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APOCRYPHAL PRAYERS AND APOTROPAISMS AMONG SOUTHERN SLAVS

Abstract: Among the manuscripts written in the church-Slavonic language, there are ones with a magical purpose - to protect from the demons and other perils. The transcription and usage of these scripts was not approved by the official church authorities, who even denounced them on many occasions. Under the circumstances of a weak ecclesiastic power and insufficient theological education, however, many priests copied and used these kinds of scripts. They often included them into the ecclesiastic books for everyday usage, so called trebnici. Some of these manuscripts were adapted for travelers, written on a special paper or thin lead sheets, and then folded into rolls. It is positive that these scripts were the translations of the originals in the Greek language. The apocryphal prayers are here divided according to their purpose and the structure of the text. According to the first principle, the following groups are defined: 1) against illness; 2) against wild animals’ bite; 3) for protection in public life (against the anger of authorities, for a preferable result in court trials); 4) for the protection of one’s property (against pests, against thieves, against hail). According to their structure, there are three types of these scripts: a) prayer; b) apotropaic formula - zaklinjanje; c) incantation - basma. The paper especially deals with the ancient character of the apotropaic formula against the evil being called nežit who, according to the mythological picture, enters one’s head in a form of a worm and is especially fond of biting people’s teeth.

Church-Slavonic literary monuments dating from the 18th and 19th centuries include many texts on the performance of magic. These are apocryphal prayers, apotropaisms, legacies, magic formulas, as well as descriptions of magic rites protecting man from demonic powers and disease. Divi-
texts, such as the thunderer, lunik, roždanik and trepetnik, complete this legacy.

As the clergy alone was privileged in handling literary works in medieval times, it was they who transcribed and spread these documents. So, such works are found in ecclesiastical books, particularly those that served for everyday use, as the trebnik did. Sometimes ministers made separate collections from noncanonical prayers and texts on magic, as, for instance, the Collection of Pope Dragoljo,1 or Pope Theodore,2 which date from the 13th and 15th centuries respectively.

Besides these transcripts and translations are texts written separately, on parchment or thin rolls of lead tape. The rolls were carried along on journeys, to serve as protection against demons or evil, or were placed in house or buried in a field, to protect crops from hail or other disasters. They often contain the names of those the roll was meant to protect.

The scripts were definitely translations of Greek manuscripts, as parallel texts in Greek testify. Sometimes the structure of the Slavic translation is restricted by the number of Greek letters, or contains certain words untranslated. The relationship of Byzantine and Slavic forms of apocryphal prayers and apotropaisms was investigated assiduously in the early 20th century by A.I.Almazov.3 In areas populated by Roman Catholics, this kind of literature was written in the Latin alphabet,4 though in some areas of the Croatian littoral the Glagolitic script was used.5 In Bosnia, among the Muslim population, it was spread in the Turkish and Arabic languages.6

1 П. Срећковић, Садржина Зборника Јоїа Дргоља, Споменик СКА, кн. V, Београд 1890, 5-9; Љ. Стојановић, Кашалог Народне библиотеке у Београду, IV. Рукописи и циаре ишамаиане књиге. Фототипско издане, кн. 3, Београд 1982, 290-291.
2 В. Jagić, Opisi i izvodi iz nekoliko južnoslovenskih rukopisa. Sredovječni liekovi, gatanja i vraćanja, Starine, X, JAZU, Zagreb 1878, 81-126.
3 А. И. Алмазов, Апокрифические молитвы, заклинания и заговоры. К истории византийской отреченной письменности, Летопись историко-филологического общества при Императорском новороссийском университете IX , Византийско-славянское отделение VI, Одесса 1901, 221-340.
Slovenians compiled such scripts in their own language, translating the German calendar and other "plebeian" literature in the late 18th and during the 19th centuries.\(^7\)

Spreading among the people, the literature became part of folklore and eventually subject to its rules. It was adjusted and altered to suit a specific cultural tradition.

