INVCATIONS AND OFFERINGS AS STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS
IN THE LOVE SPELLS IN PAPYRI GRAECAE MAGICAЕ

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Abstract: This paper examines the structural elements – namely, the roles of invocation and offerings – in the love spells of the Greek magical papyri. This is achieved through an analysis of spells that invoke a specific named deity in order to see, whether an underlying formal structure uniting this group of spells can be discerned. The meaning of invocation as a structural element is studied through the work of E. Szepes, concerning the magical hymns' origin in and departure from cultic hymns. The roles of invocation, ritual offering, and sleeplessness of the victim can be isolated as separate structural elements, repeated in spell after spell.

Introduction
This paper concentrates on the structural elements – namely, the roles of invocation and offerings – and the role of specific deities invoked for assistance in the love spells¹ of the Greek magical papyri.² The main criteria for selecting the material for closer examination are that the spell must be recognizable as a love spell and must invoke or ask help from a named deity or magical entity.

¹ On previous scholarship on erotic magic, see e.g. Graf, Fritz. Magic in the Ancient World. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997; Dickie, Matthew W. "Who Practised Love-Magic in Classical Antiquity and in the Late Roman World?" Classical Quarterly 50, (2000): 563-583. One of the more recent contributions to the discussion is Pachoumi, Eleni. "The Erotic and Separation Spells of the Magical Papyri and Defixiones." Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies 53, (2013): 294-325. Pachoumi has come to the conclusion that in the papyri there are 90 erotic spells and eight separation spells that are "formulary" – that is, they use the ὀ δεῖνα/ἡ δεῖνα -formula instead of the real names of the conjurer and victim – and 13 erotic spells and one separation spell that are "actual" – that is, they use the real names of the conjurer and the victim of the spell. Pachoumi also analyses erotic defixiones: there is one defixio that is formulatory and 14 that are actual defixiones. A defixio is the Latin term for a curse tablet (Greek κοτάδεσμος), a thin sheet of lead, usually rolled up with nails driven through the roll, asking a deity to bring harm against a person. In the case of an erotic defixio, the harm could be suspended if the victim answered the conjurer's feelings.


What I am seeking to do in this paper is to separate the spells depending on whether or not they invoke specific deities for help (as opposed to simply giving a recipe for a magical mixture but naming no names), and to compare them so as to see whether the spells that do invoke deities by name form a uniform and coherent group that shares significant structural elements. (Semi-)recognizable names simply listed as a part of voces magicae – magical names and words uttered during a ritual – do not qualify the spell to be included in the analysis – the spell must either address a named deity directly or use some other structure to convey the relation to the deity in order to be included (e.g. "I invoke you thrice by Hecate" (ἐξωρκίζω σὲ τρίς κατὰ τῆς Ἡκάτης) or "by Adoniāios Sabaoth" (κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδοναίου Σαβαώθ)).

I will look at the meaning of invocation as a structural element in these spells in the light of E. Szepes’ work on the relation of magical invocations or hymns to cultic hymns. On the level of terminology, the magical verses can be called ὄμνος or εὐχή, linking them to both cultic hymns and to the votive practice. The instructions of magical acts that the practitioner must follow are rooted in the conventions of magic literature, while the introductory parts of the magical verses, usually in hexametre, are closely related to the tradition of cultic hymns – the hexametric hymns actually reaching back to most ancient sources and traditions.

Szepes lists eight central stylistic and structural characteristics found in magical verses, all of which appear both in magical papyri and in verse insertions Szepes calls "hymns": 1) the compelling, 2) the repetition of two magic elements, 3) the listing of a deity’s attributes or deeds, 4) gradation, 5) letter mysticism and numerology, 6) letters as magical images, use of palindromes, 7) appealing to authority and orientalising influence, 8) addressing the deity only by their attributes. As a result, Szepes concludes that the verses are magical texts and form a coherent, unified group even at the metrical level. The magic verses found in the magical papyri also include other elements in addition to the eight outlined by Szepes. While these elements bring magic verses closer to hymns in both form and content, “they cannot be called either magic songs or spells, but because of their magic characteristics they cannot be called hymns either”. What does come the closest, however, is the category of prayer.

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3 PGM IV 2943-2966, I. 2957.
4 PGM XVI 1-75, I. 10.
8 For example, the “melibou melibau melibaubau” in PGM VII 376-384 and “laki lakiō lakiōyd lakiōyda” in PGM XXXVI 333-360.
9 Szepes, "Magic Elements", 208-222.
10 Szepes, "Magic Elements", 222.
invocations, the evocations and the compelling addressed to deities in the magical papyri should then, in Szepes’ view, be called magical prayers.\textsuperscript{12}

The material

Most love spells fall under the group of ἀγωγή or leading spells, named such after the verb ἀγω ("to lead, to bring") used in the spells that aim to lead the victim of the spell away from her father's or husband's house and to the conjurer's. In the Greek magical papyri, both ἀγωγή and ἀγώγμου appear as the titles of love spells, but the terms are not restricted to love spells: an ἀγωγή is any spell that "leads", including those that invoke a dead person's spirit from the beyond.\textsuperscript{13}

There are love spells in \textit{PGM} that do name specific deities, but that are too fragmentary to be commented on: \textit{PGM} XXXVIII 1-26 (\textit{P.Osl.} I, 3) mentions "phantoms of the sea"\textsuperscript{14} and some \textit{voces magicae}, \textit{PGM} LII 1-9 (\textit{P.gr.}9.429) includes parts of two or three spells that most likely fall under love magic and mentions the names Hera and Selene. \textit{PGM} LII 9-19 mentions Peitho, \textit{PGM} LXVII 1-24 (\textit{P.Cairo} 60140), which Betz says might be a love spell but is uncertain, \textit{PGM} CIII 1-18 (\textit{P.Köl} inv. 5514), \textit{PGM} CXVII fr. 1-23 (\textit{P.Mon.Gr.} inv. 216) mentions the name Hecate, \textit{PGM} CXIXa 1-3, \textit{PGM} CXIXa 4-6, and \textit{PGM} CXIXa 7-11 (\textit{P.Laur.} III 57 (PL II/52)). These nine are therefore left out of the analysis. Of the bilingual papyri, \textit{PGM} XII 469-470; 471-473 [\textit{PDM} xii. 119-134] is excluded because the Greek part includes only five lines.

