

“Just as You Quenched the Fiery Furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, Also Quench Every Fever.” The Three Holy Children in Coptic Magic

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Abstract: This article offers editions of four amulets with Coptic healing charms invoking the Three Holy Children from the third chapter of the book of Daniel. As an introduction, it discusses the importance of the Three Children in Christian traditions and their role as healing saints, and provides an overview of their occurrences in Coptic magic.

Keywords: Coptic, magic, healing, Three Holy Children, Christianity

Introduction: The Three Holy Children in Christian Traditions

In the Hebrew Bible, in the third chapter of the Book of Daniel, we learn that Nebuchadnezzar had ordered the three young men—Sedrak, Misak, and Abdenago—to be thrown into the furnace because they had refused to worship the golden statue erected by the king in Babylon. Then a miracle happened: the three men survived the fire, untouched by the flames.

²² Because the king’s command was urgent and the furnace was so overheated, the raging flames killed the men who lifted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. ²³ But the three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, fell down, bound, into the furnace of blazing fire.²⁴ Then King Nebuchadnezzar was astonished and rose up quickly. He said to his counselors, “Was it not three men that we threw bound into the fire?” They answered the king, “True, O king.” ²⁵ He replied, “But I see four men unbound, walking in the middle of the fire, and they are not hurt; and the fourth has the appearance of a god.”¹

In the Septuagint, between Dn 3:23 and 3:24, two additional passages were inserted: the *Prayer of Azariah* (Dn 3:24–45 [LXX]), asking for the Lord’s help, and the *Song of the Three Holy Children* (Dn 3:52–90 [LXX]), praising the Lord for sending them an angel and delivering them from the fiery furnace. When the Bible was later translated from Greek into Coptic, these additions were kept and are preserved partly in a few Sahidic manuscripts, and completely in several Bohairic manuscripts.² The additions to Daniel were also incorporated into the Christian liturgy, with other

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¹ Dn 3:22–25. Translations of biblical passages are from the New Revised Standard Version.

² For the different Coptic manuscripts preserving the Book of Daniel, including the additions, see e.g., H.S. Gehman, “The Sahidic and the Bohairic Versions of the Book of Daniel,” *JBL* 46 (1927) 279–330. DOI: 10.2307/3260023; H.N. Takla, “The Coptic Bible,” in G. Gabra (ed.), *Coptic Civilization: Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Egypt* (Cairo-New York, 2014) 105–22 at 111 and 119; S. Torallas Tovar, “Coptic Translations [Daniel > Secondary Translations],” in A. Lange (ed.), *Textual History of the Bible*, vol. 1C (Leiden, 2017) 579–82 and “Coptic Translations [Daniel Additions],” in Lange, *Textual History of the Bible*, vol. 2B (Leiden, 2019) 161–66.

biblical odes.³ In Late Antiquity, in the East as well as the West, the *Prayer of Azariah* and the *Song of the Three Holy Children* were included in the office of the matins,⁴ while in Coptic liturgy, the *Song of the Three Holy Children* was included in the service of the Psalmody.⁵

In the first centuries of Christianity, the traditions surrounding the Three Holy Children expanded and became more important. For the Church Fathers, this narrative was an example of the efficacy of prayer, a model of faith, and a paradigm for personal sacrifice, Christian martyrdom, and salvation.⁶ Christian iconography also testifies to the popularity of the Three Children, who were depicted on sarcophagi, bas-reliefs, wall paintings, mosaics, and lamps from all over the Graeco-Roman world.⁷ The Three Children were particularly popular in Late Antique and early Islamic Egypt, as we can see from the many churches named after them,⁸ as well as several Coptic hagiographical texts and homilies devoted to them and their relics.⁹ For example, a homily attributed to Bachios bishop of Maiuma,¹⁰ which is usually classified as an apocryphal work, recounts in detail the lives of the Three Saints and includes information on their feast days—the 10th of Pachons, when they were rescued from the furnace, as well as the 14th of Hathor, the day

³ On the biblical odes in Christian liturgy, see e.g., H. Schneider, “Die Biblischen Oden Im Christlichen Altertum,” *Biblica* 30 (1949) 28–65; J. Knust and T. Wasserman, “The Biblical Odes and the Text of the Christian Bible: A Reconsideration of the Impact of Liturgical Singing on the Transmission of the Gospel of Luke,” *JBL* 133 (2014) 341–65. DOI: 10.1353/jbl.2014.0024.

⁴ On the evolution of the office of the matins, see in part. R.F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, 1993).

⁵ On the Coptic service of the Psalmody, see e.g., R. Mofteh *et al.*, “Coptic Music,” in A.S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991) 6.1715–47; M. Kuhn, *Koptische liturgische Melodien: die Relation zwischen Text und Musik in der koptischen Psalmodia* (Leuven, 2011) 64–78 ; Y.N. Youssef, “Liturgy in the Coptic Church,” in Gabra, *Coptic Civilization*, 55–66.

⁶ E.g., Hipp. *in Dan.* 2.19–31 (*SC* 14, p. 152–79); Ps. Cypr. *laud. mart.* 12 (*CSEL* 3.3, p.34); Cypr. *Epist.* 6.3 (Bayard, p. 16); Aug. *en. ps.* 21.2.6 (*CC* 38, p. 125); Greg. Naz. *carm. theol.* 2.2.177–85 (*PG* 37, 592); cf. M. Dulaey, “Les trois Hébreux dans la fournaise (Dn 3) dans l’interprétation symbolique de l’Église ancienne,” *RSR* 71 (1997) 33–59. DOI: 10.3406/rscir.1997.3387.

⁷ On the Three Holy Children in Christian art and iconography, see in part. M. Rassart-Debergh, “Les trois Hébreux dans la fournaise en Égypte et en Nubie chrétiennes,” *RSO* 58 (1984) 141–51, “Les trois Hébreux de la fournaise dans l’art paléochrétien. Iconographie,” *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 430–55 and “Biblical Subjects in Coptic Art. The Three Hebrews in the Furnace,” in Atiya, *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 2.388–90. For wall paintings, see also G.J.M. van Loon, *The Gate of Heaven: Wall Paintings with Old Testament Scenes in the Altar Room and the Hürus of Coptic Churches* (Istanbul 1999) 167–76.

⁸ See J. Gascou, “Notes de Papyrologie Byzantine (II),” *CdE* 59 (1984) 333–45 at 333–37 (*Les sanctuaires dédiés aux Trois Saints Jeunes Gens en Égypte byzantine*). DOI: 10.1484/J.CDE.2.308661.

⁹ See M. van Esbroeck, “Three Hebrews in the Furnace,” in Atiya, *Coptic Encyclopedia*, 7.2257–59; T. Orlandi, “Tradizioni copte sui tre giovani di Babilonia,” in P. Buzi, D. Picchi, and M. Zecchi (eds), *Aegyptiaca et Coptica. Studi in onore di Sergio Pernigotti* (Oxford 2011) 251–60. On the Three Children in Coptic literature and in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt in general, see further J. Muysier, “Le culte des Trois Saints Jeunes Gens chez les Coptes,” *Les Cahier Coptes* 6 (1954) 17–31; A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L’apport des sources papyrologiques et épigraphiques grecques et coptes* (Paris, 2001) 198–200; M. Farag, “Relics vs. Paintings of the Three Holy Children: Coptic Responses to Chalcedonian Claims in Alexandria,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 137 (2019) 261–76. DOI: 10.1484/J.ABOLL.4.2020003.

¹⁰ Ps-Bachios of Maiuma, *On the Three Holy Children* (clavis coptica 0068). The work is attested in two complete Arabic manuscripts as well as one fragmentary Coptic manuscript (MONB.OB = IB.13.24–30 + CC.9233). For information on these manuscripts, as well as the edition and translation of the Coptic version, see U. Zanetti, “Le roman de Bakhéos sur les trois jeunes saints de Babylone. Fragments coptes Sahidiques,” in B. Janssens, B. Roosen, and P. van Deun (eds), *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Leuven, 2004) 713–47. For the Arabic work and manuscripts, see also N. Hamaoui, *Vie de trois jeunes saints de Babylone. Manuscrit inédit attribué à Amba Fagius* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Université Catholique de Louvain, 1999).

of their death.¹¹ Finally, the Three Holy Children became important characters in the magical practices of Late Antique and early Islamic Egypt, as they were invoked in several Coptic magical manuscripts.

The Three Holy Children in Coptic Magic

In Coptic magic, the Three Holy Children were among the most popular biblical characters to whom one could appeal. They appear in no less than twenty-one Coptic charms,¹² in manuscripts dating from the fourth to the twelfth century. Most charms only contain an invocation to the Three Children, who are addressed by their Hebrew names (Ananias, Azarias, Misael), their Babylonian names (Setrak, Misak, Abdenako), and their magical names, a series of *vores magicae* ending with the syllable “lal”, the most frequent being Lal, Moulal, Boulal.¹³

Instead of an invocation to the Three Children, one charm includes, in a long series of supplications addressed to several supernatural entities (the four bodiless creatures, the twenty-four presbyters, the archangels, Sabaoth, and so on), an appeal to the one “who saved the Three Holy ones from the fiery furnace.”¹⁴ Finally, three charms use a *historiola*—a short narrative that relates events associated with the divine world to the matter at hand¹⁵—about the Three Holy Children and their rescue from the fiery furnace. These are found in Vienna K 5859, a healing charm written on a papyrus amulet, P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 564a,¹⁶ a parchment amulet with a charm against fever, and P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 685,¹⁷ a parchment formulary including several healing charms and prescriptions. A first complete edition of Vienna K 5859 is offered below, while translations of the charms in P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 564a and P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, which have already been published, are included here for comparison.