The name apocryphal prayers was introduced to denote a collection of noncanonical prayers the official church did not recognize and introduce in the cult of divine service through various decisions (councils, Rules of the Holy Fathers, etc.). These prayers comprise chiefly Biblical contents and images, often embellished freely with interpretations by their authors. Speaking of a compiler of apocryphal prayers, Stojan Novaković depicted the entire sequence of transcribing and spreading such scripts. He said, "Void of canonical and theological knowledge (as nearly all were in the Middle Ages), a self-learned pope prescribes as he sees fit, according to taste acquired by living among people, with what he thinks best; he compiles a collection and canonizes it himself. He reads and performs his rites by such a collection. He asks no one, never intends to. As will be seen later on, he translates, inserts, rewrites, conjoins, so to say, this unrecognized, though, with the cultural state of the people, homogeneous literature, with what is believed and recounted in the hills and fields."\(^8\)

Depending on their purpose, apocryphal prayers fall into several groups. The broadest is certainly the one with the medical purpose, that is, serves to drive away spirits inflicting disease. Close to them are prayers against bites of wild animals: snakes, a dog infected with rabies or a wolf. The third group protects man in public life, for instance, from the wrath of authority, or pleads for a favorable court ruling, etc. The fourth group protects man's property, with prayers against fugitive slaves, discovering thieves, against pestilence, as mice or the grain weevil, and the protection of crops from hail or other unfavorable effects.

Prayers with a medical purpose are often found in the collection with various descriptions for remedies, which require the use of other treatment as well, such as herbs, minerals, parts of animals etc. These scripts are


\(^8\) S. Novaković, *Apokrifiški zbornik našega vijeka*, Starine, JAZU, XVIII, Zagreb 1886, 167.
referred to as lekaruša (medical manuscript) and were copied and spread throughout the Middle Ages, even after the printing press was invented. Thus they can be encountered in 19th-century transcripts. It should be noted that rare names for certain diseases have survived in some remote areas to this day, such as nicina, strupnik, ras, dana, etc.

According to internal structure, apocryphal prayers fall into three groups. The distinguishable elements for these divisions can be realized in one prayer. The first group comprises prayer forms that resemble recognized church prayers. Man pleads with God or the saints to rid him of some plight, or for salvage from distress. The one to whom the plea is addressed is received as the supreme authority that could bring harmony to all earthly affairs. It is interesting to note that some of these prayers contain a clear seal of their authors and are in poetic form. The second group of apocryphal prayers composes the model of a desired situation and in structure resembles or is equated with folk incantation formulas. Most often, these scripts describe an event set in Biblical times, and solve a problem that is pressing while the prayer is being pronounced. The most interesting is the prayer against a snake bite, which recounts how Apostle Paul was saved from a snake bite. The first part of the prayer is told by the Apostle himself, who recounts his experience on the road, when a hidden snake bit him. Evoking the strength of the Holy Spirit, he burned the snake, but the poison, equal to the devil’s spirit, remains. In the second part of the prayer, Apostle Paul dreams of Archangel Gavrilo and shows him a book which contains an apotropaism against snake bites. The apotropaism, as usual, reveals the attributes of the snake, which appear as its hidden name. By pronouncing these names, the power of the snake is destroyed. The chief purpose of pronouncing this prayer is to arrive at the apotropaism, which serves to demonstrate its effectiveness every time it is pronounced. In any event, the prayer has several layers and many versions in the church-Slavonic language were spread among Slavs. L.J.Jacimirski recorded a large number of these variants in an outstanding study on the history of false prayers in south Slavic literacy. This group includes the prayer of the mad dog or wolf, widespread in south Slavic medieval literature. It recounts a story

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10 А. И. Яшимирский, К истории ложных молитв в южно-славянской письменности, Известия ОРЯС, XVIII, 3, СПб., 1913, 64-90.
about St. John who went to Mount Athos, with a holy axe, to cut the holy
tree (the repetition of this attribute appears in folk charms). He was met by
mad dogs and wolves, but the voice of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit bid
him return without fear, and give the person (who was bitten by a mad dog)
divine body, divine blood (bread and wine) to eat, which will make him
well again. The sequence of events has been condensed, so the prayer re­
sembles a recounted genre scene from an icon.11

Certain apocryphal formulas, with either Biblical or non-Biblical at­
tributes, closely resemble folk incantation formulas in structure. Such is
the prayer of the difficulty to make water, which solves a man’s problem in
a concise manner, using symbols: three angels by the Jordan River, holding
copper pipes, one tying, the other untieing and the third drinking.12 A Serbian
trebnik from the 16th century cites a prayer against this disease that could
be considered a Slavic folk incantation: „Three times nine girls set off, and
three times nine maidens and three times nine lads to drive the water into
the well. Flow water, run your course...“13