There are several love spells in \textit{PGM} that do not name any specific deities but use substances or objects of magical potency to fulfill the spell.\textsuperscript{15} In the \textit{PGM} there are 26 love spells\textsuperscript{16} that, while they may mention \textit{voces magicae} or enlist the help of a divine helper, such as "lord daimon",\textsuperscript{17} "the twelve elements of heaven and the twenty-four

\textsuperscript{12} “The origin of the genre of prayer … is the magic word … , while the genre unfolding from it and further developing is the hymn. The genres … preserve … also the characteristics of their antecedents”. Szepes, "Magic Elements", 223-224.

\textsuperscript{13} Pachoumi, "Erotic and Separation Spells", 294-325.

\textsuperscript{14} Translation by E. N. O’Neil in Betz, \textit{Greek Magical Papyri}, 279.

\textsuperscript{15} Of these types of spells, Pachoumi has included in her list \textit{PGM} LXIII 1-7 while I do not see any indication that this actually is an erotic spell to begin with, and \textit{PGM} LXIII 8-12 (\textit{PGM} LXIII 7-12 in Betz, \textit{Greek Magical Papyri}) that is for making a sleeping woman tell the name of the man she loves – connected to love, yes, but not really a love spell in the sense of forcing someone fall in love with someone by magical means.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{PGM} IV 2006-2125, \textit{PGM} VII 191-192; \textit{PGM} VII 300a-310; \textit{PGM} VII 374-376; \textit{PGM} VII 405-406; \textit{PGM} VII 462-466, \textit{PGM} VII 619-627, \textit{PGM} VII 643-351, \textit{PGM} VII 661-663; \textit{PGM} VII 969-972, \textit{PGM} X 1-23; \textit{PGM} XV 1-21; \textit{PGM} XVI 1-75; \textit{PGM} XVIIa 1-25; \textit{PGM} XIXa 1-54; \textit{PGM} XIXb 1-3, \textit{PGM} XIXb 4-18, \textit{PGM} XXVII 1-15, \textit{PGM} XXXVI 283-294, \textit{PGM} XXXII 1-12,\textsuperscript{16} \textit{PGM} LXI 1-38 [\textit{PDM} lxi 159-196], \textit{PGM} LXII 1-24, \textit{PGM} LXXI 1-21, \textit{PGM} CVII 1-19, \textit{PGM} CVIII 1-12, \textit{PGM} CIX 1-8, \textit{PGM} VIII 1-63, "binding love spell of Astrapousoukos" (φιλτροκατάδεσμος Ἀστραπούσοκος), is also excluded – despite the name it has nothing to do with love spells, as noted by O’Neil and Pachoumi. See E. N. O’Neil in Betz, \textit{Greek Magical Papyri}, 145; Pachoumi, "Erotic and Separation Spells", 310.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{PGM} XIXa 1-54. Translation by E. N. O’Neil and R. Kotansky in Betz, \textit{Greek Magical Papyri}, 256-257.

elements of the world", 18 or "the soul of the one who died prematurely", 19 or use the name of a deity in a simile, 20 do not actually invoke any specific deities and therefore fall outside the focus of this article.

This leaves us with 40 spells that clearly are love spells and do invoke specific, named deities: 21 one in PGM III (Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 2396 (P.Mimaut frgs. 1-4)), 14 in PGM IV (P.Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574), 8 in PGM VII (P.Lond. 121), one in PGM XIC (P.Lond. 148), one in PGM XII (P.Ludg. Bat. J 384 (V)), one in PGM XVI (Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 3378), one in XVIIa (P.gr.1167), one PGM XXXII (P.Haw. 312), one in PGM XXXIIa (P.Haw. 312), 7 in PGM XXXVI (P.Osl. I, 1), one in LXVIII (P.Cairo 60636), one in PGM LXXVIII (P.Heid. 2170), one in SM 45/PGM CI (P.Köl inv. 3323) and one in SM 72/PGM CXXII (P.Wash. Univ. inv. 242/P.Berol. inv. 21243).

The spells

PGM III 1-164

This is a "cat spell for all purposes" (ἡ πράξεις τοῦ αἰλούρου περὶ πάσης πράξεως, ll. 163-164) which can be used for impacting the outcome of a chariot race, for sending dreams, to "cause separation and enmity" (διάκοσιν καὶ μίσηρθρον, l. 164), or as "a binding love charm" (φιλτροκατάδεσμον, l. 164). The spell involves a cat offering: the cat must first be drowned in water and the formula is then recited to it. The spell first invokes "the cat-faced god" (αἰλουροπρόσωπος), 22 meaning Sekhmet-Bastet, but it is the "daimon of the cat" (τὸν δαίμονα τοῦ αἰλούρου) who is conjured to perform the desired deed. The spell instructs the conjurer to make three lamellae, small and thin metal sheets, apparently to be rolled up and inserted into the cat's anus, throat and one other body cavity that is left out due to a lacuna in the text. The water that the cat was drowned in is then to be sprinkled around while reciting a formula. In the formula the names of Hecate and Hermekate (combination of Hermes and Hecate) are invoked.

PGM IV 94-153

This spell begins with a story of Isis, distraught after discovering Osiris is having an affair with her sister. 23 In the story, Thoth gives advice to Isis that the conjurer is

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18 PGM XXIX 1-21 Translation by E. N. O'Neil in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 279.
19 PGM CVII 1-19. Translation by R. Kotansky in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 311.
20 e.g. PGM VII 643-351, "you are … the head of Athena, … the guts of Osiris", spoken to the cup of wine that is used in the ritual; PGM CIX 1-8, "as Hermes turns in his marrow": PGM LXI 1-38 [PDM Ixi. 159-196], "you are … the sweat of Good Daimon, the mucus of Isis, the utterance of Helios, the power of Osiris"; PGM LXII 1-24, "you are the fire that is unquenchable, that lies beside the great god". Translations by H.D. Betz in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 136, 312, 291, 292-293.
21 I am including six spells that Pachoumi does not include: PGM III 1-164, PGM IV 2145-2240, PGM IV 2622-2707, PGM IV 3255-3274, PGM VII 376-384 and PGM XII 376-396.
22 Translations by J. M. Dillon in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 22.
supposed to mirror. In the formula given, there are instructions to "[say] these things on behalf of women. But when [you are speaking] about women, then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males" (ταύτα ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν. δὲν δὲ κατὰ γυναικῶν, λέγε ἐναλλάξ τὰς θηλείας ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρρενας, ll. 145-146).  