¹¹ Other traditions rather place the death of the Three Children on the 10 of Pachons, e.g., a homily on the Three Children preserved in two Coptic manuscripts (clavis coptica 0902), published in H. de Vis, *Homéliees Coptes de La Vaticane*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1922) 2.60–120. The synaxarium also has the 10 of Pachons as the death and feast of the Three Children; cf. R. Basset, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)* (Patrologia Orientalis 16.2; Paris, 1922) 185–424 [827–1066] at 369–71 [1011–1013].

¹² Here the words “charm” and “incantation” refer to the magical *texts* written on given artefacts, and the words “amulet” and “formulary”, which are two types of magical manuscripts, refer to the artefacts bearing the texts. An amulet is an artefact that only bears one text, usually of a prophylactic nature, that was worn on the body or deposited in a significant location. Amulets belong to the category of “applied texts”, that is, objects created in the course of magical rituals. By contrast, formularies generally contain multiple textual units (charms, ritual prescriptions, recipes for remedies) and were used as handbooks by experts to perform magical rituals and create applied texts. On the types of magical manuscripts and the distinction between applied text and formulary, see e.g., K. Dosoo, E.O.D. Love, and M. Preininger, ‘The Coptic Magical Papyri Project,’ *JCS* 24 (2022) 43–100 at 56–58. DOI: 10.2143/JCS.24.0.3290754.

¹³ On these magical names, see in part. J. van der Vliet, “Varia Magica Coptica,” *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 217–42 at 236–39. For the variations in the names used to invoke the Three Children, see the table included as an appendix to this article.

¹⁴ Bodleian MS Copt. C (P) 4 (published by W.E. Crum, “Eine Verfluchung,” in *ZÄS* 34 [1896] 85–89. DOI: 10.1524/zaes.1896.34.jg.85), l. 22: ΠΕΝΤΑΤΟΥΧΟ ΠΩΟΝΤ ΝΕΔΓΙΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ ΤΕΡΩ ΝΣΑΤΕ ΕΤΜΟΥΣ.

¹⁵ On the use of *historiolae* in magical texts, see in part D. Frankfurter, “Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells,” in M. Meyer and P.A. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995) 457–76.

¹⁶ H. Quecke, “Zwei koptische Amulette der Papyrussammlung der Universität Heidelberg,” *Museon* 76 (1963) 247–65 at 255–65. Images of the amulet are available online at <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39612>.

¹⁷ M. Meyer, *The Magical Book of Mary and the Angels (P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 685): Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Heidelberg, 1996) (= *Pap.Heid.* IX). Images of the codex are available online at <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.39753>.

P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 564a.1–11

[1] Ananias Asarias Misael, Sedrak Emisak Abdenago, Thalal Emalal Balal. I adjure you by your names and your powers, that just as you [5] quenched the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, you quench every fever and every [heat?] and every cold and every ague that is in the body of Patrikos son of [...] jakos, child of Zoe, child of [10] Adam. Yea yea, quickly quickly!

P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, 18.1–11

[18.1] Sabaoth almighty, I adjure you today (by) your names and your powers and your amulets and your places where you dwell and the manner in which you quenched the fire [5] of the fiery furnaces (of) Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, through the power of Michael the archangel, that you quench the fire and the fever in NN, yea, quickly! Ananias [10] Azarias Misael, Setrak Misak Abtenako, Lal Boulal Moulal.

The charms using this *historiola* are particularly interesting, as they allow us to better understand how and why the traditions surrounding the Three Holy Children were incorporated into Coptic magic. Because they had escaped Nebuchadnezzar’s furnace, people in Late Antique and Early Islamic Egypt believed that the Three Children had the power to heal or protect against fevers and other diseases. As a result, the narrative found in the Coptic charms usually includes a request saying something along the lines of “just as you quenched the fire of the fiery furnace, also quench the fever in NN”. These sentences work as persuasive analogies, asking that something similar to that which happened in the mythical precedent (the narrative about the Three Children) also happen to the recipient of the charm. Here, the fire from the fiery furnace was equated to the “fire” of fevers.¹⁸

Similarly, this belief in the saints’ healing powers is attested in several Coptic homilies, for example, an acephalous homily *On the Three Children*, which says that when the three saints walked out of the fiery furnace, it was suddenly filled with pure water, and anyone who washed themselves in the furnace would be healed from all diseases.¹⁹ Ps-Theophilus of Alexandria, *On the Church of the Three Children*, recounts how archbishop Theophilus had commissioned the building of a martyrium dedicated to the Three Children in Alexandria, so that they may procure healing to all the sick visitors.²⁰ In Ps-Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Miracles of the Three Children*, we learn about the miracles performed by the three saints during and after the building of their

¹⁸ This equation of fever to fire was already present, for example, in the writings of the Greek and Latin medical authors of Antiquity, for instance in the humoral theories and fever classifications of Hippocrates and Galen, where yellow bile, the humour associated with heat and fire, was considered as the cause for many fevers, e.g., in Hp. *Nat. Hom.* 15 and Gal. *Diff. Febr.* 1.1 and 2.1. See e.g., I.-S. Yeo, “Hippocrates in the Context of Galen’s Commentary on the Classification of Fevers in *Epidemics VI*,” in P.J. van der Eijk (ed.), *Hippocrates in Context* (Leiden 2005) 433–43; J. Jouanna, “La postérité du traité hippocratique de la Nature de l’homme: la théorie des quatre humeurs,” in C.W. Müller, C. Brockmann, and C.W. Brunschön (eds), *Ärzte und ihre Interpreten* (Berlin, 2006) 117–42. DOI: 10.1515/9783110934793.117 (trans. and repr. as “The Legacy of the Hippocratic Treatise The Nature of Man: The Theory of the Four Humours,” in J. Jouanna, *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen* [Leiden 2012] 335–59. DOI: 10.1163/9789004232549.017); R.J. Hankinson, “Humours and Humoral Theory,” in M. Jackson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Diseases* (London 2016) 21–37. DOI: 10.4324/9781315543420.ch2.

¹⁹ Clavis coptica 0902, preserved in two Coptic manuscripts from the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wadi Natrun (MACA.EE = Vat. Copt. 69 ff. 103–29; MACA.EM = CC.-AbuMaqar.018–018ADD + LU.1089.05–06). MACA.EE was published in De Vis, *Homélie Coptes*, 2.60–120.

²⁰ Ps-Theophilus of Alexandria, *On the Church of the Three Children* (clavis coptica 0392), preserved in one Coptic manuscript from the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wadi Natrun (MACA.BT = Vat. Copt. 62 ff. 143–65), published in De Vis, *Homélie Coptes*, 2.121–57. Theophilus wishes for the bodies of the Three Children to be moved from Babylon to Alexandria, to be placed in the martyrium. The three saints inform Theophilus that this is not possible, but even though they will not be present “physically” in the martyrium, they will be there in spirit and will bless the church and its visitors.

martyrium in Alexandria, most of which concern healings.²¹ Although it is unclear whether the Alexandria martyrium really existed—as there are no archaeological remains and it is only ever mentioned in literary works—we know from documentary papyri of other churches and sanctuaries dedicated to Three Children, for example in Arsinoe, Herakleopolis, Antinoopolis, and Hermopolis, which might have had a healing vocation.²²

These traditions, identifying the Three Children as healing saints, thus explain why most of the magical texts invoking the three young men are healing charms preserved in amulets.²³ Among them, ten are incantations against fever and two are incantations against “every sickness” (which included fevers). Given the close connection between the Three Children, fire, and fever, it can be reasonably assumed that the other seven healing charms that do not specify diseases are also against fevers. In fact, only one of the Coptic charms referring to the Three Children was unquestionably not used for healing purposes: Bodleian MS Copt. C (P) 4, which is a curse by Jacob for vengeance against Maria daughter of Tsibel, Tatore daughter of Tashai, and Andreas son of Marthe. However, the curse requests that these individuals be struck by diseases, suffering, pain, and burning fever. It was thus logical to invoke entities that were believed to have control over diseases and fevers to implement the curse.

Furthermore, the Coptic charms that use *historiolae* about the Three Children, especially Vienna K 5859 (8th–9th cent.) and P. Heid. Inv. Kopt. 685 (10th cent.), are witnesses to an interesting development in the tradition, namely the identification of the archangel Michael to the fourth man in the furnace—which is said to have “the appearance of a god” in Dn 3:25 and is an “angel of the Lord” in the Septuagint’s additions to Daniel (Dn 3:49 [LXX]). This identification is present, for example, in a Coptic acrostic hymn in praise of the archangel Michael,²⁴ in Ps-Bachios of Maiuma’s homily *On the Three Children*, and in a Coptic homily on the archangel Michael attributed to Theodosius of Alexandria.²⁵ Michael is also present in some wall paintings representing the three saints, such as a painting in the Faras cathedral in Nubia, dated to the 10th century, which depicts the Three Children in the furnace with the archangel Michael, whose name is written below his feet.²⁶ Therefore, it is clear that the magical texts invoking the Three Children participated in larger traditions concerning the three saints, which took shape in Late Antiquity and the Early Islamic period, in Egypt and Nubia.