The third, perhaps most important group of apocryphal prayers, are
apotropaisms. Sometimes an entire prayer is an apotropaism against a de­
monic force in man, bidding the demon not to harm man and exorcising it,
though more often it is only contained in the latter part of the prayer. While
in prayers, man appeals to God or a saint in the hope that his wish will be
fulfilled, in apotropaisms the address it to the demon, who inflicts evil on
man. The demon is acknowledged as a reasonable being, more powerful
than man, whose behavior to endanger man is qualified as a disturbance of
the primeval order. The demon thus opposes the Creator of cosmos and the
whole order - God. The demon and God are perceived as two independent
beings that have the power to affect man, the former bringing evil and mis­
fortune, and the latter being his guardian. In order to drive off the demon,
man pronounces the attributes of his guardian - God, expressing the follow­
ing traits: 1) he is the creator of all and the master of all 2) he can perform
miracles, 3) he disposes of destructive resources (fire above all) with which

11 Б. Цонев. Опис на славянските ръкописи в софийската Народна библиотека. II. София 1923, 123-124.
12 Н. Тихонравов, Памятники отреченной русской литературы. II. Москва 1868, 357.
13 С. Розанов, Народные заговоры в церковных требниках. Статьи по славянской
филологии и русской словесности. Сборник отделения русского языка и
словесности АН СССР. т. С1. № 3. Ленинград 1928, 30.
he is capable of destroying anyone in a moment of wrath. The pronunciation of these attributes creates the „Frightful Name“ of God, which, at the moment of pronunciation, releases any destructive force like magic. In other words, God gave words to man alone, thus divine power can be released with words, because words are the measure for all things, and the measure of the Creator - God. Thus apotropaisms are expressed demands, with a curse of the name of God, which is released as soon as something is done that is at discord with what is contained in the name of God.

A 13th-century apotropaism, found in western Otenia in Romania between the two world wars, was constructed on this principle. The script was engraved on lead sheets - tapes in the Old Slavonic, transcribed by Serbians. The text was engraved on both sides (3.5 cm wide), with 92 lines on each side. The tapes are rolled up from bottom to top. The text of the apotropaism was published by Elena Linca.14

The structure of the apotropaism contains three wholes: 1) introduction, 2) main part and 3) appendix. It was written in a Slavonized pattern the source of which was a Byzantine text. The introduction expresses the purpose of the apotropaism Mi h(s)va za trstenije dijavola (prayer for exorcising the devil). In a commentary of the apotropaism, Linca linked the word trstenije to the Serbo-Croat form of grstenje, meaning „sickness, repulsiveness, disgust“. However, the form grstenije (<grensti = go, come) seems more probable, as this verb is found in some other apotropaioms, for instance: grjedeše bjes i sreće jego svetu makavei.15 After the Christian trinity is pronounced, the address to the devil follows: Zaklinaju te dijavole strašnim' imenem' ga našsego isa na. The devil is exorcized with the names of saints and „holy heavenly forces that serve the divine throne,“ and the apostles, holy martyrs and holy fathers, and the holy life-giving cross, which is said to be the persecutor of demons and impure spirits. This introduction ends with the statement that protection is requested for one Georgie Bratule. The main part of the apotropaism sets out with a statement of the holy trinity, with the actualization: i ninje (and now). Then the attributes of God follow: he is the living holder of all and the impure spirit should fear his name; he is the creator of earth, heaven and sea, the creator of life to whom all is subjugated; Biblical miracles are cited - messages to Moses inscribed

15 Љ. Ковачевић, Неколики прилози снагој српској књижевности, 278.
with heavenly flame, water from a stone, and an important statement that
determines the place of man: rek’ {im na nebo pr(je)stol’ a zemla podnožije
nogama mojma. Then the apotropaism with the great name of Christ the
god of Savaota. Fire, one of the oldest attributes of the persecutor of impure
forces and chthonic heros, is present, and God is the lord of thunder. There
is a subjectmatter in Slavic folklore where God persecutes the devil, forc­
ing him to hide in various places. And finally, the attribute of God follows,
that he is the emperor on the throne, beside him flows the fiery river and his
assistants stand by - the executors of his orders. Thus the devil’s persecutor
is described as: the creator of all - who has a great name - whose power is
demonstrated with lightning and a voice that makes everything tremble -
who gives orders to all - who holds the beginning and end of the world
(because the fiery river is before him). The appendix contains a prayer of
fear, where God is entreated to drive the devil out of the man of the indi­
cated name and protect all the parts of his body, cited in the following
order: from the head to the veins and joints. Naming the various parts of the
human body from which the impure spirit is being excorcised is a frequent
motif in apotropaisms. Sometimes, it is the basic topical element which can
be up to twenty lines long. It is part of Slavic folk incantations, as well as
among those of other nations.

