

INVOCATIONS AND OFFERINGS AS STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE LOVE SPELLS IN *PAPYRI GRAECAE MAGICAE*

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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 "formularly" – that is, they use the ὁ 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 κατάδεσμος), 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.

² I am using the Preisendanz edition of the Greek magical papyri (Preisendanz, Karl, Ernst Heitsch, and Albert Henrichs, eds. *Papyri Graecae Magicae = Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri. 1-2*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), Betz's translation (Betz, Hans Dieter, ed. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986) and *Supplementum Magicum* (Daniel, Robert W. and Franco Maltomini, eds. *Supplementum Magicum. Vol. 1-2*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990-1992). On the magical papyri, see also Betz, Hans Dieter. "The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri." In *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition. Vol. 3. Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by Ben F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders, 161-170. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.

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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" (ἐξορκίζω σὲ τρις κατὰ τῆς Ἥκάρτης)³ or "*by* Adonaios Sabaoth" (κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδωναίου Σαβαώθ).⁴

I will look at the meaning of invocation as a structural element in these spells in the light of E. Szepes'⁵ work on the relation of magical invocations or hymns to cultic hymns. On the level of terminology, the magical verses can be called ὕμνος 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 hymns⁶ – the hexametric hymns actually reaching back to most ancient sources and traditions.⁷

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,⁸ 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.⁹ As a result, Szepes concludes that the verses *are* magical texts and form a coherent, unified group even at the metrical level.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ The

³ PGM IV 2943-2966, l. 2957.

⁴ PGM XVI 1-75, l. 10.

⁵ Szepes, E. "Magic Elements in the Prayers of the Magical Papyri." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24, (1976): 205-225.

⁶ Szepes, "Magic Elements", 205.

⁷ Nilsson, M. P. "Die Religion in Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri." *Bulletin De La Societé De Lettres* 2, (1947): 129-166, esp. 131-132. See also Eitrem, Samson. "Mana Und «Ausfluß» in Griechische Magie." *Ellênika* 4, (1953): 190-197. For a thorough discussion about Nilsson and Eitrem's work, the terminology, and the genre, see Szepes, "Magic Elements", 205-208.

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.

¹¹ Szepes, "Magic Elements", 223.

invocations, the evocations and the compelling addressed to deities in the magical papyri should then, in Szepes' view, be called magical prayers.¹²

The material

Most love spells fall under the group of ἀγωγή or leading spells, named such after the verb ἄγω ("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 ἀγωγήμιον 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.¹³

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

There are several love spells in *PGM* that do not name any specific deities but use substances or objects of magical potency to fulfill the spell.¹⁵ In the *PGM* there are 26 love spells¹⁶ that, while they may mention *voces magicae* or enlist the help of a divine helper, such as "lord daimon",¹⁷ "the twelve elements of heaven and the twenty-four

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.

¹³ Pachoumi, "Erotic and Separation Spells", 294-325.

¹⁴ Translation by E. N. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 279.

¹⁵ Of these types of spells, Pachoumi has included in her list *PGM* LXIII 1-7 while I do not see any indication that this actually is an erotic spell to begin with, and *PGM* LXIII 8-12 (*PGM* LXIII 7-12 in Betz, *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.

¹⁶ *PGM* IV 2006-2125, *PGM* VII 191-192; *PGM* VII 300a-310; *PGM* VII 374-376; *PGM* VII 405-406; *PGM* VII 462-466, *PGM* VII 619-627, *PGM* VII 643-351, *PGM* VII 661-663; *PGM* VII 969-972, *PGM* X 1-23; *PGM* XV 1-21; *PGM* XVI 1-75; *PGM* XVIIa 1-25; *PGM* XIXa 1-54, *PGM* XIXb 1-3, *PGM* XIXb 4-18, *PGM* XXIVb 1-15, *PGM* XXXVI 283-294, *PGM* XXXIX 1-21,¹⁶ *PGM* LXI 1-38 [*PDM* lxi 159-196], *PGM* LXII 1-24, *PGM* LXXXIV 1-21, *PGM* CVII 1-19, *PGM* CVIII 1-12, *PGM* CIX 1-8. *PGM* VIII 1-63, "binding love spell of Astrapsoukos" (φίλτροκατάδεσμος Ἀστραψούκου), 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, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 145; Pachoumi, "Erotic and Separation Spells", 310.