To provide a more complete portrait of how the traditions about the Three Holy Children were appropriated in Coptic magic, this article offers editions of four Coptic amulets with healing charms

²¹ Ps-Cyril of Alexandria, *On the Miracles of the Three Children* (clavis coptica 0110), preserved in two Coptic manuscripts from the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wadi Natrun (MACA.BV = Vat. Copt. 62 ff. 166–88; MACA.ED = Vat. Copt. 69 ff. 85–102). MACA.BV was published in De Vis, *Homélies Coptes*, 2.158–202. Only the last of the eight reported miracles does not concern healing.

²² See Gascou, “Notes de Papyrologie Byzantine (II)”, 335–37.

²³ For the goals of all the Coptic charms invoking or mentioning the Three Holy Children, see the table in the appendix.

²⁴ The acrostic hymn is preserved in two manuscripts from the monastery of the archangel Michael in Phantou, P.MorganLib. 272 (10th–11th cent.) and Morgan Lib. M 574, fol. 83r–v (894/895); cf. K.H. Kuhn and W.J. Tait, *Thirteen Coptic Acrostic Hymns from the Manuscript M574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Oxford 1996) 86–95; I. Miroshnikov, “A New Fragment of the Acrostic Hymn in Praise of the Archangel Michael (P.MorganLib. 272),” in F. Feder, A. Lohwasser, and G. Schenke (eds), *Sortieren – Ediere – Kreieren. Zwischen Handschriftenfunden und Universitätsalltag* (Düren 2022) 399–417.

²⁵ Ps-Theodosius of Alexandria, *On the Archangel Michael* (clavis coptica 0387), preserved in thirteen Coptic manuscripts. See e.g., the text in the manuscript BL.Or. 7021 (fol. 20b for the reference to Michael as the angel in the furnace), published by E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915) 321–431 and 893–947.

²⁶ K. Michałowski, *Faras. Die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand* (Zürich 1967) 138–40 and pl. 60–61 (no. 94).

in which they are mentioned. One uses a *historiola* about their deliverance from the fiery furnace (Vienna K 5859), two are twin amulets against fever (Vienna K 7044 and K 8637), and the last one also mentions a yet unknown healing miracle by Jesus (Louvre E 7142). Finally, a table listing all known Coptic magical manuscripts with charms invoking the Three Children has been included as an appendix.

The Three Holy Children in Four Coptic Healing Amulets

Three of the four Coptic amulets edited below are from the Papyrussammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. Unfortunately, the exact provenience of all three manuscripts is unknown,²⁷ and information on their acquisition history is limited: they were part of a larger group of papyri and parchments in the Rainer collection that were acquired by Archduke Rainer from Theodor Graf before 1899, who probably bought them in Cairo between 1880 and 1899. Vienna K 5859 is published here for the first time. Vienna K 8637 was published by Stegemann in 1934 with a group of magical manuscripts from the Vienna Papyrussammlung.²⁸ Vienna K 7044 has only been described in the same volume by Stegemann, who said the text was illegible.²⁹ However, in the last two lines, both K 8637 and K 7044 feature six crosses and the same six *charakteres*, which allowed them to be identified as two copies of the same text.³⁰ This discovery thus justifies a new publication of both amulets side by side. The fourth amulet, Louvre E 7142, is also published here for the first time. It is kept in the Louvre papyrus collection, in the Département des Arts de Byzance et des Chrétientés en Orient. Its exact provenience in Egypt is unknown and the Louvre's records concerning the papyrus only state that it was acquired by Enrico Pennelli on 14 January 1881. The editions of the four amulets were produced after examination of high-resolution images of the papyri and parchments, which are included in this article.

1. Vienna K 5859	H x W = 10.8 x 6.2 cm	8th–9th cent.
Provenience unknown		Fig. 1
TM 874215		

²⁷ According to V. Stegemann, *Die koptischen Zaubertexte der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in Wien* (Heidelberg, 1934) 4, the Coptic magical texts in Vienna are part of two large sub-groups that allegedly came from the Fayum and Hermopolis. In her description of the Coptic section of the Papyrussammlung, Helene Loebenstein says that most of the Coptic texts of parchment originate from Achmim, which then could be the case of the parchment amulets K 7044 and K 8637, cf. *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P.Rain.Cent.)* (Vienna 1983) 17–20. However, neither statement can be confirmed for any of our three amulets.

²⁸ Stegemann, *Koptischen Zaubertexte*, 21 and 50–52 (no. 27 [97]). Corrections on Stegemann's edition were made by W.C. Till, "Zu den Wiener Koptischen Zaubertexten," *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 195–221 at 211. K 8637 is also described in two exhibition catalogues: H. Buschhausen, Ulrike Horak, and H. Harrauer (eds), *Der Lebenskreis der Kopten: Dokumente, Textilien, Funde, Ausgrabungen* (Vienna, 1995) 58–59 (no. 73); H. Froschauer and C. Römer, *Zwischen Magie und Wissenschaft: Ärzte und Heilkunst in den Papyri aus Ägypten* (Vienna, 2007) 119 (no. 54).

²⁹ Stegemann, *Koptischen Zaubertexte*, 16: "genauere Angaben unmöglich, da der Text bis zur Unleserlichkeit verblaßt ist".

³⁰ On this, see R. Bélanger Sarrazin, "Papyrologica. V : 38. P. Vindob. inv. K 7044 et K 8637 : Deux amulettes au formulaire proche," *CdE* 92 (2017) 219–21. DOI: 10.1484/J.CDE.5.114293.

The light brown papyrus sheet contains twenty-eight lines of Coptic text written in black ink. The writing runs parallel to the fibers, and the back is blank. The flow of ink is irregular, with some letters and words being significantly fainter than others. The papyrus was cut regularly on all sides and four narrow margins are preserved. The amulet was rolled or folded from top to bottom, as apparent by the horizontal creases. There are two large holes in the middle on the left-hand side, presumably where a thread was put through for the amulet to be worn. The papyrus is more damaged around the second hole, from lines 19 to 23, making the text there difficult to read.

The hand is a slightly sloping majuscule, strictly bilinear, with almost no interlinear space, but irregular and clumsy. The oblique stroke of the λ is straight; the back of the ϵ and c can be curved or straight. The γ has a “Y” shape, but the γ and q are almost identical, making it difficult to distinguish them. The o are small (sometimes only a dot); the p have a short leg and rounded belly; the v are angular and have a pointed lower belly; the m have a rounded middle bar that often touches the baseline, leading toward a “flat” m . At the beginning of the first line, where we would usually find a cross or monogram in Christian documents,³¹ we see two oblique strokes, which were common in post-conquest documents from the 8th century onward as an alternative to the cross.³² As the material (papyrus) suggests that a date any later than the 9th century would be unlikely,³³ this amulet can be assigned to the 8th–9th centuries.

The dialect is Sahidic with non-standard features, such as the use of v for $^S q$ (e.g., $v\iota\ v\omicron\lambda$ for $q\iota\ \epsilon\ v\omicron\lambda$ in ll. 19–20) and *vice versa* (e.g., $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\gamma$ for $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\ v$ in l. 9, and $\gamma\alpha\psi\pi\eta\lambda$ for $\gamma\alpha\ v\pi\eta\lambda$ in ll. 13–14), as well as the use of ω for $^S x$ ($m\iota\omega\delta\eta\lambda$ for $m\iota\chi\delta\eta\lambda$ in l. 15). A few other features suggest affinities with Fayumic, such as the use of $m\epsilon\omega\iota$ for the Sahidic $m\eta\eta\omega\epsilon$. Greek loanwords are used throughout the text: $\beta\omicron\theta\eta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$. The scribe used supralinear strokes for *nomina sacra* ($\overline{\tau\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma}$) and perhaps on $\gamma\alpha\iota\overline{\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma}$ (ll. 8–9), but there is no punctuation.

Vienna K 5859 is a healing amulet with a charm using the *historiola* of the Three Holy Children thrown in Nebuchadnezzar’s furnace and saved by the Lord and his angels. It thus represents the third attestation of this narrative in Coptic magic. The amulet served to protect or heal someone from a collection of diseases listed in lines 20–23, which can unfortunately not be read. However, if we compare this charm with those of the other Coptic amulets invoking the Three Holy Children and using this narrative, we can assume that these diseases included fevers and symptoms of fevers like “heat”, “shivering”, and “cold”. Although amulets are generally produced for specific individuals, it seems that here the name was left out, as we find the generic

³¹ On the writing of a cross or monogram at the beginning of a text as a standard scribal practice from Late Antiquity onwards, see M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout, 2006), in part. pp. 116–18. For a list of Coptic magical texts with such crosses or monograms, see L.H. Blumell and K. Dosoo, “Horus, Isis, and the Dark-Eyed Beauty: A Series of Magical Ostraca in the Brigham Young University Collection,” *APF* 64 (2018) 199–259 at 8 (n. 32). DOI: 10.1515/apf-2018-0009.

³² See esp. T.S. Richter, “Spätkoptische Rechtsurkunden neu bearbeitet (III): P. Lond. Copt. I 487 – arabische Pacht in koptischem Gewand,” *JJR* 33 (2003) 213–30, in part. the appendix, “Das Symbol // (u.ä) anstelle des Kreuzes am Anfang koptischer Texte,” at p. 223–30; J. Cromwell, “Religious Expression and Relationships Between Christians and Muslims in Coptic Letters from Early Islamic Egypt,” in M. Brand and E. Scheerlinck (eds), *Religious Identifications in Late Antique Papyri* (London, 2022) 232–47 at 234–35. DOI: 10.4324/9781003287872-14.

³³ See the discussion in E.M. Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus. Form and Function, Content and Context* (Berlin, 2010) 11–14.

name marker ΔΔ in line 19. The amulet also includes magical symbols, *charakteres*, in lines 2, 25, 26, and 28.

