

**GEMF 43**  
**(PGM XXI)**

Fayum (?)

III CE

ED.PR.: Abt 1910, 144–147 [A]

REPubL.: PGM XXI [Pr]; Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 135–154 [MeTo]

TRANSL.: PGM XXI (German); Grese, GMPT, 259 (English); Assmann 1984, 281 (ll. 4–9) (English); Kee 1986, 110–111 (English); Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 135–154 (German); Calvo Martínez and Sánchez Romero 1987, 325–326 (Spanish)

COMM.: Bonner 1936a, P.Mich. III 155.5n. (on l. 24)

LOC.: Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, P 9566 (former private collection of Rudolf Mosse)

TM 63773

This fragment (H. 30.4 × W. 15.2 cm) contains a single column and a few traces of a preceding one to the left of ll. 24–25. In the upper and middle part of the second column the beginnings and substantial portions of each line are still preserved, but the lower part is very fragmentary with only a few letters of each line. No *kollesis* is visible on the papyrus. The upper margin is preserved to 2.7 cm; the *intercolumnium* on the left side is about 2.5 cm. Original width and height of the column remain uncertain. The text is written on the verso; the recto contains the remains of a report of proceedings, published as BGU III 893 dated paleographically to the second–third cent CE. The writing space is about 0.4–0.5 cm, the interlinear space is about 0.3–0.4 cm. Occasionally, a small blank space is left between words (e.g. ll. 7, 9, 21). In l. 1 two letters (μo) are underlined, but the meaning of this is unclear. *Voces magicae*, sequences of vowel combinations and names of gods, demons *vel sim.* are usually separated by a slash (e.g. ll. 2, 13, 19). In addition, some lines are preceded by a slash (ll. 5, 19, 29, 34).

The script can be assigned to the third century CE. It is an upright capital script, taller than it is broad, with occasional pseudo-ligatures competently executed. It is basically bilinear, apart from ρ and sometimes ι, φ, κ, the last of which is particularly tall and slightly protrudes above the writing space. α is usually written with an oval loop, sometimes with a very narrow loop above. β is large, with lower belly bigger than the upper one, with a horizontal basis. ε is big and well-rounded; ο is smallish, c is smaller than ε. π has two forms: the standard capital with crossbar protruding on both sides; the cursive one with roundish top (l. 23). ρ has a smallish head. υ is V-shaped. The central elements of μ consist in a curve touching the baseline or lying very slightly above it; ω is broad and lies above the baseline. Initial letters are slightly enlarged in some lines (e.g. ll. 2, 6, 12, 14). This script can be compared with the hand of section C of P.Oxy. XLVII 3366, dated to 253–260 CE. There are traces above the η of ἀήρ (l. 6), which might be part of a *spiritus lenis* of the preceding α.

The text preserves a large part and the end of the invocation of an all-powerful god; cf. Assmann 1979 and Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 127–134. Close parallels can be found in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 765–799 and partially in 15.289–294, 301–305/XII 240–244, 252–257, both of which help reconstruct the lost right part of most lines at least with regard to the content, if not to the exact text. Caution is due, however, because the differences between the two parallel texts themselves suggest that this prayer circulated in several variations. Because the length of each line in this text remains uncertain, all reconstructions are *exempli gratia*, although they are certainly correct with regard to their content. The parallels imply that this prayer was probably part of a larger magical procedure.

The preserved text starts in mid-sentence. The upper margin suggests that the extant text continues from the previous column. The *editio princeps* (and PGM XXI) give a minimal reconstruction of the beginning of the prayer based on the text of GEMF 15.288–289/PGM XII 239–240, while the re-edition in Merkelbach and Totti 1990 gives a more extensive reconstruction according to 15.287–289/XII 238–240 and 60/XIII 761–764. The line numbers do not follow PGM, but the *editio princeps*, which represents the situation on the papyrus. Line numbers of PGM are given on the right side of the text in square brackets.