Similar apotropaisms, engraved on lead sheets, or parchment, have
been found in Bosnia (near the towns of Prozor and Mostar). They were
written in the „bosančica“ script, or in combination with the Latin alphabet.
The purpose of the legacies was to protect crops or the home „from the
devil, cold hail and dry wind“. The National Library in Belgrade contained
apotropaisms among its manuscripts which were unfortunately burned in
the 1941 bombing of Belgrade (for instance, manuscript No. 652).17

Widespread apotropaisms, transcribed until the 19th century, are
known as the „seventy names of God“. The apotropaisms were included in
an index of false books forbidden by the Halkedon Council. In 1520, Božidar
Vuković, the founder of the Serbo-Slavonic printing press in Venice, printed
two books, collections for travelers, which included the seventy names of

16 D. Truhelka, Liječništvo po narodnoj predaji bosanskoj i po jednom starom
rukopisu, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu (GZM), I, 1889, 95-116; (j).
T(ruhelka), Jedan zanimljiv zapis, pisan bosancicom, GZM, XVIII, 1906, 349-
354; (j). (T)ruhelka), Opet jedan zapis pisan bosancicom, GZM, XVIII, 1906,
540-541.

17 Љ. Стојановић, Каталох Народне библиотеке у Београду, Београд 1903, 378-379.
the Lord.\textsuperscript{18} The collections were subsequently reprinted. Other versions of the apotropaism are included in some prayer rolls that are kept in Belgrade.\textsuperscript{19}

However, from the widespread apotropaisms against witches, one can see that the demon has power hidden in his names. This is an apotropaism of she-demons and we know they were referred to as \textit{od tresavice} (fever) in medieval scripts. The subjectmatter is usually as follows: naked maidens (or only one) coming out of the sea, their hair disheveled, met by a saint or Archangel Michael (or more); he asks where they are going, they answer to torture people; he seizes them and strikes them until they reveal their names (which represent attributes of evil), and when they do, he bids them never come among people again. The apotropaism was quite popular among Slavs, as many incantations that developed from the same subjectmatter evince. This apotropaism was included in the index of false books, which were forbidden. The subjectmatter was depicted on a Russian icon: a rock emerges from a lake, and 12 maidens in the water stand in the nude, their hair disheveled; on one side is St. Sisinije, on the other, Archangel Michael, who thrusts a scepter into the witches.\textsuperscript{20} A subsequent transcript of the apotropaism, composed by a clergyman, was made in Zeta. The transcriber did not conceal his name: „This is written by the hand of Pope Nikola Hadžin from Golubovac in Zeta“\textsuperscript{21}. Another subsequent transcript, a \textit{lekaruša} from 1843, expanded the purpose of the apotropaism, under the influence of folk beliefs. It says, „The prayer of the holy Archangel Michael against witches, fairies, \textit{more}, garnice, \textit{noćice} and \textit{nazore}“.\textsuperscript{22} The idea for developing the subjectmatter was probably inspired by a magical text or legend from the Middle East. The translation of a Byzantine apotropaism served as a basis for Slavic manuscripts of prayers against witches. The Byzantine legend of Sisinje has been re-written in some of our rolls. Sisinje became engaged in

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\item \textsuperscript{18} С. Новановић, \textit{Божидара Вуковића зборници за јуђинике}, Гласник Српског ученог друштва, XLV, Београд 1877, 129-167; S. Novaković, \textit{Apokrifi iz štampanih zbornika Božidara Vukovića}, Starine, XVI, Zagreb 1884, 57-66.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Љ. Павловић, \textit{Београдски молитвени сводици}, Гласник Етнографског института САНУ, VIII, Београд 1959, 117-135.
\item \textsuperscript{20} А. Веселовский, \textit{Заметки к истории апокрифов. Еще несколько данных для молитвы св. Сисиня от трававичи}, Журнал министерства народного просвещения, CCXLV, СПб, 1886, 289-290.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Т. К. Катанић, \textit{Народно веровање. Знание ой рожденя}, Гласник Етнографског музеја у Београду, XIII, Београд 1938, 157-158.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Т. А. Бранић, \textit{Народно лиjeчење. Iz vremena jedne ljekaruše iz 1843. godine}, GZM, XX, Sarajevo 1908, 361-362.
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battle with the evil demon Gilo, who swallowed the children of his sister Miletina (e.g. the manuscript prayer in the Belgrade Ethnographic Museum). A history and typology of apotropaisms against witches was made by O.A. Čerepanova.