// ἰϛ̄ πε̄χς βο̄ηθιᾱ . . .
charakteres
 π̄νοϋτε †ϱληλ ανανε-
 ας αςαριας μιςαηλ
 5 π̄νοϋτε ηςετρακ μιςα-
 κ αϱδεναϱϱ αλαλ ρϱ-
 λαλ μοϱλαλ ραβαωθ
 παι πε πωομετ η̄ρα-
 ϱῑος̄ ε̄ϱοϱααϱ η̄τᾱη̄ϱϱ-
 10 η̄μων ρατοϱ ε̄ϱο-
 η̄ν̄ ε̄τε̄ϱϱω η̄σατε̄ α-
 η̄ϱ[οεις βο]η̄θιᾱ ε̄ροϱϱ
 αϱβϱϱ ϱαροϱ ρη̄ η̄-
 αϱη̄ηλ πανη̄ελος η̄-
 15 η̄ μιϱαηλ αϱβοη̄θιᾱ
 ε̄ροϱϱ μαρε η̄ετη̄η̄οϱ
 η̄ε̄σομ η̄η̄ μεϱη̄ η̄ϱϱ-
 λακτη̄ρη̄ον βο̄η̄θι-
 α ΔΔ [. . .] η̄ η̄ βι βο-
 20 λ [. . .] η̄ η̄ η̄η̄η̄
 ϱη̄ . . . [η̄]η̄η̄ ϱη̄
 η̄η̄η̄ . . . ϱη̄ η̄η̄η̄
 ϱη̄ η̄ . . . ᾱρη̄ον η̄σο̄μ
 αι αῑα τᾱχη τᾱχη
 25 *charakteres*
charakteres ϱη̄ η̄σο̄μ ϱη̄ η̄η̄-
 ϱη̄η̄ (η̄)ραβαωθ π̄νοϋτε̄
charakteres

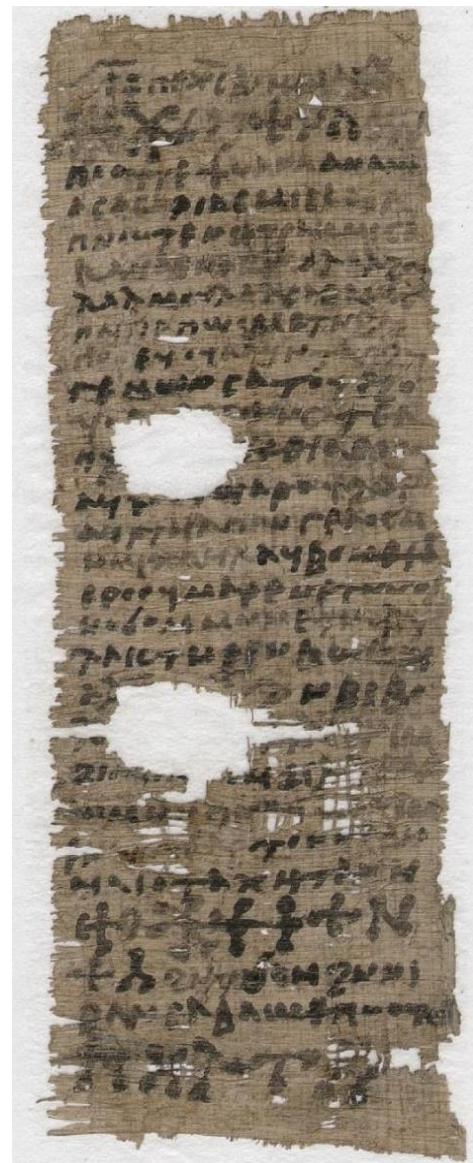


Fig. 1 Vienna K 5859 –
 © Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen
 Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

1 ι(ησοϱ)ς πεχ(ριστο)ς | βοήθεια || 8–9 ἄγιος ||
 9–10 ἡγεμών || 12 βοήθεια || 14 ἄγγελος ||
 15 βοήθεια || 16 ι. η̄η̄η̄η̄ || 17–18 φυλακτήριον
 || 18–19 βοήθεια || 19 δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος) || 19–
 20 ι. ϱη̄ ε̄βολ || 24 τᾱχὸν τᾱχὺ

// Jesus Christ, help [...] (*Charakteres*) God, I pray (to) Ananeas Asarias, Misael, ⁵ God of Sitrak, Misak, Afdenago, Alal, Holal, Moulal, Sabaoth. These are the three holy saints that the ¹⁰ ruler threw into the fiery furnace. The Lord helped them, he went to them through Gabriel the angel and ¹⁵ Michael, (and) they helped them. May your great powers and multitude of amulets help NN [...]

take away |²⁰ every [...] and every [...] and every [...] and every [...] by the [...] powers. Yea, yea, quickly, quickly! |²⁵ (*Charakteres*) By the powers in the names of Sabaoth, God. (*Charakteres*)

1 . . . : At the end of the line, there are two or three letters that can't be read. After the verb $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\iota\alpha$, we expect a direct object like $\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ in ll. 12 and 16. The final letters look like an omicron with superscript upsilon, and thus we might have an abbreviated form of a preposition with a third-person plural suffix. Other possibilities would be a *character*, as in l. 2, 25, and 26, or the symbols $\overline{\Delta\Delta}$, the abbreviation for $\delta(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha)\delta(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma)$ “So-an-so, the child of So-and-so”, as in line 19.

8–9 $\pi\omega\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\ \eta\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\upsilon$: For their designation as “the three holy ones”, compare with Bodleian MS Copt. C (P) 4 (r^o 22: $\pi\omega\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\ \bar{\eta}\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$) and *P.Heid.Kopt.* 5 (ll. 1–2: $\pi\omega\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\ \eta\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$). Here, the use of both the Greek $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and the Coptic $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\beta$ emphasise the holy character of the Three Children.

9–10 $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\omega\varsigma$: The Greek $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\omega\varsigma$ is used here to refer to Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon. The parallel charms rather use the name itself and the title $\pi\eta\pi\omicron$ “the king”. *P. Heid. inv. Kopt.* 564a, 5–6: $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\omega\varsigma\ \pi\eta\pi\omicron$; *P. Heid. inv. Kopt.* 685, 18.5–6: $\overline{\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\omega\varsigma\ \pi\eta\pi\omicron}$: $\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \neq\ \overline{\beta\alpha\beta\iota\lambda\omega\nu}$.

11 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\omega$: We can see only traces of letters here, but two of the parallel charms use $\tau\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\omega\ \eta\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ for the “fiery furnace” (Bodleian MS Copt. C [P] 4, r^o 22: $\tau\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\omega\ \bar{\eta}\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$; *P. Heid. inv. Kopt.* 685, 18.5: $\eta\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$). *P. Heid. inv. Kopt.* 564a has $\eta\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Since we can read $\omega\ \eta\gamma\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ after the lacuna, I restored $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\rho\omega$.

13 $\alpha\upsilon\beta\omega\kappa\ \omega\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$: The preposition $\omega\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$ requires here a verb of motion. As we can see below the lacuna the bottom of an angular letter, probably a β , and there is enough space for three letters, the best option would be $\beta\omega\kappa\ \omega\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$.

19 [.] . . . η : The text in the lacuna here can unfortunately not be restored with certainty. Although the η is clearly visible, the letter before cannot be deciphered and only traces of the other letters are visible. We might expect another short verb linked to healing, like $\lambda\omicron$ “cease, heal”, which is common in healing spells (e.g., in two amulets invoking the Three Children, Vienna K 4437 and Louvre E 32317), perhaps with the conjunction $\mu\eta$. It could also be the verb $\omega\chi\eta$ “make cease, destroy, dry up”, which would make sense in this context. Interestingly, the two other charms with the *historiola*, in *P. Heid. inv. Kopt.* 564a and *P. Heid. inv. Kopt.* 685, use the verb $\omega\omega\mu$ “quench, dry up”.

19–20 $\beta\iota\ \beta\omicron\lambda$: $\upsilon\iota\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ is the standard formula in healing spells when asking the supernatural entities invoked to “take away” diseases. Compare with the three amulets below, Vienna K 7044 (l. 7: $\beta\iota\ \theta\epsilon\iota\mu\ \gamma\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$), K 8637 (ll. 6–7: $\beta\iota\ \theta\epsilon\iota\mu\ \gamma\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$), and Louvre E 7142 (l. 8: $[\beta\iota]\ \mu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \mu\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\kappa\ \mu\eta\ \mu\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\alpha\lambda\langle\tau\epsilon\lambda\rangle\ \gamma\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$; l.19–21: $\beta\iota\ \mu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ |\ \mu\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\kappa\ \mu\eta\ |\ \gamma\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda$), and also with other healings charms invoking the Three Holy Children, e.g., in Berlin P. 11347 (v^o 6: $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\beta\iota\ \gamma\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\ \mu\mu\omicron\upsilon$).