**PGM IV 296-466**

This love spell is for the binding of a beloved (φιλτροκατάδεσμος). The spell instructs to fashion two clay figurines, one male and one female, and to carve voces magicae onto the female figurine. The figurines are bound together with a lamella and buried next to a grave of an aōros, along with flowers (τὰ τοῦ καυροῦ ἄνθη). The spell invokes chthonic deities (θεοῖς χθονίοις, l. 337) as well as Kore, Persephone, Ereschigal, Hermes, Thoth and Anubis. The victim is made unable to drink, eat or sleep and to lose all peace of mind until she comes to the conjurer (ll. 356ff).

**PGM IV 1265-1274**

The spell reveals Aphrodite's hidden name, Nepherieri, which the conjurer must invoke over an offering of frankincense after remaining "pure" (καθόρος) for three days, in order "to win a woman who is beautiful" (ἐὰν γυναικὸς ἔπτυχεῖν θέλῃς εὐσχήμονος).  

**PGM IV 1390-1395**

This spell is to be fulfilled with the help of hēroi or gladiators or those who have died violently (Ἀγωγὴ ἐπὶ ἡρώων ἢ μονόμαχων ἢ βιαίων) and a bread offering. The spell invokes the Moïrai, a three-headed goddess (τρικάρανε, likely meaning Hecate), the key-holding (κλειδοῦχε) Persefassa (Persephone) and Kore of Tartaros (Ταρτάρου Κόρη). Hecate, too, is mentioned and she is called the goddess of crossroads (ἐινοδία). Later on in the spell chthonic Hermes, chthonic Hecate and chthonic Acheron are invoked. The lines 1427-1428 ask the deities to take the "sweet sleep" away from the victim (ἀφέλεσθε αὐτῆς τὸν ἑδον ὑπνον ἀπὸ τῶν βλεφάρων), similarly to the lines 2737-2738 in PGM IV 2708-2784.

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25 The Greek "ἀορος" literally translates as "untimely, unseasonable". It is used to refer to those who died young (and hence unmarried and/or childless) or who died violently (bi(ai)othanatoi), in the sense that they were taken before their time. It can also refer to those who did not receive a proper burial (such as Elpenor whom Odysseys meets in Hades: Hom. *Od*. 11.51–54, also 11.34–41). See Faraone, Christopher A. "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells." In *Magica Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, edited by Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink, 3-32. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991; Gager, John. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 5.
26 Translations by E. N. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 62.
**PGM IV 1496-1595**
This spell invokes Myrrh over a myrrh offering. The spell also mentions ðos (l. 1561), which seems appropriate in connection with Myrrh.27 The victim is prevented from such activities as sitting, talking, drinking, eating and sleeping (ll. 1510ff) until she comes to the conjurer.

**PGM IV 1716-1870**
This spell, called "the sword of Dardaros" (Ξίφος Δαρδάνου), attracts (literally bends, κλίνειν) the soul (τὴν ψυχὴν) of whomver the conjurer wishes. To accomplish this, the conjurer must recite the spell provided, as well as the phrase "κλίνω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεσπότη". The conjurer is instructed to inscribe, on a magnetic stone, the images of Aphrodite, Psyche and Eros along with voces magicae. After consecrating the stone, the conjurer must place it in his mouth and recite the spell. There is a burnt offering consisting of manna, storax, opium, myrrh, frankincense, saffron, bdella, dried fig, and wine.28

**PGM IV 1872-1927**
The spell instructs to make a mixture of wax, fruit and manna, to fashion it in the shape of a dog, and to write magical characters onto it. The dog is placed on a tripod with a piece of papyrus with voces magicae written on it and a spell is recited to it. The spell addresses the dog as Kerberos (ll. 1911-1912) and adjures him by those who have committed suicide by hanging, by the dead, and by those who have died violently (κατὰ τῶν ἀπαγξαμένων καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν βιαίως τεθνηκότων, ll. 1912-1914). If after the spell the dog barks, the victim of the spell is coming, and if it hisses, the victim is not coming.

**PGM IV 2145-2240**
This spell offers "divine assistance" (πάρεδρος) using three verses from Homer (τρισδίχος Ὄμηρο). The spell can be used for many different purposes, one of which is "for popularity spells and love spells" (ἐπὶ δὲ χαριτησίων καὶ φιλτρῶν, ll. 2227-2228). The conjurer is instructed to write voces magicae on a golden tablet that is then placed under an iron lamella (τῆς πλακός, l. 2189) for three days. The iron lamella must have been consecrated beforehand using the instructions on lines 2188-2206. The formula needed for the consecration invokes "master of all" (ὁ τῶν ὄλων δεσπότης), Ra, and Pan. No offering is required for the consecration. Another possible

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28 Georg Luck suggests that burning the concoction might have had produced fumes that had psychoactive effects. He also translates as spurge (Euphorbia apios), not fig, as E. N. O'Neil in the Betz edition does. Luck, Georg. Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Collection of Ancient Texts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006, 479.
purpose is "for fetching spells" (ἐπὶ δὲ ἄγωγήμων, I. 2232).\textsuperscript{29} This one requires a burnt offering of roses and sumac.

**PGM IV 2441-2621**
This spell requires a burnt offering including a field mouse (μυγαλόν) and two moon beetles (κανθάρους σεληνιακοὺς δύο) that are deified in spring water. There are three spells that must be spoken out loud at separate times during the ritual. Artemis, Persephone, and Selene are called upon in the second spell and Selene and Hecate in the third, among other deities.

**PGM IV 2622-2707**
This one is a "slander spell to Selene" (διαβολὴ πρὸς Σελήνην) which can be used for all purposes (ποιοῦσα πρὸς πάντα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν πράξειν). It can also be used as an ἄγωγή spell to attract a person to the conjurer (ἀγετ γἄρ μονοφόρους). Before the ritual the conjurer must fashion a protective charm: a magnetic stone (μάγνητα) on which the image of Hecate is carved. If the spell is used as a coercive spell, an offering must be stamped with a seal ring with an image of Hecate on it. Before the invocation, the conjurer must make an offering of "Cretan storax" (στύρακα Κρητικὸς).\textsuperscript{30} The invocation itself is a clear parallel of the third spell in *PGM IV 2441-2621*, ll. 2574ff.