¹⁷ *PGM* XIXa 1-54. Translation by E. N. O'Neil and R. Kotansky in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 256-257.

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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.Köln* 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 πρᾶξις 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" (διάκοπον 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

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 lxi.* 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.

²³ A different account of the story is found in Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 14,356E-F.

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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" (ταῦτα ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν. ὅταν δὲ κατὰ γυναικῶν, λέγε ἐναλλάξ τὰς θηλείας ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρρενας, ll. 145-146).²⁴

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*,²⁵ along with flowers (τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ 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, Nephherieri, which the conjurer must invoke over an offering of frankincense after remaining "pure" (καθαρός) for three days, in order "to win a woman who is beautiful" (ἐὰν γυναικὸς ἐπιτυχεῖν θέλης εὐσχήμονος).²⁶

PGM IV 1390-1495

This spell is to be fulfilled with the help of *hēroi* or gladiators or those who have died violently (Ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ἡρώων ἢ μονομάχων ἢ βιαίων) and a bread offering. The spell invokes the Μοίραι, 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 (εἰνοδία). 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 ἐδὸν ὕπνον ἀπὸ τῶν βλεφάρων), similarly to the lines 2737-2738 in *PGM IV 2708-2784*.

²⁴ Translation by M. W. Meyer in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 39-40.

²⁵ The Greek "ἄωρος" 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 Odysseus 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 *Magika 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.

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PGM IV 1496-1595

This spell invokes Myrrh over a myrrh offering. The spell also mentions *ōs* (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, κλινεῖν) the soul (τὴν ψυχὴν) of whomever the conjurer wishes. To accomplish this, the conjurer must recite the spell provided, as well as the phrase "κλίνω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα". 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 (τρίσδιχος Ὀμήρου). The spell can be used for many different purposes, one of which is "for popularity spells and love spells" (ἐπὶ δὲ χαριτησίων καὶ φίλτρων, 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 ὅλων δεσπότης), Ra, and Pan. No offering is required for the consecration. Another possible

²⁷ On Myrrh Maiden, mother of Adonis, see Burkert, Walter. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985, 177; Fox, Robin Lane. *Travelling Heroes. Greeks and their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer*. London: Penguin Books, 2008, 240-241. Fox also explores the connection between Adonaios and Adonis. Myrrh is also invoked in PGM XXXVI 333-360.

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.

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purpose is "for fetching spells" (ἐπι δὲ ἀγωγίμων, l. 2232).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 (μυγαλὸν) 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 (ποιουῖσα πρὸς πάντα καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν πρᾶξειν). It can also be used as an ἀγωγή spell to attract a person to the conjurer (ἄγει γὰρ μονώρους). 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 Κρητικὸν).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 spell³¹ 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" (δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας) and 14 (ιδ) "at dawn" (ἔωθεν).³²

²⁹ Translations by H. Martin, Jr. in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 76-78.

³⁰ Translations by E. N. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 86-88.

³¹ The papyrus is dated to the 4th century CE. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xxiii; Preisendanz et al., *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 64.

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.

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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 τρις κατὰ τῆς Ἥκᾶτης, 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 (ἀγρυπνεῖτω, 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" (ἅγια 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

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.

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name of Bacchios" (ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος 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" (θεὸς 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" (τοὺς δυνάσρας, μεγάλους θεούς) – is recited. The victim is deprived of sleep until she comes to the conjurer (ὑπνου μὴ τυχεῖν, μέχρις ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, l. 612).

PGM VII 862-918

This is "a lunar spell of Claudianus" (Κλαυδιανοῦ σεληνιακὸν) 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 τοῦ σύνπαντος 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" (ἄξει αὐτήν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν ποδῶν, l. 886), sleepless (ἀγρυπνοῦσα), 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 δεῖνας) 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.

PGM XIc 1-19

In this spell the conjurer invokes the god Iabō (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 (ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἢ δεῖνα, ἦν δεῖνα, ἕως συνφωνήσῃ, l. 379). At the end of the spell the appeal for sleeplessness is repeated, but substituting "until she dies" (ἕως θάνῃ) for "until she consents" (ἕως συνφωνήσῃ). 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 Σαβαῶθ, l. 10), by the heart of Kronos's son (κατὰ καρδίας υἱοῦ Κρόνου, l. 18 – probably Zeus) and again by Adonaios (κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδωναίου, l. 62). There is no recipe or an offering.