20–22 ... $\eta\mu\ \gamma\iota$... $\eta\mu$: After $\beta\iota\ \beta\omicron\lambda$, with the repetition of $\eta\mu$ “every” and $\gamma\iota$ “and”, the amulet must have included a list of diseases ($\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ “disease”, $\gamma\iota\sigma\epsilon$ “suffering”, $\lambda\omicron\sigma\lambda\epsilon\sigma$ “sickness”) or

fevers (ϩⲙⲙⲉ, ϩⲙⲟⲙ, ⲁⲥⲓⲕ) or symptoms of fever (ⲕⲱϩⲧ “fire”, ⲱⲥⲪ “cold”) that were to be taken away. Compare with P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 564a (ll. 6–8: ⲱϩⲉⲙ ⲉϩⲙⲙⲉ | [ⲛⲓⲃⲓ] ⲙⲉⲛ ϩⲙ[ⲟⲙ] ⲛⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲱⲥⲪⲪ ⲛⲓⲃⲓ | [ⲙ]ⲉⲛ ⲁⲥⲓⲕ ⲛⲓⲃ[ⲓ]) and P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 685 (p. 18, ll. 8–9: ⲱϩⲙ {ⲉϩⲉⲙ} · ⲡⲓⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲙⲉ ⲧⲉϥⲗⲉⲙ [l. ⲧϩⲙⲙⲉ]). These lists can sometimes be extensive, e.g. in Berlin P. 11347, v^o 6–9: ⲉⲕⲉⲃⲓ ϩⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲛϩⲱⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲗⲁⲥⲗⲉⲥ | ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲙⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲫⲁⲣⲙⲁⲕⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ · ϩⲓ ⲧⲗⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲧⲧⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲓⲣ (l. ⲉⲛⲧⲙⲣ) ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛϩⲟⲟϥⲧ | ϩⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲓⲣ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛϩⲓⲙⲓ “Take away from him every disease and every sickness and every magic and every sorcery and every fall (?) and every pain and every male god and every female goddess”.

23 . . . ⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ: This must be a Greek adjective attributed to the powers (ϩⲣⲟⲙ). One possibility would be ⲁⲫⲟⲗⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ “incorruptible”.

2-3.	Vienna K 7044	H x W = 8.8 x 6.5 cm	10th cent.
	Vienna K 8637	H x W = 10 x 8 cm	10th–11th cent.
	Provenance unknown		Fig. 2–3
	TM 91403, 91419		

Both amulets are written on light brown parchment sheets of roughly the same size. They each contain ten lines of text written in black ink, and the backs are blank. The ink on K 7044 is almost completely faded, making the text nearly illegible. Both sheets are complete and cut regularly on all sides, but K 8637 is slightly damaged along the right-hand side and has a long crack running from left to right in the middle. K 8637 also appears to have been rolled or folded, and we can see eight horizontal creases.

Both texts are written in the Fayumic dialect. The hand of K 7044 is a regular semi-formal sloping majuscule, mostly bilinear (except for the ϣ and ϩ, which extend below the line), with not much space between the lines. Some letters are stylised with serifs (λ, τ, χ, and ϫ) and the β are angular. Stegemann assigned it to the 10th–11th centuries without any justification.³⁴ In general, the characteristics of the letters suggest a late date, but considering the absence of the ‘flat’ ⲙ, one might limit the date to the 10th century.³⁵ There is no punctuation. Final letters of words at the end of a line are written above rather than on the next line (e.g., ⲡⲕⲁⲥⲁⲛⲁⲣⲁ in l. 1, ⲃⲟϥⲗⲁⲁⲁ in l. 2, and ⲁⲃⲧⲉⲛⲁⲁⲕⲟ in l. 3).

The hand of K 8637 is rough and clumsy, mostly bilinear, with irregular space between the lines. γ have a “V” shape; ⲙ have four strokes; β are highly irregular, sometimes small and round or square, other times longer and angular; ⲉ can be round or square. This hand, which belongs to Criboire’s “evolving hand” type,³⁶ is particularly difficult to date. Both Stegemann and the

³⁴ Stegemann, *Koptischen Zaubertexte*, 16: “Anscheinend Urkundenschrift des X. oder XI. Jahrhunderts”.

³⁵ Compare e.g. with *MPER N.S.* XVII 27 (897/898). The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek collection website also dates K 7044 to the 10th century.

³⁶ R. Criboire, *Writers, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, 1996) 112. Other magical texts with similar hands are P. Mich. inv. 594–99 and 603 (unpublished); O.BYU Mag. 1–3 (Blumell and Dosoo, “Horus, Isis, and the Dark-Eyed Beauty”); *P.Macq.* I 1; Moen without inv. number (P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Amulet Against Fever,” *CdE* 57 [1982] 377–81. DOI: 10.1484/J.CDE.2.308614).

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek collection website date K 8637 to the 10th or 11th century.³⁷ Since K 7044 and K 8637 are copies of the same text, and could presumably have been written around the same time, there is no reason to change the dates suggested by Stegemann.

In K 8637, we can note a few copying errors (μεγλεν{εγ}{[[λ]] in l. 5) and many corrections (in ll. 1, 3, 5, and 7). Final letters of words at the end of a line are added either above (κα'c`πρ' in l. 1 and θειμ'ι' in l. 6) or below (αβτηνα'κο` in l. 3) rather than on the next line. The scribe used a triple dash as punctuation between *voces magicae* and between sentences. There is a separation line between the end of the text and the six crosses and *charakteres*. There is also a smaller cross at the beginning of the first line.

Both amulets contain a healing invocation addressed to the Three Holy Children and asking them to “take the fever away” from the recipients. The texts are virtually the same, except for one verb in l. 5 (τικαταγ in K 7044, and τιρωc in K 8637) and the names of the recipients: Chael, the son of Jeme in K 7044, and Thothothe, the son of Giorgia in K 8637. It is unclear whether the amulets were both copied from a common source, perhaps another amulet or a formulary, or if one served as a model from which the other one was copied.

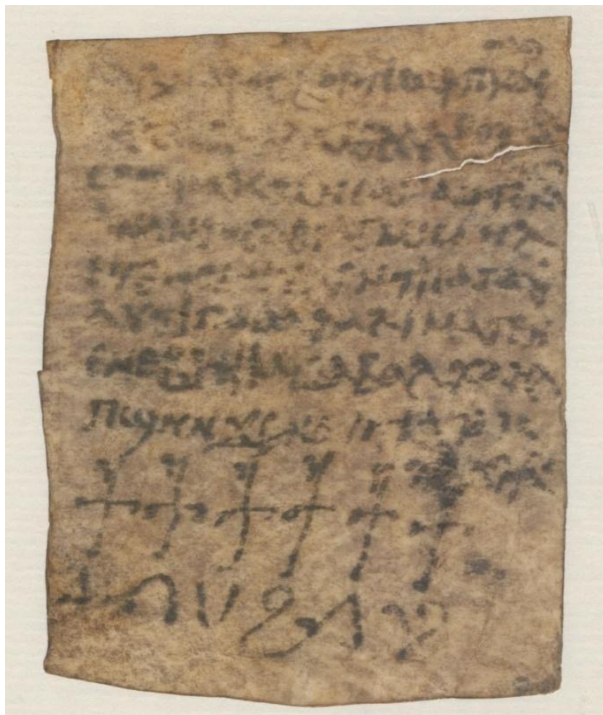


Fig. 2 Vienna K 7044 – ©
Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen
Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

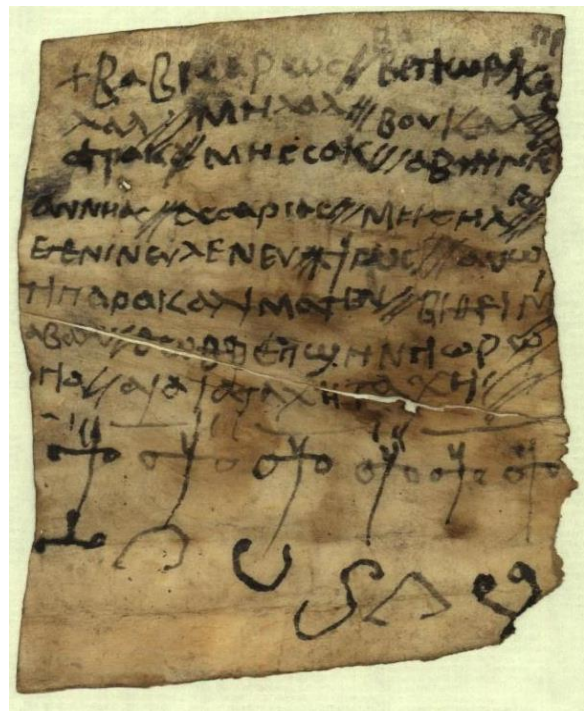


Fig. 3 Vienna K 8637 – ©
Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen
Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

³⁷ Stegemann, *Koptischen Zaubertexte*, 21: “Die Schrift zeigt an Urkundenschrift des X./XI. Jahrhunderts angenäherte Züge (vgl. Wien Copt. 11 005 v. J. 966 [unediert]).”

Vienna K 7044

βαβαζαρος βοργιωρ πκας`παρ`
 ... λαλ μελαλ βογλα`λ`
 σατρακ μησακ αβτενα`κο`
 ανανιας (αc)αριας μιcανηλ
 5 ετε νει νεγλεν τισαταγ
 αγ(ω) τιπαλακαλι ματεν
 ενεβι θιμι ραβαλ χαηλ
 πωη ηξεμε . ρια ια ια `ταχη`
 † † † † † †
 10 (6 *Charakteres*)

6 παρακαλέω || 8 ταχύ | η corr. < ?

Babasaros Baborgior Pkaspas ...lal Melal Boulal Satrak Mesak Abtenako Ananias Asarias Misael, |⁵ which are their names. I [...] and I invoke you so that you take the fever away from Chael, the son of Jeme (?) [...] Yea yea, quickly! + + + + + |¹⁰ (6 *Charakteres*).