verso ↓

GEMF 43/PGM XXI

- 1 οὐ καὶ οἱ δαίμον[ε]σ ἀκούοντες τὸ ὄνομα πτοοῦνται, οὐ δὲ ἥλιος]  
 βαρβαριχ / βα[αλκαμιν / πτιδαιου / αρνεβουατ καὶ ἡ κελήνη]  
 ακενπεμφθ[ουθ / βαρβαρα / ιωνη / οσραρ / μεμψεχει]  
 ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰσιν [ἀκάματοι, λάμποντες ἐν ταῖς κόραις]
- 5 / τῶν ἀνθρώπων[ν, ὧ σὺρανὸς μὲν κεφαλὴ ἐστὶ]  
 καὶ ἀὴρ σῶμα, [γῆ δὲ πόδες, τὸ δὲ περὶ σε ὕδωρ. σὺ εἶ Ἄγαθός]  
 Δαίμων, ὠκε[ανός, ὁ γεννῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τρέφων καὶ αὔξων]  
 τὴν οἰκουμέν[η]ν[ν, ]ν . [.] . [ ]  
 κόσμον. σὺ δὲ τὸ ἀέναον[ν κωμαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ καθίδρυταί] [10]  
 σου τὸ ὄνομα / τὸ ἐπταγράμ[ματων ca 16 πρὸς]  
 τὴν ἁρμονίαν / τῶν ἐπτὰ φ[θόγγων ἐχόντων φωνὰς πρὸς]  
 τὰ εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ / φῶτα τῆς c[ελήνης ca 10 / εηιουω / α-]  
 ηιουω / αειουω / αειουω / [αειηω / αειηω / αειηου / ]  
 οὐ αἰ ἀγαθαὶ ἀπόρροιαὶ / τῶ[ν ἀστέρων εἰς δαίμο-]  
 νες καὶ τύχαι καὶ μοῖραι, ἐξ ὧ[ν δίδεται πλοῦτος, τύχη,]  
 εὐγηρασία, ταφῆ ἀγαθῆ. σὺ δ[έ, κύριε τῆς ζωῆς, βασιλεύων]  
 τῆς ἄνω καὶ τῆς κάτω χώρας [, οὐ ἡ δικαιοσύνη οὐκ ἀποκλείεται,]  
 οὐ αἰ Μοῦσαι ὑμνοῦσι τὸ ἔνδοξ[ον ὄνομα, ὃν δορυφοροῦσιν οἱ ἡ']  
 / φύλακες / Η / Ω / Χω / Χουχ / [Νουν / Ναυι / Αμουν / ] [20]  
 Αμουνιο / ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἄψευτ[ο]ν[ν ἀλήθειαν· οὐ κατιχύσονται]  
 μου πολλὰ κάρκες κεινούμεν[αι, οὐκ ἀντιτάξεταιί]  
 μοι πᾶν πνεῦμα, πᾶν συνάντημα, [πᾶν δαιμόνιον, πᾶν πονηρόν,]  
 τὸ δὲ ὄνομά σου ἔξω ἐν φυλακτῆρ[ιον ἐν καρδίᾳ τῆ ἐμῆ]  
 φριμμουν / [ ]αγοχ / κολβαῖ [ ]  
 25 καναχακρω[.]αρχηγρ[.] [ ]  
 σε κοπω / ιε[.]οαι / [ ]  
 νουσι ν[ου]c[ι] / [c]ιεθω [c]ιεθω  
 βενου[ . . . ] / [ . . . ] . . . [ ]  
 / αυ[ ca 10 ]εο[ ]  
 30 υι[ ca 10 ]αι / [ ]  
 τ[ ca 11 ]οτ[ ]  
 .[ ca 11 ] . . . αν[ ]  
 μ[ ca 11 ]θ[ ]  
 / .[ ca 11 ]α[ ]