PGM XVIIa 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" (ἀεὶ μου μμνησκομένην, 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 Ἀνούβιδος καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων κάτω, ll. 4-5). There is no recipe or offering.

PGM XXXIIa 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. O'Neil 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.

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as the highest of all the gods (διό, Ἄδωναί, ὕψιστε 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, Τυφῶν, ὁ ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπτιάν πύλην καθήμενος, l. 77).

PGM XXXVI 102-133

This spell has the title ἔμπυρον, divination by fire, but features the ὁ δεῖνα/ἡ δεῖνα structure, urging to "ἄξον ἔμοι τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα καιομένην, πυρουμένην ... 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 ἀγωγή 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 σκότει δαίμονες), "daimons of the chthonic world" (χθονὸς 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 (τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ, τὴν δεῖνα πυρωθῆναι, 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 ἔμπυρον as well as an ἀγωγή. 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 Arbathiao (ὀρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ... Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Ἀρβαθιάω, l. 309) as well as archangels Michael, Zouriel, Gabriel, Istraël and Abraam³⁹ (καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Μιχαήλ Ζουριήλ Γαβριήλ ... Ἰστραήλ, Ἀβραάμ, ll. 309-310).

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 Istraël 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;

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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 ἐξορκίζω κατὰ τῆς κραταιᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου 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 Sisisōth (Isis-Sothis⁴¹) 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 αὐτοῦ Εὐτύχους τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ll. 10-12; Ἄδωναί, καῦσον αὐτοῦ Εὐτύχους τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν 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 ἐργαστήριον), 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 τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δεῖνα εἰς ἕμερον τῆς δεῖνα" (ll. 5-6). An unnamed deity, addressed as "all-brightener, august lightbringer of gods and daimons" (παντοφαής, θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων φωσφόρε σεμνή),⁴² is asked to fulfill this for the conjurer. Right after this it says that the name of the all-powerful god (ὄνομα θεοῦ παντοκράτορος) is Iaō, to whom the epithet "all-brightener, august lightbringer" most likely refers.

SM 45 (PGM CI 1-53)

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

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.

⁴¹ Bonnefoy, Yves. *Greek and Egyptian Mythologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 254.

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.

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instructions for an accompanying offering, recipe or ritual, but the papyrus was found with two wax figures inside a clay pot,⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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 (βαλῶ μήλοις)⁴⁶ 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 ὁ δεῖνα/ἡ δεῖνα-formula, and ending with an address to Isis, πότνια θεά. 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.

⁴⁴ Daniel, Robert W. and Franco Maltomini, eds. 1990-1992. *Supplementum Magicum. Vol. I.* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 162 (I 45).

⁴⁵ Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, 106 (II 72). In Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xxi, 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.

⁴⁶ The part about throwing apples on lines 5-14 ("I threw the apple and hit [her] with the apple..." transl. in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 316) evokes the golden apple, thrown by Eris to Aphrodite, Athene and Hera to compete for, and the subsequent Judgement of Paris. Hom. *Il.* 24.25-30; Apollod. *Epit.* 3,2; Ov. *Her.* 5,35-42 and 16,65-88; Luc. *Dial. D.* 20.

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Furthermore, in the context of ritual,⁴⁷ 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, *paean*s to Apollo, *dithyrambs* to Dionysos) were gifts in and of themselves, as well as being the masterpieces of artistic expression.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹

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, Sabaoth, 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

⁴⁷ On the meaning of ritual in religious experience, see e.g. Newberg, Andrew, Eugene D'Aquili, and Vince Rause. *Why God Won't Go Away: Brain Science and the Biology of Belief*. New York: Ballantine, 2002, 77-97; and Hinde, Robert A. *Why Gods Persist: A Scientific Approach to Religion*. London: Routledge, 1999, 106-137, 228-230.

⁴⁸ On magical and cultic hymns and on the overlap and difference of hymn and prayer, see Furley, William D. and Jan Maarten Bremer. *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period: The Texts in Translation. Vol 1. Studies in Antiquity & Christianity*. Philadelphia: Coronet Books Inc, 2001, 47-48, 8-20; also Blanco, Miriam. "The Magicians Who Sang to the Gods." In *Poetic Language and Religion in Greece and Rome*, edited by J. Virgilio García and Angel Ruiz, 258-265. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013, 258-265.