**PGM IV 2708-2784**
This spell invokes Hecate, Artemis, and Kore/Persephone using their names as well as several epithets. The instructions in the beginning of the spell ask to make a burnt offering to Selene consisting of Ethiopian cumin and fat of a many-coloured virgin goat (ll. 2710-2711), but Selene is not mentioned elsewhere in the spell. This is not surprising since by the time of this spell\textsuperscript{31} Selene was so strongly assimilated to Hecate, Artemis and Kore/Persephone that they could be considered as one entity and invoking one could mean invoking all of them – therefore there was no need to mention Selene specifically in the spell. The conjurer also asks deities to take away the victim's sleep until she comes to his door (ll. 2737ff). On line 2710 two figures are mentioned: ιγ and ιδ. E.N. O'Neil has translated these as "on the 13th, 14th". In my opinion, the numbers most likely refer to the time of day when it is appropriate to perform the spell. If we assume that the guide to the days and hours appropriate for divination in *PGM VII* 155-167 also applies to other magically suitable days and hours, 13 (ιγ) means "throughout the whole day" (δὶ ὡλὴς ἡμέρας) and 14 (ιδ) "at dawn" (ἑωθεν).\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{29} Translations by H. Martin, Jr. in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 76-78.
\textsuperscript{30} Translations by E. N. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 86-88.
\textsuperscript{31} The papyrus is dated to the 4th century CE. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xxiii; Preisendanz et al., *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 64.
\textsuperscript{32} The numbers could also possibly refer to the number of times that the spell must be performed or that the incantation must be read out, or the number of how many times the mixture of cumin and fat is to be dripped onto the burning coals while the incantation is read out. However, two different numbers raise the question of which one should be followed.
**PGM IV 2891-2942**

This love spell calls for Aphrodite for help. An offering to Venus is required, made of the blood and fat of a white dove, myrrh, and wormwood. The brains of a vulture are also needed separately. The conjurer must recite a hymn to Aphrodite.

**PGM IV 2943-2966**

This love spell "through wakefulness" (ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική) – meaning that the victim of the spell is prevented from falling asleep until she comes to the conjurer – invokes both Hecate (ἐξορκίζω σὲ τρίς κατὰ τῆς Ἱκάτης, l. 2957) and Kore (ἐξορκίζω σὲ κατὰ τῆς Κόρης, l. 2962). The spell asks for the victim of the spell to lie awake and think only of the conjurer (ll. 2960-2961).

**PGM IV 3255-3274**

It is not readily apparent that this spell, invoking Typhon, is meant to be a love spell. The conjurer is instructed to take an unbaked brick and draw on it a picture of a donkey with voces magicae. Only at the end of the spell are there instructions to write the following: "Give her the heaving of the sea, total wakefulness of Mendes, and give her the punishments" (δὸς αὐτῇ τὴν κίνησιν τῆς θαλάσσης, παναγρυπνίαν τοῦ Μένδητος, καὶ δὸς αὐτῇ τὰς τιμωρίας).33

**PGM VII 376-384**

The conjurer is instructed to take a lamp and address to it an invocation by the lamp's mother Hestia and father Hephaistos. The victim of the spell is adjured to lie awake (ἀγρυπνείτω, l. 380). Although there are instructions to fashion a leaf out of iron as some sort of a magical aid, no offering is needed.

**PGM VII 385-389**

This spell gives a list of voces magicae that must be recited seven times over a cup. These are, we are told, "the holy names of Cypris" (ἀγα ὀνόματα τῆς Κύπριδος), that is, of Aphrodite.

**PGM VII 459-461**

This is a very simple spell to Bacchios (meaning Dionysos)34 – requiring no offering or ritual, simply an invocation written on a tin lamella: "I adjure you by the glorious

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33 Translation by E. N. O’Neil in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 100-101. O’Neil remarks that his translation follows Preisendanz and assumes that αὐτῇ (ll. 3273-3274) is the τῇ δεῖνα of the ὁ δεῖνα/ἡ δεῖνα formula: "But the fact remains that, while ὁ δεῖνα occurs in l. 3248 [this is an error, the line number should be 3268], nowhere in the spell is a woman mentioned. There is really no indication that this spell is designed to affect a woman, until this last sentence." Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 101, n. 431.

34 E. N. O’Neil says it could also be a personal name derived from the name of Bacchus, in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 130, n. 64. Heta Björklund, “Invocations and Offerings as Structural Elements in the Love Spells in Papyri Graecae Magicae,” Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture 9 (2015) 29-47; ISBN: 1754-517X. Website: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/clarc/jlarc
name of Bacchios" (ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὄνοματος Βακχίου, l. 461). The only thing revealing this is a love spell is the title: Φίλτρον κάλλιστον.

**PGM VII 467-477**

This spell instructs the conjurer to take a shell and to draw on it an image of Typhon and his magical names using myrrh ink. This shell is then thrown into the heating chamber of a bath, acting as a burnt offering, while the conjurer recites the magical names of Typhon. A spell, beginning with "this is the god of Destinies" (θεός οὗτος Ἀναγκῶν) and containing mainly voces magicae is then recited.

**PGM VII 593-619**

The spell instructs to write the names of seven gods (Iaō, Adonai, Sabaoth, Pagoure, Iaeō, Marmorouth, Michael) with myrrh on the wicks of a lamp. The lamp is lit, with seeds of wormwood on top so that they are heated, and a formula – addressed to these seven "masters, the great gods" (τούς δυνάστας, μεγάλους θεούς) – is recited. The victim is deprived of sleep until she comes to the conjurer (ὑπνοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν, μέχρις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐμε, l. 612).

**PGM VII 862-918**

This is "a lunar spell of Claudianus" (Κλαυδιανοῦ σεληνιακόν) and includes lunar offerings to Selene: a mixture of clay, sulphur, and blood of a dappled goat is molded into the image of Egyptian Selene. A shrine made of olive wood is then consecrated for future use. The "lunar spell" (ὁ λόγος σεληνιακός) begins with an address to Selene as "Mistress of the entire world" (δέσποινα τοῦσύνπαντος κόσμου). The spell asks for Selene to send a sacred angel (ἱερὸν ἄγγελον) who will drag the victim of the spell "by her hair, by her feet" (ἄξαι αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν ποδῶν, l. 886), sleepless (ἄγρυπνοσάν), until she comes to the conjurer.

**PGM VII 973-980**

This spell uses a mixture made of a scarab, cooked in an aromatic mixture, and a plant, as an offering, and asks the archangel Michael, Osiris, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, and Lailam to compel (ἐπαναγκάσατε) the victim (τὴν δεῖνα) to follow the conjurer (τῆς δείνα) if he or she touches her.