Of particular interest is the apotropaism against the evil being known as Nežid, who, according to medieval apotropaisms, enters, in the shape of a worm, the human head and bones, especially the teeth, which he bites and destroys, and is capable of causing death. Apotropaisms against this demon exist in church-Slavonic manuscripts dating from the 14th to the 19th centuries. However, it became a component of folk tradition, and variants of the charm appear in eastern Serbia and Bulgaria. This apotropaism, too, was on the list of false prayers forbidden by the official church. It is interesting to note that Nežid is referred to as the „precursor of disease“: Nežite, načelnice nedugom. The subjectmatter is as follows: Nežid (Nežit) came out of the „dry sea“ and met Jesus (or Michael and Gavrilo, or a certain number of angels), who asked him where he was going; Nežid aswered he was entering a man’s head, to break its bones, drain its brain and smash its jaws; Jesus pronounces the apotropaism, using the name of the Lord, and bids him not to enter the man’s head, but to go off into a deserted mountain and enter a stag’s head, which can take him: then Jesus threatens Nežid if he fails to obey his orders. There are some indications that compare the apotropaism with an ancient apotropaism dating back to the times of the New Babylonian Empire (end of the 1st millennium B.C.), written in the Akkadian language. In both theme and structure (the latter apotropaism is also against a worm causing toothache) the two texts show considerable similarities, regardless of the great distance between them. The similarity is not only typological; instead, it could be said that the apotropaism against the Nežid originates from the prototype of an older text with a version of

23 L. Pavlović, Rukopisni molitvenik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu, Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja, XVI, Beograd 1953, 144-162.
24 O. A. Čerepanova, Typologija i genesi navedenih likorodok-trjasavštva u ruskih narodnih zvagovkah i zakljanikh, Jezik, žanrov, ruskog folklora, Petrozavodsk 1977, 44-57.
25 C. Noveković, Primiri književnosti i jezika šišoša i srpsko-slovenskoga, Beograd 1889, 516.
the apotropaism in the Akkadian language. For the sake of comparison, translations of both texts have been cited - the first according to the Russian translation from the Akkadian, and the second according to the church-Slavonic as transcribed by Serbians in the 17th century.

_Apotropaism against toothache in Akkadian_

When Anu (the heavens created),
The heavens created (the earth),
The earth created rivers,
Rivers created streams,
Streams created swamps,
Swamps created the worm.
Worm Šamašu went crying,
Tears flowing before God Ea.
-What food will you give me?
-What drink will you give me?
-Ripe figs
and peach juice.
-What for do I want figs
And peach juice?
Let me settle into teeth,
Let the jaw be my home,
Let me suck blood from the teeth,
And gnaw at the roots of the tooth.
-Seize it firmly, grab it in the roots!
It is your own choice, you worm!
That Ea strikes you with his mighty hand!27

_Prayer Against the Infernal Nežit_

Descending the seventh heaven from his abode, Jesus meets Nežit and tells him:
-Where are you off to, Nežit?
And Nežit says:

27 Лирическая поэзия Древнего Востока. Ред. И. М. Дьяконов, Москва 1984, 71.
-I'm going into a man's head,
to drain his brain
to smash his teeth,
break his jaws
deafen his ears,
blind his eyes,
distort his mouth
crush his nose,
so that his head aches day and night.
And Jesus tells him:
-Turn around Nežit (and go) to the mountain
and enter the head of a stag or ram
it can take and endure anything,
be there and live until
heaven and earth abide.
Fear God who is seated
on the throne of the cherubs,
until He comes to judge the whole universe
and you, infernal Nežit,
harbinger of all kinds of disease!
I exorcise you, Nežit,
leave God's man (by name).
In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.28

The apotropaism against the Nežit does not mention the creation of the evil being, as the Babylonian text does, where the evil worm wants to gnaw at the root of the tooth. There is, however, a strong beginning, here, because the dialogue with the Nežid begins when Jesus descends from the seventh heaven. Three acters of the plot take part in both texts. In the first text it is - the God-Creator, Anu, the evil worm (demon) and the God that threatens him - Ea, whereas the actors in the Slavic apotropaism are: God-Creator, evil demonic being Nežit (evil worm) and God who threatens - Jesus. In both texts, God engages in dialogue with the demon, proposes a suitable abode for him (figs and peaches in the former instance and a stag's and ram's head in the latter), but in both texts the demon expresses the wish to enter a man's head and gnaw at his teeth. Both apotropaisms end with a threat to destroy the demon.