1 δαίμονες [ἀκούοντες πτοοῦνται A || 2 βαμονιχ βα[ρβαριχ] ββααλα αμιν αρνεβουατ καὶ ἡ κελήνη A : Βααλ βνιχ ββααλα [Ἄμην πτιδαιου Ἄρνεβουατ καὶ κελήνη Pr : Βαρβαριχ βα[αλκαμιν] πτιδαιου ἄρ-νεβ-ουατ καὶ ἡ κελήνη MeTo || 3 ακεμ[φ]εμφθ[ουθ βαρβαριωνη οσ ραφ μεμψεχει A : ακεν[π]εμφ Θω[ουθ], βαρβαραιωνη οσραρμεμψεχει Pr : ακεν[π]εμφ Θω[ουθ], βαρβαρ--- (sic) MeTo || 5 ἀνθρώπων edd. || 6 γῆ δὲ πόδες· σὺ εἶ Ἄγαθός A : γῆ δὲ πόδες· σὺ εἶ ὠκεανός, ὁ Ἄγαθός MeTo : γῆ δὲ πόδες, τὸ δὲ περὶ σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός. σὺ εἶ Ἄγαθός Pr || 7 δαίμων ὠκε[ανός ὁ γεννῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τροφῶν A | δαίμων ὁ κύριος Pr MeTo || 8 οἰκουμέν[η]ν, κύριος ὁ τρέφων καὶ αὔξων τὸν A : οἰκουμένην [γῆν] σύμπασαν καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν Pr MeTo || 9 ἀέναον[ν κωμαστήριον ἄνω καθίδρυταί A | καθίδρυταί vel ἀφίδρυταί || 10 ἐπταγράμ[ματων edd. || 11 ἄρ[μ]ονί[α]ν A || 12 φῶτα [τῆς] κελήνης A || 13 ηιουω αειηουω αειηουω[ A : ηιουω αε(η)ιουω αει(ι)ουω Pr MeTo || 14 οὐ ἀγαθαὶ A : οὐ <αἰ> ἀγαθαὶ (sic) Pr MeTo || 16 εὐγερα[τ]ία A | σὺ [δὲ edd. || 17 [καὶ] A : καὶ Pr MeTo | χώρα[c A || 18 ἔνδοξ[ον ὄνομα δ A || 19 ηωχ χουχ νο[ν] ναυι αμουν αμουνι Abt : Η, Ω, Χω, Χουχ, [Νουν, Ναυι Pr || 20 Ἄμουν Io Pr : Ἄμουνθ MeTo comm. | ἄψευτ[ον ἀλήθειαν edd. || 21 κεινού[μ]εν[αι] A || 22 συνάντημα, [οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἴδου πονηρῶν MeTo || 23 ἐν φυλακτ[η]ρίῳ A : ἐν φυλακτ[η]ρίῳ Pr : ἐνφυλακτ[η]ρίῳ I. ἐμφυλακτ[η]ρίῳ MeTo || 24 φριμμουν λιφχ κολβῶ[ A : φριμμουν [ἄ]νοχ κολβαῖ Pr MeTo || 25–28 om. A || 25 καναχακρω . . αρχην Pr MeTo || 26 σε κοπω κ . . οαι Pr MeTo || 27 νουσι ν[ου]c[ι]εθω [c]ιεθω Pr MeTo || 28 βενου[αι] Pr : βενου[ MeTo || 28 post βενου–34 om. edd. || 30 ι[ vel κ[ || 32 ] . . vel ]π[ || 34 ]πα[ vel ]σα[ ]

## GEMF 43

... at whose name even the demons [are terrified, when they hear, for whom the sun] BARBARICH<sup>1</sup> / BA[ALSAMĒN<sup>2</sup> / PTIDAIUO / ARNEBOUAT<sup>3</sup> and the moon] ASENPEMPHTHŌOUTH<sup>4</sup> [/ BARBARA / IŌNĒ<sup>5</sup> / OSRAR / MEMPSECHEI] are [tireless] eyes<sup>6</sup> [shining in the pupils] (5) of mortals, [for whom heaven is the head], air is the body, [earth is the feet, the water around you. You are Agathos] Daimon, the oce[an, who produces good things, nurtures and increases] the inhabited (world) ... universe.<sup>7</sup> Yours is the everlasting [processional way, in which is established] your (10) seven-lettered name<sup>8</sup> ... [in] harmony with the seven [sounds, which have tones according to] the twenty-eight lights of the [moon ...]<sup>9</sup> [EĒIOUŌ / A]ĒIOUŌ / AEIOUŌ / AEĒOUŌ / [AEĒIUŌ / AEĒIOŌ / AEĒIOU/]<sup>10</sup> whose good emanations / from [the stars are] demons, (15) fortunes and fates, by whom [are given wealth, success,] a happy old age, a good burial.<sup>11</sup> You, [lord of life, ruling] the upper and lower lands, [whose justice is not shut off], whose glorious [name] the Muses praise, [whom the eight] guards [attend]/ Ē / Ō / CHŌ / CHOUC[ / NOUN / NAUNI / AMOUN / ] (20) AMOUNIO<sup>12</sup> /, (the one) who possesses the infallible [truth]. The many moving bodies [will not overpower] me, nor [will] any spirit, visitation, [demon, or evil being oppose] me. I will have your name as a single phylactery<sup>13</sup> [in my heart] ... PHIRIMNOUN<sup>14</sup> / ... AGOCH<sup>15</sup> / SOLBAI<sup>16</sup> ... (25) SANACHASRŌ<sup>17</sup> ... ARCHĒNR...SE KOPŌ / .IE..OAI ... NOUSI NOUSI / SIETHO [SIETHO]<sup>18</sup> BENOU<sup>19</sup> ...