2 ...λαλ: The parallel K 8637 only has λαλ (as in London Hay 10122; Berlin P. 11347; P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 685; *P.HermitageCopt.* 65; *P.Stras.Copt.* 7; P. Oxy. inv. 39; *P.Heid.Kopt.* 5). Here, however, it seems that the first magical name was longer, as we have space for at least three more letters. The most frequent option for a longer name would be a variation on θογλαλ (Berlin P. 8096: θογλαλ; Louvre E 7142: θαλαλ; P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 564a: θαλαλ; BL.Or 6948: θελαλ; BL.Or 5525: θαλαλ; Vienna K 7089: θωλαλ).

5 τισαταγ: Here we are expecting another verb of adjuration or invocation like the following παλακαλι (παρακαλει). The most frequent in magical texts are ωρκ, ταρκο, and

Vienna K 8637

+ βαβισαρωc /// `βα`βργιωρ / κα`c`πρ`
 λαλ /// μηλαλ /// βογκαλ ///
 σατρακ /// μησσακ /// αβτηνα`κο`
 αν(α)νηαc /// ασσαριαc /// μηχηλ ///
 5 ετε νι νεγλεν{εγ} τιωc /// αγω
 τιπαρακαλι ματεν /// βι θειμ`γ`
 αβαλ /// θωθωθε πωη ηγιωρ ///
 ρια /// αι αια ταχη ταχη ///
 - ||| - ||| - ||| - ||| - ||| - |||
 † † † † † †
 10 (6 *Charakteres*)

1 /// corr. < β | `βα`βεργιωρ . Stegemann || 3 /// corr. < α | αβτμακ[ο] Stegemann || 4 αννηαc Stegemann || 5 νεγλενεγ // τισοπc Stegemann | τ corr. < [[λ]] | ω corr. < π || 6 παρακαλέω | θειμ`γ` Stegemann || 7 θωθφε Stegemann; /// corr. < ω 8 ταχύ ταχύ

+ Babisaros Babrgior Kaspr Lal Melal Boukal Satrak Messak Abtenako Ananeas Assarias Mesel, |⁵ which are their names. I [...] and I invoke you, take the fever away from Thothothe, the son of Giorgia. Yea yea, quickly quickly! + + + + + |¹⁰ (6 *Charakteres*).

1 βαβισαρωc /// `βα`βργιωρ / κα`c`πρ: These names (and their equivalents in K 7044: βαβαζαρος βοργιωρ πκας`παρ`) are Coptic variants of the names of the three Magi, better known as Balthasar, Melchior, and Gaspar (cf. W. Brashear, "The Coptic Three Wise Men," *CdE* 58 [1983] 297–310. DOI: 10.1484/J.CDE.2.308637).

κα`c`πρ: If we compare with K 7044, which has πκας`παρ`, it seems that the scribe here first added the c below the line, and then πρ the above the line.

5 τιωc: Stegemann suggests reading τισοπc. The c is certain, but the ω has been corrected, which makes the reading of this word difficult. It could very well be two letters (perhaps c and

ⲉⲛⲥ. The final ⲁⲮ could be the direct object “them” (although we are expecting “you” here) or ⲁⲮ(ⲱ), repeated in the line below. ⲥⲁⲧ does not correspond to any known verb of adjuration or invocation. Other possibilities for ⲥⲁⲧ would be ⲥⲓⲧⲉ “throw, sow”, or ⲥⲱⲧⲉ “redeem, rescue”.

7 ⲉⲛⲉ ⲃⲓ: We should read either the optative ⲉ(ⲧⲉⲧ)ⲛⲉⲃⲓ “so that you take” or {ⲉⲛ} ⲉⲃⲓ “to take”, with a dittography from ⲛⲁⲧⲉⲛ in l. 6.

8 ⲭⲉⲙⲉ . . Ⲓⲓⲁ: The name of Chael’s mother should be found after ⲡⲱⲛ ⲛ. It is not clear however if the name is only ⲭⲉⲙⲉ or if it goes on to . . Ⲓⲓⲁ. Compare with the mother’s name in the parallel K 8637: ⲛⲒⲓⲱⲡ///Ⲓⲓⲁ. Otherwise, . . Ⲓⲓⲁ would be another word, perhaps ⲒⲁⲒⲓⲁ?

o) rather than a ⲱ. Considering the other verbs of adjuration and invocation (ⲱⲡⲕ and ⲧⲁⲡⲕⲟ), ⲧⲓⲥⲟ(ⲡ)ⲥ remains the best option.

6–7 ⲃⲓ ⲑⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲓ | ⲁⲃⲁⲗ: Stegemann correctly identified the expression ⲡⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, common in healing spells asking to “take away” diseases, but he could not identify the disease in question, which he read ⲑⲉⲓⲙⲓ. Here, we should instead read ⲑⲉⲓⲙⲓ, which is for ⲧⲒⲉⲓⲙⲓ (Sahidic ⲧⲒⲙⲙⲉ) “the fever”.

7 ⲑⲱⲑⲟⲑⲉ: Neither ⲑⲱⲑⲟⲑⲉ nor ⲑⲱⲑⲉ (read by Stegemann) are attested in Greek or Coptic. The name of the mother, ⲒⲓⲱⲡⲒⲓⲁ, is however well attested (TM Nam 9238; TM Nam Var 53110).

4. Louvre E 7142

H x W = 22.3 x 16.7 cm

6th–9th cent.

Provenance unknown

Fig. 4

The brown papyrus sheet contains twenty-five lines of text, written along the fibers with black ink, and the back is blank. The complete height and width are preserved, although there is some damage on the left-hand side, where about two centimeters are lost from lines 4 to 11 and 15 to 20. Creases—seven horizontal and five vertical—indicate that the sheet was folded into a small square and worn as an amulet.

The dialect is Fayumic. The hand is an informal and irregular semi-sloping majuscule, mostly bilinear, with not much interlinear space and some letters extending below the line (ⲓ, ⲡ, Ⲯ, ⲱ, ⲡ), although not systematically. The letters feature characteristics typical of the 6th to 9th centuries. The oblique stroke of the ⲁ is rounded; the ⲟ and ⲥ are generally round, but the ⲉ can be rounded or have a straight back. These features can be observed in sloping majuscule hands dated to the 6th–7th centuries.³⁸ The vertical tendency of the 8th century is absent, but other letters are typical of that century:³⁹ the middle horizontal bar of the ⲛ ascends towards the top of the second vertical; the ⲃ are slightly enlarged, with a larger lower belly that sometimes extends below the line, and can be rounded or angular; there are several ligatures, especially with ⲧⲓ, ⲁⲓ, and ⲁⲥ. Some of these features, like the shape of the ⲃ, also continue into the 9th century.⁴⁰ Another distinctive letter shape

³⁸ Compare e.g., with *MPER N.S.* XVII 48 (6th cent.); Hs.Schmidt 1 and 2 (6th–7th cent.); P.Berol 3602 (7th cent.). Particularly helpful for dating Coptic magical texts written in sloping majuscule is the study of A.T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (Tübingen, 2019) 74–94.

³⁹ Compare e.g., with *P.Bad.* V 124 (8th cent.); *MPER N.S.* XVII 58 (8th cent.).

⁴⁰ Compare e.g., with *P.Lond.Copt.* I 513 and *P.Matr. inv.* 46 (late 8th/early 9th cent.).

is that of the η : the middle oblique stroke is rounded and bending towards the bottom, and touches the baseline, almost like a “flat” η . Without any other dating criteria (such as archaeological context, colophon, Greek verso, or Arabic protocol), the date range can unfortunately not be narrowed further.

The manuscript is an amulet against fever for Kurakale, the daughter of Thoutoti, separated into two sections. In the first one, the practitioner or recipient identifies as “Monias the Crooked”, a man supposedly healed from all diseases, fever, and shivering by Jesus. Then some supernatural entities (Anouek and Enouek) are invoked to take away the fever of Kurakale. The second section has an invocation to the Three Holy Children, again to take away the fever (here, “heat”) of Kurakale. It includes visual elements with vowel “word-shapes” (*Schwindeschema*): two “grape-cluster” shapes are created with the vowels α and ω , by writing them first seven times, and then removing one vowel in each line until there is only one left. Between the two word-shapes, the lines are numbered from 1 to 7 (α to ζ), but there is a slight offset between the numbers and the actual lines.



