid lines in 50 mm; 16 visible chain lines, about 26 mm apart.
3. Ink and pigments
 - Faded to brown; little shading, except where lines intersect in paratextual drawings at the full width of the writing tool
4. State of conservation
 - This panel nearly complete (one small portion of blank paper is detached from the bottom right corner of recto but preserved in the folder); one fold at the middle has marred legibility of one line.
5. Style and quality of the script
 - Informal square?
6. Type of script
 - Unsure
7. Text
 - Amulet

II External features

1. Format
 - Tall narrow vertical scroll, rolled with the text on the visible outside of the roll, evidenced by ink transfer on verso.
2. Dimensions
 - 42.3 cm x ? cm
3. Dimensions of the written text

¹⁸² Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, “Checklist for the observation and evaluation of Hebrew script,” *Instrumenta BwB (Books within Books)* 2, 2013. See also the original, more detailed French version: Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, “Un petit guide de description des écritures hébraïques,” *Instrumenta BwB* 1, 2013.

4. Page layout
 - Entire amulet is composed of three tall, narrow one-sided sheets, sewn together. The text of HUC 1035 is parallel to chain lines. The left side of recto is cut cleanly, and the right side is cut more roughly.
5. Text layout
 - One solid block
6. Lines management
 - No ruling or justification

III Text density

1. Variable
2. Number of lines per page: 49 (one page)
3. Number of lines in 50 mm (vertically): 9
4. Number of characters in 30¹ mm (horizontally) 9-10
5. Space between lines
 - a. Regular at the beginning of each line, equal to the height of the line of writing, but varies at the end depending on the line's bend
6. Space between words
 - a. Variable, smaller than the average *he* (usually).
7. Spaces between letters in a word
 - a. Variable, but averages about the same as the widge of an average *vav*.

IV Text rapidity

1. General impression
 - a. Rapid, due to variation in spacing and line straightness
2. Number of movements to trace a given letter (ductus)

2?	ם	3	א
1	נ	3	ב
1	ן	2-3	ג
2	ס	2	ד
2	ע	2	ה
3	פ	1	ו
2- ¹⁸³	ף	2 ¹⁸⁴	ז
2	צ	2	ח
2 ¹⁸⁵	ץ	3	ט

¹⁸³ Taken from T-S AS 142.256, lines 21-23.

¹⁸⁴ Taken from T-S K 1.166, line 47.

¹⁸⁵ Taken from T-S K 1.166, line 38.

2	ק	1	י
1	ר	1	כ
3	ש	2	ך
2	ת	1-2	ל
2	א	2	מ

V. Lines

(Manuscripts without ruling)

1. The line is: irregular throughout the page but sinking toward the end.

VI. Letters

1. Letters and the line of writing
 - a. Heads are not parallel to the headline
 - b. Bases are not parallel to the baseline
 - c. Vertical downstrokes lean to the right, at about 70°
 - d. Many letters descend below the baseline
 - e. Average letters do not usually go above the headline
2. Width of the letters
 - a. Irregular
3. Vertical downstrokes are parallel:
 - a. in a word (usually)
 - b. Ascenders are not parallel to downstrokes, lean left
 - c. Ascenders and descenders are not parallel to each other either.
4. Ascenders and descenders: proportions
 - a. About equal to the height of the average letter.
5. Width of the strokes
 - a. Thick: stub nib held at about 45°
 - b. Shading: oblique strokes from bottom left to top right are quite thin while strokes from top left to bottom right are maximally thick.
6. Ligatures
 - a. *Alef-Lamed* ligature (אֵלֶף), used in every place where *lamed* follows *alef* in a word except in the name אֱלֹהִים.