**PGM VII 981-993**

This spell starts with an address to Helios, but Persephone's name is also listed along with that of Ereshkigal (l. 985). The conjurer asks that the victim feels a burning in her heart as well as in her internal organs (ll. 989ff). No offering is needed, but the conjurer needs to purify himself before the ritual and the spell must be recited at sunrise – a most appropriate time to address Helios.
invocations and offerings

pgm xi c 1-19
in this spell the conjurer invokes the god labō (ἐξορκίζω σε τὸν Ἰαβω θεόν, l. 2). there is no accompanying recipe or ritual.

pgm xii 376-396
this spell instructs the conjurer to write the names of seven gods (the spell then goes on to list 10 names) with myrrh on the right wing of a bat, along with the appeal that the victim lies awake until she consents (ἄγρυπνείτω ἢ δείνα, ἢν δείνα, ἔως συνφωνήσῃ, l. 379). at the end of the spell the appeal for sleeplessness is repeated, but substituting "until she dies" (ἐως θάνη) for "until she consents" (ἐως συνφωνήση). the bat is then released.

pgm xvi 1-75
this spell aims to draw the male victim, sarapion, son of tiko(u)i, to the female conjurer, dioskorous, daughter of pasamētra. the conjurer first invokes spirits of the dead (νεκύδαιμον) and then repeats, throughout the spell, the invocation by adonaios sabaoth (κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδωναίου Σαβαώθ, l. 10), by the heart of cronos's son (κατὰ καρδίας υἱόν Κρόνου, l. 18 – probably zeus) and again by adonaios (κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδωναίου, l. 62). there is no recipe or an offering.

pgm xvii a 1-25
the male conjurer, hermeias, whom hermione bore, of this spell asks for anubis' help to prevent the female victim titerous, whom sofia bore, from performing her every day activities. instead she is forced to pine after the conjurer, "always remembering me" (ἀεί μου μιμνησκομένην, l. 12). there is no recipe or offering.

pgm xxxii 1-19
this spell is rare in that both the conjurer, herais, whom thermoutharin bore, and the victim of the spell, sarapias, whom helen bore, are female.35 the spell begins with an invocation to euangelos, who seems here to be a good angel or a good messenger of some divine sort, who is adjured by anubis and hermes and all the rest down below – chthonic deities, that is – (κατὰ τοῦ Ἀνυβίδος καὶ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων κάτω, ll. 4-5). there is no recipe or offering.

pgm xxxii a 1-25
in this spell both the conjurer, serapiakos, son of threpte, and the victim of the spell, amoneios, son of helen, are male. in the beginning of the spell, typhon and helios are mentioned in a simile, but not addressed or invoked directly. adonai is addressed

35 e. n. oneil remarks that "this spell, without a title, is clearly a love spell in which one woman seeks to attract another woman. thus it belongs to the small group of lesbian spells", in betz, greek magical papyri, 266.

heta björklund, "invocations and offerings as structural elements in the love spells in papyri graecae magicae," journal for late antique religion and culture 9 (2015) 29-47; isbn: 1754-517x. website: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/clarc/jlarc
as the highest of all the gods (διό, Ἀδωναί, ὃψιστε θεῶν, l. 25). There is no recipe or offering.

**PGM XXXVI 69-101**
The spell begins with instructions on preparing a papyrus to be used as a magical tool in the ritual. Then Typhon is invoked (ἐλθέ, Τωφόν, ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπτίαν πύλην καθήμενος, l. 77).

**PGM XXXVI 102-133**
This spell has the title ἐμπυρον, divination by fire, but features the ὁ δεῖνα/ἡ δεῖνα structure, urging to "ἀξέω ἔμοι τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα καυμένην, πυροσκότους … φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα" (ll. 111-113). The spell addresses the god who is "born of a white sow" (ἐγέννησεν λευκὴ χοιράς, l. 107).36

**PGM XXXVI 134-160**
This ἀγωγῆ spell first gives a recipe for a mixture of myrrh, frankincense and vinegar, which is then inserted into the socket of the conjurer’s door at a magically appropriate hour. Then "daimons in the dark" (οἱ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ δαίμονες), "daimons of the chthonic world" (χθόνικος δαίμονες)37 as well as Isis and Osiris are invoked.

**PGM XXXVI 187-210**
This love spell invokes three-formed Hecate (Ἐκάτη τρίμορφος, l. 188), whose name must be written with a bronze stylus on an unburnt piece of pottery along with a spell. The victim of the spell should "be set afire"38 and should come to the conjurer (τοῦς ἐν αὐτῷ, τὴν δεῖνα πυρωθήναι, διώκειν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ll. 194-195). After the spell, eight magical characters must be written. There are no instructions for what to do with or how to deposit the piece of pottery after the spell is written, nor any kind of an offering.

**PGM XXXVI 295-311**
This one is titled an ἐμπυρον as well as an ἀγωγῆ. Pieces of sulphur are thrown, as an offering, into a fire made of vine wood (πυρὰν ἀπὸ ξύλων ἀμπελίνων) while reciting a spell that invokes Iao, Sabaoth and Arbatians (ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου … Ίαω Σαβαϊῶ Αρβαθιάω, l. 309) as well as archangels Michael, Zouriel, Gabriel, Istrael and Abraam39 (καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Μιχαήλ Ζουριήλ Γαβριήλ … Ιστραήλ, Ἀβραάμ, ll. 309-310).

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36 Translation by E. N. O’Neil in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 271). O’Neil explains this to be Min of Koptos, born of Isis.

37 Translations by E. N. O’Neil in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 272-273.

38 Translation by E. N. O’Neil in Betz, Greek Magical Papyri, 274, tentative due to the corruption of the text.

39 Zouriel must mean Uriel, while Istrael is most likely the angel Israfil known from Islamic tradition and corresponding to Raphael in Judeo-Christian tradition. Abraam is clearly supposed to be Heta Björklund, “Invocations and Offerings as Structural Elements in the Love Spells in Papyri Graecae Magicae,” Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture 9 (2015) 29-47; ISBN: 1754-517X. Website: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/clarc/jlarc
**PGM XXXVI 333-360**

Similar to *PGM* IV 1496-1595, this love spell also invokes Myrrh. The Myrrh is adjured "by the strong and inexorable Destiny"\(^{40}\) (σε ἔξορκίζω κατὰ τῆς κραταῖᾶς καὶ ἀπαρατήτου Ἀνάγκης, ll. 343-344).

**PGM XXXVI 361-371**

This spell instructs to take the hide of an ass, put the "magical material" (οὐσία: material that connects the victim to the spell, such as hair or a thread from the victim's clothes) in it with some vetch and to place the whole bundle inside the mouth of a dead dog. Then Sisistōh (Isis-Sothis\(^{41}\)) is addressed and adjured "by the name Chychachamer merouth…" and other *voces magicae*.