Fig. 4 Louvre E 7142 – © Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts de Byzance et des Chrétientés en Orient, Paris

ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕ ΜΩΝΙΑΣ ΠΕΣΤΡΕΦΛΩC
ΕΛΕ ΙΗΣ ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC CΖΕΙ ΝΕΦ ΔΕ Α-
ΜΟΥ ΤΑΤΑΛCΑΚ ΖΑΒΑΛ ΕΝΕΚΩΩΝΙ
[ΤΗΡ]ΟΥ ΜΝ ΖΡΑCΙΚ ΝΙΜ ΜΝ ΩΥΤΑΛΤΕΛ
5 [ΝΙ]Μ ΑΝΟΥΗΚ ΕΝΟΥΗΚ ΑΝΟΥΗΚ `CΤ`ΡΑΚ
[ΕΝ]ΟΥΗΚ ΑΝΟΥΗΚ ΕΝΟΥΗΚ ΝΕΡΙΖ-
[ΑΙ]ΝΕΙ CΑ ΟΥΡΙΚΟΝ ΤΙCΑΠΥ ΜΑΤΕΝ
[ΒΙ] ΜΕΟΥ ΠΕΙCΙΚ ΜΝ ΠΕΙΩΤΑΛ(ΤΕΛ) ΖΑΒΑΛ
[ΕΠ]CΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΕΦ ΚΥΡΑΚΑΛΗ ΤΧΗΛΙ
10 ΘΟΥΓΩΤΙ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΤCΑΜ ΝΙΗΣ ΠΕΧΡΙCΤΟC
. . . ΤΑΥ ΝΙΚΑ ΖΑΜΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΔΙΑ ΕΤΙ ΕΤΙ
ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ

ΘΑΛΑΛ ΜΕΛΑΛ ΒΟΥΚΑΛ ΘΑΑΛ ΜΑΑΛ ΒΟΥΚΑ
ΑΝΑΝΙΑC CΕΤΡΑΚ ΑCΑΡΙΑC ΜΙCΑΚ
15 ΜΙCΑΝΗ ΔΒΔΕΝΑΚΩ
[Α]ΑΑΑΑΑ Δ ΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΤΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΙ
[ΔΔ]ΑΑΑΑ Β ΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΜΑΤΕΝ ΝΕΤΕΝ-
[Α]ΑΑΑΑ Γ ΩΩΩΩΩΩ ΛΕΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΕΝ-
[Δ]ΑΑΑ Δ ΩΩΩΩ {Τ}CΑΜ ΒΙ ΜΕΟΥ
20 [Α]ΑΑ Ε ΩΩΩ ΠΕΙΚΑΥCΩΝ
ΑΑ Ζ ΩΩ ΖΑΒΑΛ ΕΠCΩΜΑ
Α Ζ Ω ΤΗΡ ΕΦ ΜΝ ΤΑΠΗ
ΚΥΡΑΚΑΛΗ ΤΧΗΛΙ ΘΟΥΓΩ`ΤΙ`
ΗΛΙΟC ΠΕΤΧΟΥΑ ΖΕΝ ΠΚΕΖΙ
25 ΤΗΛΕΦ ΔΙΑ ΔΙΑ ΕΤΙ ΕΤΙ ΤΑΧΗ ΤΑΧΗ

I am Monias the Crooked, to whom
Jesus writes: “Come and I will heal
you from all your diseases and every
fever and every shivering.”⁵ Anouek
Enouek Anouek Strak Enouek
Anouek Enouek, you shall (?) settle a
shivering. I entreat you, take away this
fever and this shivering, from the
whole body (of) Kurakale the
daughter (of) ¹⁰ Thoutoti, by the
power of Jesus Christ, [...], victory,
amen! Yea yea, now now, quickly
quickly!

Thalal Melal Bokal Thaal Maal
Bouka Ananias Setrak Asarias Misak
¹⁵ Misael Abdenako
([16-22] Vowels in *Schwundeschema*
with line numbering from 1 to 7.)
I invoke you by your names and your
powers, take away ²⁰ this heat, from
the whole body and the head (of)
Kurakale the daughter (of) Thoutoti,
Helios, the one who flows onto the
whole earth. ²⁵ Yea yea, now now,
quickly quickly!

1 στρεβλός || 2 ιη(σογ)ς | ι σογ. < n | χριστός || 4 l. ακικ? || 6-7
ίζάνω || 7 ῥίγος | l. σοπς or σοπεπ || 9 l. τωηρε 10 μιν(σογ)ς |
χριστός || 11 νίκη | ἀμὴν || 11-12 ἦδη ἦδη ταχὺ ταχύ ||
16 παρακαλέω || 20 καύσων || 24 ἥλιος | l. ωογο || 25 ἦδη ἦδη
ταχὺ ταχύ

1-5 The beginning of the spell seems to refer to some unknown (apocryphal) miracle healing narrative, where Jesus wrote to a certain “Monias the Crooked”, telling him he would heal all his diseases. No man named “Monias the Crooked” is attested in any canonical or apocryphal healing narrative. The only known instance where Jesus is said to have “written” something to someone, promising them healing, is the Abgar correspondence (on which see in part. J.G. Given, “Utility and Variance in Late Antique Witnesses to the Abgar-Jesus Correspondence,” *ARG* 17 [2016] 187-222. DOI: 10.1515/arege-2015-0011).

1 ΜΩΝΙΑC ΠΕCΤΡΕΦΛΩC: ΜΩΝΙΑC is probably a variation of the Greek name Ammonios (TM Nam 1979), usually ΔΜ(Μ)ΩΝΕ in Coptic (TM NamVar 52701 and 52720). In Greek, variants

ending in -ας (TM NamVar 58581) and without the initial alpha (TM NamVar 50044) are also attested. πεστρεφλωσ consist of the Coptic article πε “the” and the Greek adjective στρεβλός “twisted, crooked”, hence the translation “the Crooked”. The epithet πεστρεφλωσ could refer to the physical state of Monias, bent or twisted as the result of some disease of the bones, such as scoliosis.

4 ρρακ: This could simply be an irregular—perhaps Fayumic—form of ακ “fever”, although the Bohairic form κ is used in l. 8. Another possibility is that the scribe started writing ρροϥ (Bohairic form of αροϥ) “cold” or “fever”, another word that often comes up in fever amulets, but changed his mind for ακ, without correcting or erasing -ρρ-. This could also be a new compound word with both ρροϥ and ακ.

ϥταλτελ: The usual sense of ϥτορτρ as a noun is “disturbance, trouble”. However, ϥτορτρ is often confused with στρτρ, “trembling” (see Crum, *CD*, 366a–b). In Coptic magical texts, ϥτορτρ appears in healing charms together with other words associated with fever (e.g., BL.Or. 5525.24–25: αροϥ νιβι | μη ρημαν νιβι μη ϥταλτελ νιβι “every cold and every fever and every trembling”). Here the translation “shivering” has been chosen to refer to the “trembling” associated with fevers.

5 ϥτϥρακ: The letters are relatively smaller than in the rest of the text and the whole word seems to have been added at a later stage, with ϥτ above the line. Perhaps we should read ϥετρακ, one of the Babylonian names of the Three Children, which appears below in l. 14.

5–6 ανοϥηκ ενοϥηκ: These are *voces magicae*, as evident from the supralinear stroke on the final three letters of each word. However, they do not belong to any known tradition of *voces magicae* and no parallels could be found.

6–7 νεριζ[αι]νει σα: The verb has been reconstructed as the Greek ἰζάνω or ἰζαίνω, which means “settle, subside”. This Greek loanword is otherwise unattested in Coptic. In Greek texts, the verb is usually found with the preposition ἐπί, which here seems to have been translated into the Coptic preposition (ν)σα. As for the νε preceding the verb, since we expect a command to be addressed to the entities invoked (similar to the following adjuration in ll. 7–8: τικαπϥ ματεν [βι] ... ραβαλλ), one could read the optative (ετετ)νε.

9 κϥρακαλη: Female name attested in Greek and Coptic (TM Nam 41227). For the Coptic, see *P.Clackson* 44, a letter dated to the 6th century.

10 ϥοϥτωτι: The name of Kurakale’s mother is attested neither in Greek nor in Coptic. One could compare it with ϥωϥϥϥ, apparently a male name in Vienna K 8637 above.

11 . . . ταϥ: Here we expect another word or expression that might be found at the end of a charm, like ρη οϥειρηνη “in peace” or ϥα ενεϥ ντε ενεϥ “for ever and ever”, although none of these matches the letters that are preserved at the beginning of this line.

16–22 *Schwindeschema*: A similar design appears following the invocation to the Three Children in BL.Or 5525. There, two “wing” shapes are created with the vowels α and ω, with the line numbers 1 to 7 (α to ζ) between the two shapes.

24 ἥλιος: It is unclear whether the text refers to Helios as the Greek god, or simply as the sun. In Coptic, the word for sun is usually ϣ᠏, and we find it in many Coptic magical texts invoking the sun and other heavenly bodies (e.g. P.Mich. inv. 4932f; *BKU* I 22.8; BL.Or 6794.21; *BKU* I 3.27). Although there is a small corpus of Coptic magical texts mentioning Greco-Egyptian deities (on which see R. Bélanger Sarrazin, *Les divinités gréco-égyptiennes dans les textes magiques coptes : Une étude du syncrétisme religieux en Égypte tardo-antique et médiévale* [Leuven, forthcoming]), Greek gods are rare—they appear in only three texts—and Helios is absent. Since this text uses many Greek loanwords, some of which are not frequent in Coptic (such as στρεβλός and ῥῑγος), this could very well be a reference to the sun as a heavenly body.

Appendix: The Three Holy Children in Coptic Magical Manuscripts

Inventory number	Edition(s)	TM	KYP ⁴¹	Date ⁴²	Format	Type	Names of the Three Children
Bodleian MS Copt. C (P) 4	ZÄS 34 (1896) 86–89	99581	M412	4th–5th	Papyrus sheet (applied text)	Curse	(22) Unnamed.
Berlin P. 8096	APF 30 (1984) 88 (no. III 17)	107295	M210	6th–7th	Parchment sheet (amulet)	Healing ?	(6–8) ΜΟΥΛΛΑ ΒΟΥΛΛΑ ΘΟΥΛΛΑ
Louvre E 7142		874282	M1163	6th–9th	Papyrus sheet (amulet)	Healing (fever)	(13–15) ΘΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΛΑΛ ΒΩΚΑΛ ΘΑΑΛ ΜΑΑΛ ΒΟΥΚΑ ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΣΕΤΡΑΚ ΑΣΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΚ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΑΒΔΕΝΑΚΩ
P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 564a	Museon 76 (1963) 255–65	98047	M513	7th–8th ⁴³	Parchment sheet (amulet)	Healing (fever)	(1–3) ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ Α[Σ]ΑΡΙΑΣ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ ΣΕΔΡΑΚ ΕΜΙΣΑΚ ΑΒΔΕΝΑΓΩ ΘΑΛΛΑ ΕΜΑΛΛΑ ΒΑΛΛΑ
Vienna KO 240	<i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 20			7th–8th	Limestone ostracon (amulet)	Healing ?	(4–5) ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ ΑΣΑ[ΡΙΑΣ] ΜΙΣΑΗΛ

⁴¹ This number refers to the manuscript (M) number in the *Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts*, available online at <https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/>.