⁴⁹ Szepes, "Magic Elements", 207.

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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 “ἦδη, ἦδη, ταχύ, ταχύ”⁵³ or “ἄρτι, ἄρτι, ταχύ, ταχύ”.⁵⁴ 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: ἄξαι καὶ καταδῆσαι Σαραπιάδα, on line 8: ἐξ ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας ἄγε αὐτὴν τὴν Σαραπιάδα, on lines 11-12: ἄξον καὶ κατάδησον ψυχὴν καὶ καρδίαν Σαραπιάδος. In *PGM XXXVI* 134-160 there is a repetition of “fire, fire, unlawfulness, unlawfulness” (πῦρ, πῦρ, ἀνομία, ἀνομία, 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 “Ἄγαθός Δαίμων” or “εἰς θεός” 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* 1. 1594, *PGM IV* 1. 1926, *PGM VII* ll. 72-73, *PGM VII* 1. 993, *PGM XIc* 1. 13, *PGM XII* 1. 396, *PGM XVIIa* 1. 25, *PGM XXXVI* ll. 83, 114, 360, *PGM LXVIII* ll. 19-20.

⁵⁴ e.g. *PGM XXXII* ll. 7-8.

⁵⁵ Szepes, “Magic Elements”, 211-212.

⁵⁶ Szepes, however, does not consider calling a deity by their epithets only as magic (Szepes, “Magic Elements”, 217) but “defiction” – 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;

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is unknowable and indescribable, and can therefore be called by any name or none.⁵⁷ Of my sample *PGM* VII 467-477 and *PGM* XII 376-396 feature this characteristic: they address the deity as “god of destinies” (θεὸς οὐτοῦ Ἀναγκῶν) and as “great god”, respectively. I would also add Euangelos in *PGM* XXXII 1-19 as an example of this, as well as *PGM* LXXVIII 1-14, which calls for the help of “all-brightener, august lightbringer of gods and daimons” (παντοφαῖς, θεῶν καὶ δαϊμόνων 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 (ὄνομα θεοῦ παντοκράτορος) is Iaō.

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-Sabaoth-Adonai,⁵⁸ which appears both in *PGM* VII 593-619 and *PGM* VII 973-980. In general, numbers three and seven are important. To provide only some examples, in *PGM* 1-164 the conjurer is instructed to fashion three *lamellae* and to light seven lamps, *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 *PGM* VII 385-389 the list of *voces magicae* must be recited over a cup seven times, in *PGM* IV 1390-1495 the ritual must be repeated for three days, in *PGM* IV 1496-1595 Myrrh is adjured “by three names” (κατὰ τῶν τριῶν ὀνομάτων, l. 1536), *PGM* IV 2145-2240 employs the power of three Homeric verses, and *PGM* IV 2943-2966 says “I adjure you three times by Hecate” (ἐξορκίζω σὲ τρις κατὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης).

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

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 (*PGM* IV 1265-74 and *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

Südtälische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters. Vol. 3. Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1907, 293ff.

⁵⁷ Szepes, “Magic Elements”, 220-222.

⁵⁸ Nilsson, “Die Religion”, 134; Szepes, “Magic Elements”, 214-215.

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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,⁵⁹ 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 ἀγωγὴ 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.⁶⁰

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

⁵⁹ Newberg et al., *Why God*, 83.

⁶⁰ Faraone, Christopher A. *Ancient Greek Love Magic*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999, 133, 141-142. Faraone suggests the assimilation of Hecate and Selene as a possible reason.

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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 ἔρωσ he was conjuring seizing the victim as Hades seized Persephone.

Of the celestial deities, Selene⁶¹ 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.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.⁶³

Iaō, in several variations,⁶⁴ appears in 7 (17,5 %) spells while Adonai(os) is addressed 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,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, Istraël 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.⁶⁶

Conclusion

In the majority of the love spells of the *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 sleeplessness 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

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

⁶² Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.54ff.

⁶³ “οὐδ’ οἷη καλῶ περιδαίομαι Ἐνδυμίῳνι”, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.58.

⁶⁴ Iaō, Iaeō, Iabō and Arbathiao are all counted as one deity.

⁶⁵ The papyrus is dated to the 4th century CE. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*, xxiii.