VII. Morphology of the letters

1. Vertical downstrokes
 - a. Leaning to the right /
 - b. Rounded, open to the left)
 - c. Thinner at the end, because of the shape of the writing instrument
2. Horizontal bases
 - a. Lifted to the right /
 - b. Concave n

3. Horizontal upper bars
 - a. Convex u
 - b. Equal to the bases
4. Addition strokes
 - a. Serifs
 - i. On ן, line 28.
 - ii. No consistent serif
 - b. Feet
 - i. Only on ן
 - c. Flag
 - i. On some ך
 - ii. On some ם
 - iii. On the bottom of the *nun sofit*, end of line 1.
 - d. Nose
 - i. Hooked inward, end of line 3.
 - e. Hook
 - i. Top of ן/ב/ג/ד
 - ii. Left downstroke of ן
5. Meeting point between the strokes in a letter
 - a. Angular
 - b. Most strokes touch each other in places where Times New Roman does. Sometimes, as in the first ן of the line after the *charaktêres*, the lines do not quite meet. Most do meet, however.
 - c. Middle stroke of ן meets in the middle of the right arm.

VII. Regularity

1. Number and shape of the different forms of the same letter
2. Distinction/no distinction between similar letters
 - a. *Bet* and *kaph*: yes
 - b. *Dalet* and *resh*: yes
 - c. *He* and *heth*: yes
 - d. *Vav*, *yod*, and final *nun*: yes
 - e. *Vav* and *zayin*: yes
 - f. Final *mem* and *samekh*: yes

IX Vowels and accents

1. No vowels in this manuscript.⁶
2. Vocalization system: Tiberian (see note 6).

X. Punctuation

1. No punctuation

XI. Abbreviations, Corrections, Glosses

1. Acronyms marked with short superlinear lines which sink to the left (see last line).
2. The final *resh* of Eliyahu b. Esther's name was written over itself in line 25.
3. Divine names marked with the same superlinear lines as acronyms.

Appendix 5

This is a comparison of the text of Fragment 3, lines 1-30 with parallel texts found in an amulet (T-S K 1.152) and a magic recipe book (T-S NS 246.32).

Table 18. Comparison of T-S AS 142.256, lines 1-30 with Parallel Texts¹⁸⁶

T-S AS 142.256	T.S K 1.152	T-S NS 246.32
1 בשם רחמיא בשם	18 אשבעית עליכון רחמיאל וחסדיאל	8 אשבעית עליכון רחמיאל וחסדיאל וחיאל וכפש[יאל]
2 חסדיא וחנא 3 וכנשיא	19 וחניאל וכנשאל	
3 שתתנו	19 שתתנו חן וחסד	9 תנו חיל וחסד לפ בר פ קודם כל אדם וחוה
4 חן וחסד לאליהו	20 לשלום בן זוהרה	10 ויתכנשון גביה כל הרוצה
5 בן אסתר		
5 שישא	20 לישא וליתן	10 ליש<א> וליתן לקנות
6 ויהן קודם כל אדם	21 בסחורה קודם כל אדם בעולם ואל	11 ולמכור כל דבר שבעולם ולא יהיה רשות לכל
7 בעולם ולא יהיה	22 יהיה לבני אדם וחוה רשות	12 בני אדם וחוה לפתוח פה לדבר ולענות
8 לבני אדם וחוה	לפתוח	לזה
9 רשות לדבר	23 ולדבר ולהענות לב שלום בן	13 פ בר פל
10 ולפתוח ולענות	זוהרה	
11 בשם יה ובשם	24 בשם ברקיאל ובשם קדשיאל	13 בשם ברקיאל ובשם קדשיאל ובשם
12 ברקיא וקדשיא	25 ובשם חסין יה	14 חסין יה
13 יה		
שתתנו חן וחסד	25... שתתנו חן וחסד	14 שתתנו לפל בר פ חן וחסד ולרחמים
14 ויקר לא?ליהו	26 לשלום בן זוהרה	15 לפני כל ראיו
בן		
15 אסתר		
15 ואמצא	26 ותמצא כקן ידי	15 וימצא כקן ידו לחיל העמים
16 כקן ידו לכל	27 לחיל העמים וכאסוף ביצים	
17 העמים וכאסוף	עזובות	
18 ביצים עזובות	28 כל הארץ אני אספתי ולא	
19 כל הארץ אני	יהיה נודד	
20 אספתי ולא יהיה	29 כנף ופוצה פה ומצפצף	
21 נודד כנף ופוצה		
22 פה ומצפצף		

¹⁸⁶ For the publication of T-S K 1.152, see Schiffman and Swartz, 137-142. For T-S NS 146.32, see Naveh and Shaked, *MSF*, 235-238.