⁴² The dates in this table are in general those given by the editors of the manuscripts, mostly picked up by the *Kyprianos Database*. If the dates diverge, an explanatory note is provided, as for the four amulets edited above. Dating Coptic magical manuscripts is particularly difficult, as they are rarely dated by secure criteria—such as colophons, archaeological contexts, or versos bearing dated Greek hands or Arabic protocols—and we are most of the time relying entirely on palaeography, which is not as advanced for Coptic as it is for Greek, especially when it comes to irregular hands often encountered in magical manuscripts; cf. on Coptic palaeography in general B. Layton, ‘Towards a New Coptic Palaeography,’ in T. Orlandi and F. Wisse (eds), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Rome, 1985) 149–58; S. Torallas Tovar, “Progress in Coptic Palaeography and Codicology 2004–2012,” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, and F. Contardi (eds), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times 2 vols* (Louvain, 2016) 1.431–56; C. Askeland, “Dating Early Greek and Coptic Literary Hands,” in L. Jenott and H. Lundhaug (eds), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Tübingen, 2018) 457–89. Among the manuscripts in this table, P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 685 is dated by colophon, and only the ones preserved on paper present paratextual, material features allowing them to be securely dated after the 10th century, when the use of paper was generalised; cf. A. Boud’hors, “Manuscrits coptes de papier (XIe-XIVe siècle): quelques éléments de caractérisation,” in M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda (ed.), *Le papier au moyen âge: histoire et techniques* (Turnhout, 1999) 75–84; E.M. Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus. Form and Function, Content and Context* (Berlin, 2010) and “The Earliest Paper Documents in the Vienna Collection Revisited,” *CdE* 90 (2015) 431–43. DOI: 10.1484/J.CDE.5.110416; N. Vanthieghem, “Contribution à l’histoire de la transition du papyrus au papier. À propos de la date de P.Ryl. Arab. I, X 10,” *CdE* 90 (2015) 423–30. DOI: 10.1484/J.CDE.5.110415.

⁴³ Kyprianos and Trismegistos give 641–1200 as a date range. However, the hand shows features typical of Coptic sloping majuscule hands of the 7th (oblique stroke of the α rounded; narrow ε and c with straight back; η with raised middle bare) and 8th centuries (β with engrossed lower belly extending below the line), although it lacks their vertical tendencies. Compare with P.Rain.Cent. 31 p. 7 (7th–8th); *P.Amst.* I 21 (7th–8th); PSI Com. IX 2 (8th).

London Hay 10122	<i>JEA</i> 20 (1934) 197–99 ⁴⁴	99566	M289	8th– 9th	Leather rotulus (formulary)	Healing charm?	(2–5) ἀνανιας ἀζαριας μιζανη σεδρακ μιζακ ἀδενακω λαλ μογλαλ ωωλαλ
Vienna K 5859		874215	M562	8th– 9th	Papyrus sheet (amulet)	Healing (prob. fever)	(3–7) ἀνανε αc ἀσαριας μισανη ππογτε νεστρακ μισα κ αφδενακo αλαλ ρω λαλ μογλαλ
Vienna K 4437	<i>ZÄS</i> 77 (1942) 102–104	108607	M68	9th	Papyrus sheet (amulet)	Healing (fever)	(2–4) ἀνανιας [αc]αριας μισανη σεδρα `κ´ [μικ]ακ ἀβδενακω [θε]νλαλ μενλαλ βενλαλ
BL.Or 6948.2; BL.Or 6948.1⁴⁵	<i>Recueil d'études ... Champollion</i> (1922) 542–44 (no. 3) ⁴⁶	100114	M334	9th– 10th	Parchment sheet (amulet)	Healing (fever)	ἀνανιας ἀσαριας μισανη σετρακ μν (μ)ισακ μν ἀβτινακο βακακ θελαλ μναλ
Vienna K 8364	<i>Kopt. Zaub. Rainer</i> (1934) 20 and 42 (no. 24 [94]) ⁴⁷	91416	M255	9th– 10th	Papyrus sheet (amulet)	Healing (prob. fever)	(12–14) ἀνανια ἀζαριας μισανη
BL.Or 5525	<i>P.Lond.Copt.</i> 524 = AKZ I C	98056	M359	9th– 11th	Parchment rotulus (amulet)	Healing (fever and others)	(80–85 ⁴⁸) θαλαλ μελαλ βωκαλ θαλαλ μαλαλ βογκ ἀνανιας σετρα ασαριας μισακ μισανη ἀβδενακο
P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 685	<i>Pap.Heid.</i> IX	102074	M186	10th	Parchment codex (formulary)	Healing charm (fever)	(17.19–20) ἀνανι αc ἀζαριας μισανη (18.9–11) ἀνανιας ἀζαριας μισανη σετρακ μισακ ἀβτενακω λαλ βογλαλ μογλαλ (18.17–19) ἀνανιας ἀζαριας μισανη

⁴⁴ See now the new edition by M. Zellmann-Rohrer in E.R. O’Connell (ed.), *The Hay Archive of Coptic Spells on Leather: A Multi-disciplinary Approach to the Materiality of Magical Practice* (London, 2022). The date given here is that from Zellmann-Rohrer’s edition.

⁴⁵ In his edition (p. 542; see n. 34 below), Crum identifies this manuscript as Or. 6948.2. However, in the British Library this folio is labeled as 6948.1. The lines in Crum’s edition are not numbered, and the names of the three children are only described as being situated above the main text.

⁴⁶ W.E. Crum, ‘La magie copte. Nouveaux textes,’ in *Recueil d’études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion* (Paris, 1922) 537–44.

⁴⁷ Stegemann, *Koptischen Zaubertexte*.

⁴⁸ This refers to the line numbers in A.M. Kropp’s edition (*Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*, 3 vols [Brussels, 1930] 1.15–21). The text in the lower part of the rotulus is divided into three columns. The invocation to the Three Children is situated at the top of the right column. An image of the manuscript is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_5525_f001r.

St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 18330	<i>P.HermitageCopt.</i> 65	105607	M55	10th	Paper sheet (amulet)	Healing (fever)	(3–4) ... ἀναμιας ·] αζαριας · μισα[ηλ]αγδαωκ · λαλ · [...
Vienna K 7044	<i>Kopt. Zaub. Rainer</i> (1934) 16 (no. 10)	91403	M242	10th	Parchment sheet (amulet)	Healing (fever)	(2–4) ...λαλ μελαλ βογλα`λ´ σατρακ μισακ αβτηνα`κο´ ἀναμιας (αζ)αριας μισαηλ
Vienna K 8637	<i>Kopt. Zaub. Rainer</i> (1934) 21 and 50–52 (no. 27 [97])	91419	M258	10th– 11th	Parchment sheet (amulet)	Healing (fever)	(2–4) λαλ /// μηλαλ /// βογκαλ /// σατρακ /// μισσακ /// αβτηνα`κο´ αν(α)μιας /// ασσαριας /// μισηλ///
Berlin P. 11347	<i>APF</i> 31 (1985) 32–35 (no. II 42)	98055	M220	10th– 11th	Paper rotulus (formulary)	Healing (every sickness)	(r ^o 42–43) ἀναν ας ασαριας μισαηλ · σετρακ μισακ αβδενακο · λαλ μογλαλ βογλαλ
Vienna K 7089	<i>Kopt. Zaub. Rainer</i> (1934) 17 and 30–31 (no. 15 [87])	91407	M246	10th– 11th	Parchment sheet (amulet)	Healing (prob. fever)	(4–7) ἀναμιας αζαρηας μισαηλ σετρακ μισακ ρηωλαολ αφδηνακω + θωλαλ βωλαλ μωλαλ
Strasbourg Gr. 499	<i>P.Stras.Copt.</i> 7	874128	M104	10th– 11th	Paper sheet (amulet)	Healing (prob. fever)	(4–11) ἀναμιας (α)σαριας μισαηλ λαλ μογ(λαλ) αγλαλ ντακ μογτακ αγτακ λαληλ μογ ρηλ θαθηλ
P. Oxy. inv. 39 EES 39 5B.125/A	<i>BASP</i> 19 (1982) 92–103	98045	M280	11th	Paper rotulus (amulet)	Healing (fever)	(44–48) λαλ μογλαλ ω αγλαλ ζετρακ μεζακ αφτενακω ἀναμιας αζαριας μαζαηλ
P. Heid. inv. Kopt. 407	<i>P.Heid.Kopt.</i> 5	832291	M75	11th– 12th	Paper sheet (amulet)	Healing (prob. fever)	(2–6) εδ[η]μιας ασαριας // μισαηλ ζιτρακ // μισακ αβτηνακω // λαλ μογλαλ // βολαλ //
Louvre E 32317	<i>Orientalia NS</i> 67 (1998) 107–41	832291	M498	12th	Paper sheet (amulet)	Healing (every sickness)	(3) ἀναμιας αζαριας μισαηλ ζετρακ μισακ αφδεναγω