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

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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

Spell	Papyrus	Date (century)	Offering	Invocation	Offering but no invocation	Invocation but no offering	Lack of sleep etc.	Deities invoked
PGM III 1-164	Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 2396 (P. Mimauf frags. 1-4)	4 CE	x	x				Sekhmet-Bastet, Hermes, Hecate, Hermekate
PGM IV 94-153	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE					x	Isis
PGM IV 296-466	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Kore, Persephone, Ereschigal, Hermes, Thoth, Anubis
PGM IV 1265-74	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x		x			Aphrodite
PGM IV 1390-1495	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Moirai, Persefassa (Persephone), Kore, Hecate, Hermes, Acheron
PGM IV 1496-1595	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Myrrh
PGM IV 1716-1870	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x				Aphrodite, Psyche, Eros, Adoniaos, Jacob, Iao
PGM IV 1872-1927	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE		x		x		Kerberos
PGM IV 2145-2240	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x				Ra, Pan
PGM IV 2441-2621	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Aktiöphis, Artemis, Persephone, Selene, Peitho, Aphrodite, Hermes
PGM IV 2622-2707	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x				Selene, Aktiöphis
PGM IV 2708-2784	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Hecate, Artemis, Kore, Persephone
PGM IV 2891-2942	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Aphrodite
PGM IV 2943-2966	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Hecate, Kore
PGM IV 3255-3274	<i>P. Bibl. Nat. Suppl. gr. no. 574</i>	4 CE				x		Typhon
PGM VII 376-384	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE		x		x		Hestia, Hephaistos
PGM VII 385-389	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE		x		x		Isis, Aphrodite
PGM VII 459-461	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE						Dionysos
PGM VII 467-477	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE	x	x			x	God of Destinies
PGM VII 593-619	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE		x		x	x	Iao, Adonai, Sabaoth, Pagoure, Iaeo, Marmorouth, Michael
PGM VII 862-918	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE	x	x			x	Selene
PGM VII 973-980	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE	x		x			Michael, Osiris, Iao, Sabaoth, Adonai, Lailam
PGM VII 981-993	<i>P. Lond. 121</i>	3 or 4 CE		x		x	x	Helios, Aktiöpis, Persephone, Ereschigal
PGM XIc 1-19	<i>P. Lond. 148</i>	2 or 3 CE		x		x		Iabö
PGM XII 376-396	<i>P. Ludg. Bat. 1384 (V)</i>	4 CE		x		x	x	"Great god", Bast, Jesus, Amoun
PGM XVI 1-75	Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 3378	1 CE		x		x	x	Adoniaos, Sabaoth, Zeus
PGM XVIIa 1-25	<i>P. gr. 1167</i>	4 CE		x		x	x	Anubis
PGM XXXII 1-19	<i>P. Haw. 312</i>	2 CE		x		x		Euangetos, Anubis, Hermes
PGM XXXIIIa 1-25	<i>P. Haw. 312</i>	2 CE					x	Adonai
PGM XXXVI 69-101	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	4 CE		x		x	x	Typhon
PGM XXXVI 102-133	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	4 CE		x		x	x	Min of Koptos
PGM XXXVI 134-160	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Osiris, Isis
PGM XXXVI 187-210	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	4 CE		x		x	x	Hecate
PGM XXXVI 295-311	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	4 CE	x	x			x	Iao, Sabaoth, Arbatthio, Michael, Zouriel, Gabriel, Istraël, Abraam
PGM XXXVI 333-360	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	4 CE		x		x	x	Myrrh
PGM XXXVI 361-371	<i>P. Osl. I, 1</i>	4 CE		x		x		Sisisöth
PGM LXVIII 1-20	<i>P. Cairo 60636</i>	2 or 3 CE					x	Abrasax, Adönaï
PGM LXXVIII 1-14	<i>P. Heid. 2170</i>	3 CE		x			x	Iaö
SM 45 (PGM CI 1-53)	<i>P. Köln inv. 3323</i>	5 CE		x		x	x	Fates, Ananke, Iao
SM 72 (PGM CXII 1-50)	<i>P. Wash. Univ. inv. 242 / P. Berol. inv. 21243</i>	1 BCE - 1 CE		x		x	x	Isis, Aphrodite, Helios
			17	34	2	18	26	
			42,5 %	85 %	5 %	45 %	65 %	