16 וימצא יוסף חן בעיניו	29 וימצא יוסף	22 וימצא
	30 חן בעיניו	23 יוסף חן בעיני
		יה'
16 וישרת אותו ויפקידהו	30 וישרת אותו ויפקידהו על	
17 על ביתו וכ[ל י]ש לו נתן בידו וישרת	31 ביתו וכל יש לו נתן בידו	
בעיניו		
18 (חן) יוסף ימצא		
18 ויהי יהוה את פל בר פ ויתן לו חן	31 ויהי יהוה	24 ויהי אדני את
19 וחסד בעיני הכל	32 את יוסף כן ימצא שלום בן	יוסף
	זוהרה	25 כן ימצא אליהו
		בן
		26 אסתר חן
19 בשם כרוביאל המלאך על	33 בשם ברכיאל המלאך חיושב	26 בשם
20 []	34 על כנפי רוח	27 כרוביאל המלאך
		28 המהלך על כנפי
		29 רוח
20 ונח מצא חן העיני יהוה	34 ונח מצא חן בעיני יהוה	
20 (כן י)מצא פ [בן פ]		29 וימצא חן
21 [ח]ן וחסד בעיני אלהים		30 בעיני יְיָ
21 ואדם אמן אמן אמן סלה	35 בש"כ מל"ו	30 בשכמלו

Appendix 6

This is a comparison of texts which contain parallels to Fragment 3, lines 32-41.

סדר ר' עמרם גאון ¹⁸⁷	סדור רב סעדיה גאון ¹⁸⁸	T-S K1.166, 1v, left ll. 4- 9 ¹⁸⁹	ENA 2231.1, 1r l. 6-1v l. 3 ¹⁹⁰	T-S 142.256, ll. 32-41
תשלח אסותא דחיי ודרחמי מן קדם מימרא דשמיא לאסאה לנריא הדין ויתקרי שמיה פלוני בישראל. ויתסי כמה דאיתסיו מי מרה על ידי משה וכמיא דירחו על ידי אלישע כן יתסי בעגלא ובזמן קריב ואמרו אמן.	תשלח אסותא דחיי ודרחמי מן קדם מימרא דשמיא לאסאה לפלוני בר פלוני יסי יתיה מימרא גשמיא וירחם עליה ויתסי כמי מרה על ידי משה במדברא וכמיא דיריחו על ידי אלישע ותהא קיצא לעקתיה ולרחמא עליה כן תקרה אסותיה העגלא לחיים ואמרו אמן.	4 בעגלא תשלח אסותא דחיי ורחמי לאסאה יתיה ולרחמא 5 אליה לפי בר פלי דיצריך לאסו בישרי יסי יתיה מרי שמייא וירחים 6 עליה ויתסי כמה דאיתסיו מי מרה על ידי משה במדברא 7 וכמיא דיריחו עך ידי אלישע ויהו קצא לעקתיה לרחמא 8 עליה ותיקרב ותיתי אסותיה לחיינ בעגלא אמן [] אמן סלה 9 סלה סלה הללויה.	1r 6 תשלח אסותא דחיי ורחמי לאסאה 7 מן קדם מימרא דשמיא 8 לאסאה לפי ^ר ק ולשיזבא לאימיה 9 דינוקא הדין דהיא צריכה אסו 10 בישראל יסי יתה מרי שמייא 11 ודחיס עליה ותתסי כמה דאיתסיו 12 מי מרה על ידי משה וכמיא 13 דיריחו על ידי אישע ותהי קצא 14 לעקתה לרחמא עלה ותקרב 15 ותיתי 1v 1 ותית אסותה אסו שלמא 2 קריבא בעגלא ובזמן קריב 3 ואמרו אמן.	32 תשלח 33 אסותא דחיי 34 ודרחמי מן קדם 35 מימרא דשמיא 36 לאסאה ית אליהו 37 בן אסתר ויתסי 38 מכל רוחין בישין 39 ומהרהור ומן 40 השגוע ומן כל 41 פחד ובהלה