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<sup>1</sup> Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 143 think this means ‘blazing demon’ (*brbr-ih*), but cf. Love 2016, 26 n. 62 for a fuller discussion and Brashear 1995, 3582 for other names with the initial element βαρβαρ-.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a variation of βαλκάμης (‘lord of heaven’), an attribute of the god Horus-Harpokrates in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1019 and 1061. Cf. Cumont 1896 and Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 212.

<sup>3</sup> This name means in Eg. “Horus, Lord of the Sound (Eye)” (*hr nb-wd:t*). Cf. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 212.

<sup>4</sup> GEMF 15.290/PGM XII 241 has αρεμφομεφρωθ without connection to Selene, who is not even mentioned; 60/XIII 767 has αρεμπεντρωουθ with connection to Selene. Both are variations of the same *vox magica*.

<sup>5</sup> Reconstructed from GEMF 60/PGM XIII 768. Cf. also SM I 49, 8–9 βαρβαριωνηθ as an attribute of Adonis.

<sup>6</sup> For Helios and Selene as the eyes of the great god, and the general context cf. Assmann 1979 and 1984, 281–282.

<sup>7</sup> Neither parallel in GEMF 15/PGM XII 244 (with τὰ πάντα) or in 60/XIII 772–773 (with τὴν οἰκουμένην alone) make the κόσμος the recipient of the benefactions of Agathos Daimon. The reconstruction remains uncertain.

<sup>8</sup> The parallel texts strongly suggest ἐπταγράμ[ματων]. In them ἐπταγράμματος is immediately followed by the phrase πρὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν κτλ., which in our papyrus occurs at the end of this line (10) and the beginning of the next line.

<sup>9</sup> An attribute or participle referring to the moon could have followed c[ελήνης, e.g. Αἰγυπτίας (GEMF 74.1027/PGM VII 869), πανσελήνου (57/IV 52), πληθούσης (30/VI 2), πληρωθείσης (57/IV 57) or *vores magicae*. The twenty-eight lights of the moon are the 28 phases of the moon on the 28 days of the lunar month.

<sup>10</sup> These are repetitions of the seven vowels (cf. Dieleman 2005, 66–67), but the extant repetitions suggest that the sequence is unique, because each repetition is missing a single vowel, α from the first, ε from the second, and so on.

<sup>11</sup> The emphasis on a good burial and old age is typically Egyptian. See Sethe 1935, 120.

<sup>12</sup> This is the “Ogdoad” of Hermoupolis, *Hh-Hh.t, Kk-Kk.t, Nwn-Nwn.t, Imn-Imn.t*, personifications of aspects of the primeval world (infinity, darkness, primordial water, concealment). Cf. Sethe 1929, Roeder 1933, 526, Rashed 2017. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 138 and 152, corrected the last name to Ἄμοῦνθ, but the reading is certain and finds a close parallel in GEMF 60/PGM XIII 789 Αμαῦνθ. The final ο is either dittography for the article which follows or Eg. *ḳ.t* ‘great’.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. GEMF 60/PGM XIII 795. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 138 and 153, suggest ενφυλακτ[ηριον] l. ἔμφυλακτ[ήριον] (unattested), and translate “Schutzmittel (Amulett)”. In any case, the articulation ἐν φυλακτήριον (Preisendanz) or the correction ἐν φυλακτηρίῳ (Bonner 1936) are possible despite the missing article and the following ἐν καρδίᾳ.

<sup>14</sup> This is *pr̄i-m-nwn*, “I am he who came forth from Nun,” cf. Thissen 1991a, 299; Quack 2004, 499.

<sup>15</sup> This sequence does not occur elsewhere. Pr and MeTo print [ḳ]voχ, the Egyptian personal pronoun of the first person well-attested in sequences of *vores magicae* (see SM II 42, 30). It is possible that the scribe wrote γ instead of v by mistake, possibly due to the influence of the alternative spelling avoy (GEMF 60/PGM XIII 583).

<sup>16</sup> This name is also attested in GEMF 57/PGM IV 1668 and 69/XXXVIII 24 as the name of the sun in the 6<sup>th</sup> hour and on a magnetite gem, M&M 83: βαicolβαιχαφουρι. Cf. also Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 119 and 153.

<sup>17</sup> This name either means ‘ram’ (Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 79 and 153), or ‘ewe’ as Eg. *sr.t* (Quack 2009, 30–31).

<sup>18</sup> Parallels GEMF 31/PGM I 240; 30.170/II 123; 58/V 484–485. Cf. Merkelbach and Totti 1990, 63, 153–154, 214.

<sup>19</sup> βενου probably Eg. *bnw*, ‘phoenix’; cf. GEMF 6.10, 30–31; 30.151/II 104; 15.279/XII 231; 60/XIII 881.