**PGM LXVIII 1-20**

In this spell, Abrasax and Adonai are asked to "inflame the soul and heart" of the victim Eutyches and to long for the conjurer Eriea (Ἀβρασάξ, καῦσον ἀυτοῦ Εὐτύχους τὴν ψυχήν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ll. 10-12; Ἀδωναί, καῦσον ἀυτοῦ Εὐτύχους τὴν ψυχήν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐπ' αὐτῆν Ἐριέαν, ll. 14-19). There is no accompanying offering, recipe or ritual.

**PGM LXXVIII 1-14**

This spell claims to work in "any place, home or workshop" (εἰς πάντα τόπον, ἢ εἰς οἰκίαν ἢ ἐγκαταστήμαν), most likely meaning that it can be for personal use or sold to customers. It gives instructions for preparing a *defixio* of lead that "attracts a woman to a man" (ἄγει γυναῖκαν πρὸς ἄνδρα, l. 2) and later on says "καταφλέξω τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ δεῖνα εἰς ἵμερον τῆς δείνα" (ll. 5-6). An unnamed deity, addressed as "all-brightener, august lightbringer of gods and daimons" (παντοφαρῆς, θεοῦ καὶ δαιμόνων φωσφόρος σεμνή),\(^{42}\) is asked to fulfill this for the conjurer. Right after this it says that the name of the all-powerful god (δονομα θεοῦ παντοκράτορος) is Iaō, to whom the epithet "all-brightener, august lightbringer" most likely refers.

**SM 45 (PGM Cl I-53)**

The victim is bound by the conjured Fates, the personification Necessity (Ἀνάγκη), and the (aōroi).\(^{43}\) The victim, named Euphemia, is prevented from sleeping, and is bound to love the conjurer, named Theon. The papyrus itself does not include

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Abraham, since the name corresponds to no known angelic name in Judaic, Christian or Islamic tradition.

\(^{40}\) Translation by E. N. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 277.


\(^{42}\) Translations by E. N. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 299.

\(^{43}\) Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 307-309 suggests this is an epithet of Sarapis, but the aōroi are invoked elsewhere (e.g. in lead *defixiones* from 4th century BCE onwards) and are generally considered to be an entity of their own. See note 25.

instructions for an accompanying offering, recipe or ritual, but the papyrus was found with two wax figures inside a clay pot, which does suggest that a ritual was also needed in order for the spell to be effective.

**SM 72 (PGM CXXII 1-50)**
The text is in two columns and consists of five parts. Lines 1-5 in col i. are a introduction describing the mythical, ancient Egyptian origin of the spells while the last lines (26-30) of column ii. are a charm against a headache. In between these are three love charms. On lines 5-14 (col i.) is a love charm with apples (βαλόμηλοις) invoking the help of "Κυπρογένεια" (Aphrodite). There is no ritual or offering, simply a recitation addressed to Κυπρογένεια. Despite the name, no actual apples are used. On lines 15-27 (col i.) is a love charm to Isis, using the ὅ δείνα/ἡ δείνα-formula, and ending with an address to Isis, πόνια θέα. Lines 1-25 (col ii.) describe a ritual that must be completed before the sunrise, calling Isis, Helios and Aphrodite (as Κυπρογένεια) for help.

**Analysis**

*Sleeplessness and other ailments*
65 % of the spells studied here mention sleeplessness, a burning feeling and inability to drink or eat until the victim succumbs to love and comes to the conjurer. These are typical features of ἔρως or ἀγωγή magic and binding magic – a textbook example of which would be *PGM* IV 2708-2784 where the victim is prevented from loving anyone else and told to forsake all others (ll. 2743-2744, 2757-2758), including her own family (ll. 2758-2759), and to suffer burning love (ll. 2768-2769) and sleeplessness (ll. 2736-2739) that plague her until she arrives to the conjurer. Only 14 of the examined 40 spells do not share these features.

*Invocations*
42,5 % of the spells analyzed include some kind of an offering to the deity who is asked to help, whereas an invocation to the deity is employed in 85 % of the spells. It seems important to alert the deity to the fact that their presence is needed and to praise the deity with sometimes a very elaborate invocation including many flattering epithets. However, the deity can also simply be addressed by name without a specific invocation, but the spells where this occurs are a minority.

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45 Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 106 (II 72). In Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xxii, the contents of the papyrus (PGM CXXII, *P.Wash.Univ. inv. 242*) are listed as two separate spells, the first on ll. 5-25 and the second on ll. 26-50.

Furthermore, in the context of ritual, the elaborate invocation recounting the epithets and major achievements of the deity is a gift or an offering to the deity in the same way that elaborate hymns to deities (e.g. the Homeric hymns, paeans to Apollo, dithyrambs to Dionysos) were gifts in and of themselves, as well as being the masterpieces of artistic expression.

The basic structure of these verse-form prayers consists of first addressing the deity and an invocation, then a description of the deity and an evocation. The evocation can either employ a list of attributes or the deeds of the deity. The third part is the repetition of the initial invocation and call to action (“perform this for me…”). As a model example of this, Szepes offers the hymn to Selene (PGM IV 2785-2809). The most striking difference to cultic hymns is that in cultic hymns the closing part is usually a promise from the worshipper to the deity (do ut des), not a request to action (“perform this for me…”). The key element in magical verse, then, is the compelling of the deity to action on behalf of the worshipper.

Of the eight central poetical and stylistic characteristics listed by Szepes, the ones that hold most interest for the purposes of the current article are the compelling, repetition of two magical elements, listing of attributes and using them as forms of address, and letter mysticism and numerology. I will concentrate on these in the next three sections.

Compelling
As previously established, an invocation or evocation was a gift and a reverential act in itself. Therefore, not giving one would be an act that carried meaning and would lead to the need of some other form of appeasement. Of all the analyzed spells, there are only two (5 %) that involve an offering but no invocation: PGM IV 1265-74, which consists of a frankincense offering and the secret name of Aphrodite, and PGM VII 973-980, which uses a magical mixture as an offering and simply addresses Michael, Osiris, Iao, Sabaath, Adonai, and Lailam by their names.

This is in stark contrast to the 18 spells (45 %) showing the reverse, an invocation not accompanied by an offering. There are four spells that include neither: PGM IV 94-153, PGM VII 459-461, PGM XXXIIa 1-25, PGM LXVIII 1-20. It is twice as common to not offer anything – a sacrifice nor an invocation – than it is to give only a

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49 Szepes, "Magic Elements", 207.
sacrifice with no invocation. Overall, it seems less necessary to give something tangible to the deity in return for their help, while an invocation plays a larger part.