187 Rav Amram Gaon, *Seder Rav Amram Gaon*, ed. Shlomo Goldschmidt (Jerusalem: Mossad, 1971), 179 (קעט) [Hebrew].

188 Rav Saadia Gaon. *Siddur Rav Saadia Gaon*, eds. I. Davidson, S. Assaf, and B. I. Joel (Jerusalem: Makitzi Naradim, 1970): 99 (צט) [Hebrew].

189 Transcription from Schäfer and Shaked, *MTKG* II, 31.

190 Unpublished.

Appendix 7

In addition to the tripart amulet, another amulet created for Eliyahu ben Esther was found in the Cairo Genizah. This amulet is Mosseri VI.4.2, a one-page parchment amulet. This amulet's text is presented below.

Several notable differences can be seen between this amulet and the tripart amulet. First, the amulet contains no Arabic. The only text quoted is Psalm 121:2, in lines 1-2.

The amulet is also very different codicologically. It was written in a different hand, on parchment rather than paper. The lines are managed by evenly scored lines, and the left margin is maintained by extending final letters (lines 1, 4, 5, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17) or narrowing entire words (lines 2, 8, 14, 19). Divine and angel names are overlined with marks similar to those of the tripart amulet. The divine names are similar to those used in the Hebrew and Aramaic portions of the tripart amulet, but the angels mentioned are different.

This text, notably, does not use adjuration verbs or hastening or aggressive language toward the angels,¹⁹¹ similar to the tripart amulet. This amulet does not aim to heal, though it does aim to protect from evil (the Evil eye, ll. 3-4; demons, l. 10; every kind of creature, l. 19). The amulet also harnesses the “merit” (זכות) of the angel names (l. 12, 14), while the tripart amulet harnesses the “power” (כוח) of the names (Fragment 3, line 46).

Mosseri VI.4.2

Text

191 Harari, *JMBRK*, 173. Harari identifies these as key traits of Jewish magical texts.

[1r]

- 1 בשם יוי נעשה ונצלה עזרי מעם יוי עשה
- 2 שמים וארץ הקמיע הזה לפחד ליראה ולעין
- 3 הרע סגולה גדולה בשם כלול והשם שלו יה
- 4 וה ושם חתך כתח תכה על ידי שלוחה
- 5 דרחמנה המלאכים הקדושים והטהורים
- 6 שיעזרו שלא יהיה לו נזק בשום אופן אא
- 7 מלאך מיכאל גבריאל אוריאל נוריאל שם
- 8 מלאך חננאל מלאך מטטרון שר הפנים שתשמרו
- 9 את השם הטוב אליהו בן אסתר מכל צרה ונזק מכל
- 10 חולאים רעים דעלמא ומשרים ומזקין ומכל
- 11 מכאובים רעים בין ביום ובין בלילה בין בחלום בין
- 12 בהקיץ בזכות אלו השמותים שם כלול אדני
- 13 ושם שדי צבאות שמו הגדול והנורא והגבור
- 14 שיגן בעדו וישמרהו אנס"ו בזכות אלו השמות
- 15 אנא רפא נא לה הל אנא אפר אנא שיהיה שמירה
- 16 בשם שומריאל שמרירל עוזיאל בכריקל
- 17 הדריאל גמליאל פקדיאל המושל בשמים
- 18 ובארץ בקיץ ובחורף בשם יהדאנוה שלא יגע
- 19 לו שום נזק וצער מכל מיני בריות אליהו בן אסתר
- 20 כ"ר

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Bibliographic Abbreviations

AJM	<i>Ancient Jewish Magic</i> (Bohak 2008)
JMBRK	<i>Jewish Magic Before the Rise of Kaballah</i> (Harari 2017)
MSF	<i>Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity</i> (Naveh and Shaked 1993)
AMB	<i>Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity</i> (Naveh and Shaked 1985)

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