28 Б. Цонев, Опис на славянските ръкописи в софийската Народна библиотека, II, 133.
The prototype of apotropaisms based on the persecution of the evil demonic being by the God-thunderer, preceded by dialogue between them, should be sought in the ancient civilization of inter-words, whence, through the cultures of the Old World, it spread throughout Europe. Apotropaisms of this kind can be found in folklore today in many languages throughout Europe. The only change is in purpose, and the names of the demons and gods.

The scripts are perceived as if the voice of divinity is embedded in them, thus prolonging its sacredness, and it is usually the voice from the time of creation, that is, the beginning of the world or the Christian faith. Usually, the divinity has predominance on the enemies of humans.

Evil is most often embodied in the devil, also referred to as demon, satan, evil spirit, impure spirit. Separate evil beings, that is, personified diseases, are the Nežid, Bes, Bodež, crv Migrin, whereas manuscripts dating from the 17th century onwards, contain the she-being - witch. Many new dangerous beings, such as poganica, treska, noćnica, mora, volka, vila, nazar appeared in 19th-century scripts, under the influence of folk tradition. At the time, written and verbal texts became largely permeated.

AKRIFNE MOLITVE I ZAKLJUČANJA KOD JУŽNIХ СЛОВЕНА

Резиме

Међу рукописима на црквесословенском језику има и оних који су имали магијску намену - да заштите човека од демонске силе и других невоља. Преписивање и примену оваких списа није одобравала званична црквена власт, чак их је у многим приликама и осуђивала. Међутим, у условима слабе црквене власти и недовољног теолошког образовања, многи свештеци су овакве рукописе умножавали и применjavали. Најчешће су их уносили у црквене књиге за свакодневну употребу - тзв. штабнике. Понекад су свештеци правили и посебне зборнике од неканонских молитава и магијских текстова, као што је био Зборник попа Драгоља (XIII век), или попа Теодора (XV век). Неки од тих рукописа били су прилагођени за ношење на пут, па су писани на посебном папиру или на танким оловним плочама које су санијане у рође или свитке. Такав један свитак из XIII века, на црквесословенском језику, нађен у Румунiji, анализиран је у овом раду. Он је означен као заклињање од ђавола.
Са сигурношћу се може рећи да су овакви списи настајали као преводи из изворника чији је језик био грчки. О томе сведоче паралелни текстови на грчком, понекад и структура словенских превода подређена је броју грчких слова из изворника. Велики број таквих текстова скупљен је и објавио А. И. Јацимирски, док је А. И. Алмазов на студиозан начин осветлио њихову структуру и порекло. Код Хрвата и Словенаца литература оваквог типа писана је на латинском језику, док је на хrvатском Приморју писана и глагољицом.

Апокрифне молитве су овде подељене према намени и према структури њиховог текста. По првом принципу издвојене су следеће групе: 1) против болести; 2) против уједа дивљих животиња; 3) за заштиту човека у његовом јавном животу (против гнева власти, за повољно решење судског спора); 4) за заштиту човековог иметка (против штеточина, против лопова, за заштиту од града). Према структури, уочена су три типа оваквих текстова: а) молитва; б) заклинање; в) басма.

У раду је посебно указано на древни садржај који има заклинање од злого бића по имену нежиб, које се по народним веровањима увлачи у вишу црву у људску главу, а најрадије гризе људима зубе. Прототип оваквог заклинања потиче још из времена Нововилонског царства (крај 1 милијум пре нове ере), и оно је, преко културе старог света у различитим варијантама дошло и до Рима и Византије. Овде су упоређене две варијанте тог древног заклинања, једна са акадског језика, а друга са црквенословенског, српске редакције. Без обзира на велику временску удаљеност ова два заклинања међусобно показују велику подударност.