A formal invocation nor a spelled out request for help to the deity is not necessary, merely saying the names out loud is enough. It is easy to see why: in name magic, even saying a magical name or the name of a deity out loud held magical power and was in effect the same as a formal invocation. No call to action is necessary either: in its most original, ancient form, the invocation had a compelling power in itself.50

The repetition of two magic elements
Rhythmic repetition of words and movements is a key element in practically all human rituals.51 In verbal repetition this can be manifested, at the simplest level, in a repetition of the verb in the imperative and the name in the vocative (“perform this deed, Name of Deity, perform this deed”).52 In a number of spells in the magical papyri, including erotic magic, I have found this strengthened with “ʔἄδει, ḡάδη, tαχόo, tαχόo” or “ʔάρτη, ṣάρτη, ṣάρτη”.53 In PGM XXXII 1-19 we find a repetition that, while it repeats the same elements three times, it does not repeat the text exactly identically. On line 4: ʔάζι και καταδύσα Σαραπιάδα, on line 8: ḡέ ψυχής και καρδίας ḡέ κύτη τήν Σαραπιάδα, on lines 11-12: ʔάζον και κατάδησον ψυχήν και καρδίαν Σαραπιάδος. In PGM XXXVI 134-160 there is a repetition of “fire, fire, unlawfulness, unlawfulness” (ɲσρ, ɲσρ, ɲαμία, ɲαμία, ll. 140-141).

Use of attributes
Using lists of attributes or the deity’s deeds – or, “the enumeration and demand on completeness” aiming at “the full approach of the personality of the deity”55 – is an element that very strongly characterizes the love spells in the magical papyri. The aim of these definitive lists is to describe the deity fully as a sign of respect, and also to ensure that the right deity responds to the requests instead of the conjurer accidentally addressing a wrong one by being careless with their epithets. PGM IV 2708-2784 is a very good example of this, as it invokes Hecate, Artemis, and Kore/Persephone by name as well as a long list of epithets.

The practice of addressing the deity only by their attributes56 or an euphemistic general title, such as “ʔΑγαθός Δαιμόν” or “ʔές ʔθεός” is linked to the idea that the deity

50 Szepes, “Magic Elements”, 208.
51 Newberg et al., Why God, 82.
52 The repetition can also, on different textual levels (phonetic, syntactic, metric, stylistic, poetical), include alliteration and figura etymologica as well as the use of repeating metres (hexameter, iambic trimeter, anapaest): Szepes, “Magic Elements”, 208-211.
53 e.g. PGM III ll. 36-37, PGM IV l. 1594, PGM IV l. 1926, PGM VII ll. 72-73, PGM VII l. 993, PGM XIc l. 13, PGM XII l. 396, PGM XVIIa l. 25, PGM XXXVI ll. 83, 114, 360, PGM LXVIII ll. 19-20.
54 e.g. PGM XXXII ll. 7-8.
56 Szepes, however, does not consider calling a deity by their epithets only as magic (Szepes, “Magic Elements”, 217) but “deflection” – a view not shared e.g. in Pradel, Fritz, ed. Griechische Und Heta Björklund, “Invocations and Offerings as Structural Elements in the Love Spells in Papyri Graecae Magicae,” Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture 9 (2015) 29-47; ISBN: 1754-517X. Website: http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/clarc/jlarc
is unknowable and indescribable, and can therefore be called by any name or none.\textsuperscript{57} Of my sample \textit{PGM} VII 467-477 and \textit{PGM} XII 376-396 feature this characteristic: they address the deity as “god of destinies” (\textit{θεὸς ὀντὸς Ἀναγκῶν}) and as “great god”, respectively. I would also add Euangelos in \textit{PGM} XXXII 1-19 as an example of this, as well as \textit{PGM} LXXVIII 1-14, which calls for the help of "all-brightener, august lightbringer of gods and daimons" (παντοφαής, \textit{θεὸς καὶ δαμόνων φωσφόρε σεμνή}, ll. 11-12) without directly attaching the name of the deity – however, on the next line it is revealed that the name of the all-powerful god (\textit{όνομα θεὸι παντοκράτορος}) is Iaō.

\textit{Letter mysticism and numerology}

The use of letter mysticism and numerology can manifest itself in employing three names to refer to the same deity. The most common of these three-partite combinations is Iao-Sabaath-Adonai,\textsuperscript{58} which appears both in \textit{PGM} VII 593-619 and \textit{PGM} VII 973-980. In general, numbers three and seven are important. To provide only some examples, in \textit{PGM} I-164 the conjurer is instructed to fashion three \textit{lamellae} and to light seven lamps, \textit{PGM} IV 1265-1274 entails the conjurer remaining “pure” for three days and then repeating the ritual for seven days, each time repeating the spell seven times, in \textit{PGM} VII 385-389 the list of \textit{voce magicae} must be recited over a cup seven times, in \textit{PGM} IV 1390-1495 the ritual must be repeated for three days, in \textit{PGM} IV 1496-1595 Myrrh is adjoined “by three names” (κατὰ τῶν τριῶν ονομάτων, l. 1536), \textit{PGM} IV 2145-2240 employs the power of three Homeric verses, and \textit{PGM} IV 2943-2966 says “I adjure you three times by Hecate” (ἐξορκίζω σὲ τρὶς κατὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης).

Other examples of numerology include \textit{PGM} IV 296-466, which requires making 365 knots in a thread, \textit{PGM} IV 2708-2784 where numbers 13 (γ) and 14 (δ) play a part, referring to the hours of the day which are most suitable for performing the spell, and \textit{PGM} XXXVI 187-210 instructs the conjurer to write eight magical characters after reciting the spell. Similarly in \textit{PGM} IV 1716-1870, among the magical letters that need to be engraved, are a set of eight S’s and eight Ė’s.

\textit{Offerings}

As concluded previously, most of the spells analyzed offer an invocation (85 %), but only under half (42.5 %) include a physical offering. Only two spells (5 %) give an offering without an invocation (\textit{PGM} IV 1265-74 and \textit{PGM} VII 973-980) and only four (10 %) that give neither.

Why is the voiced, non-tangible offering more common than the physical one? Considering that in classical Greek religion, the offering of fat and bones of the sacrificial animal to the gods was an essential part of any rite, not to mention the

\textit{Süditallnische Gebete, Beschworungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters. Vol. 3. Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1907, 293ff.}

\textsuperscript{57} Szepes, "Magic Elements", 220-222.

\textsuperscript{58} Nilsson, "Die Religion", 134; Szepes, "Magic Elements", 214-215.

physical votive gifts given to deities as recognitions of the fulfillment of the contract between the worshipper and the deity (do ut des) and that gifts form a significant part of greeting rituals between humans across cultures, this is a central question. One strong possibility is that in magical practice, the less official setting of the ritual situation and a more personal relationship shared by the worshipper with the deity removed the pressure for strict protocol followed in the practice of “official” religion.

The things given as offerings include a cat (PGM III 1-164), flowers (PGM IV 296-466), frankincense (PGM IV 1265-1274), bread (PGM IV 1390-1495), myrrh in some form or other (PGM IV 1496-1595, PGM VII 467-477), sulphur (PGM XXXVI 295-311), and Cretan storax (PGM IV 2622-2707). Most prominent offerings are burnt mixtures consisting mainly of spices or herbs, foodstuffs, and small animals (PGM IV 1716-1870, PGM IV 2145-2240, PGM IV 2441-2621, PGM IV 2708-2784) and unburnt mixtures of animal blood, fat or body parts, clay or wax, and herbs or plants (PGM IV 2891-2942, PGM IV 2943-2966, PGM VII 862-918, PGM VII 973-980, PGM XXXVI 134-160).

The meaning and significance of specific deities
In general, the ἀγαγή spells invoke three specific groups of deities: first, Aphrodite and deities associated with her (Eros, Peitho); second, celestial deities Selene and Helios; and thirdly, underworld deities Hermes, Hecate and Persephone as well as ghosts and daemons. The two first groups were probably more popular at first, before the third one surpassed them in popularity from the first century CE onwards.

Even though certain more favoured deities emerge, the general range of deities invoked is varied, with 46 different deities appearing throughout these 40 spells.

Aphrodite is one of the most popular characters, appearing in six spells (15 %), while the deities associated with her, Eros and Peitho, each appear only once, and when they do it is only in the company of Aphrodite. Aphrodite could be separated from the triad and appear either on her own or with other deities. She appears twice with Isis (PGM VII 385-389 and SM 72 (PGM CXXII 1-50)), which is not surprising considering the assimilation of the two goddesses in the Roman period.

Interestingly, the underworld deities Hecate, Kore/Persephone, and the chthonic Hermes are as popular as Aphrodite: both Hecate and Hermes make an appearance in five spells each (12.5 %) and Kore/Persephone in six spells (15 %). The Fates/Moirai are less popular, appearing in two spells (5 %). As magic appears as an alternative method for affecting reality and the course of events, a recourse to deities associated with the underworld, fate, and witchcraft seems sensible. They all influence fate – Hecate’s association with the crossroads could be seen not only as acting as a guide in the practical and physical sense, but also as a guide in the crossroads and rites of passage in one’s life – therefore invoking them makes sense if one is trying to change

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59 Newberg et al., Why God, 83.
the course of fate on a microlevel. Kore/Persephone also has the back story of being abducted by Hades and the subsequent love story, and presumably the conjurer could place, in a symbolic manner, himself as Hades and the victim of his spell as Persephone, with the ἕρως he was conjuring seizing the victim as Hades seized Persephone.

Of the celestial deities, Selene\textsuperscript{61} appears in 10 % and Helios 5 % of the spells. The role of Selene might share a similarity with that of Kore/Persephone: Selene, too, was known for a love affair, in her case with the mortal Endymion.\textsuperscript{62} Perhaps the conjurer hoped that there might be a reflection on an associative, symbolic level, and that his victim would burn with love for him as Selene once burned with love for Endymion.\textsuperscript{63}

Iaō, in several variations,\textsuperscript{64} appears in 7 (17,5 %) spells while Adonai(os) is addresses in 6 spells (15 %). Jesus is called for help only once (PGM XII 376-396).

Considering the late date of this spell, 4th century CE,\textsuperscript{65} when Egypt was already largely christianized, I would have expected to see the name of Jesus to be more common. From the (Judeo-)Christian characters, the archangels make more appearances than Jesus, but with the exception of Michael, who is called upon in three spells (7,5 %), even they are not very common (Zouriel, Istrael and Gabriel are each called only once). It might also be worth noting that apart from the archangels, no heavenly beings from other spheres or orders of angels are called for help.\textsuperscript{66}

Conclusion

In the majority of the love spells of the \textit{Papyri Graecae Magicae}, an underlying formal structure can be discerned. While all the spells do not follow a united structure point-by-point, common elements are shared by enough spells to be recognized as belonging to a shared pool of available magical structures. Specifically, the roles of invocation, ritual offering, and sleepless of the victim can be isolated as separate structural elements, repeated in spell after spell. Not all of them are needed, but most spells combine at least two elements – the most usual combination being the invocation together with the wish for the victim to be unable to sleep, drink, or eat, until she comes to the conjurer. The latter one is typical to all love spells, not only the ones that invoke a named deity.

The most important characteristics of the invocations are compelling the deity to grant the conjurer’s wish, the rhythmic repetition of certain words, listing the deity’s attributes when addressing the deity, and letter mysticism and numerology, manifested in the need of repeating

\textsuperscript{61} Since Aktiōphi(s) is suggested as an epithet of Selene, both Selene and Aktiophis are calculated into this percentage. Betz, \textit{Greek Magical Papyri}, 332.


\textsuperscript{64} Iaō, Iaēō, Iabō and Arbathiao are all counted as one deity.

\textsuperscript{65} The papyrus is dated to the 4\textsuperscript{th} century CE. Betz, \textit{Greek Magical Papyri}, xxiii.

\textsuperscript{66} In Christianity, the hierarchy of angels has three spheres, each containing three orders. Archangels belong to the third (lowest) sphere.

a ritual or spell a set number of times, a certain number of specific letters that needs to be engraved on a magical object, and the set number of days that the practitioner must remain ritually pure before performing the ritual.

An interesting feature is the relative lack of physical offerings given to the deities, surpassed by the giving of invocations as gifts in and of themselves. This is in contrast to the practice of official religion in classical and Hellenistic times, where the offering of tangible gifts to the deity was an indispensable part of the ritual. It seems that even though magical practice imitates the trappings of official religion, the rules of strict procedure were relaxed in favour of a more personal relationship with the deity. This personalized relationship also allowed the eclectic mixing of traditional Greco-Roman deities with Egyptian and Judeo-Christian ones.

Table 1

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<th>Spell</th>
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<th>Lack of sleep etc.</th>
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