



**The flight of passion. Remarks on a
formulaic motif of erotic spells**

Emilio Suárez de la Torre

in

Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology

Barcelona 1-6 August 2016

Edited by Alberto Nodar & Sofía Torallas Tovar

Coedited by María Jesús Albarrán Martínez, Raquel Martín Hernández,
Irene Pajón Leyra, José-Domingo Rodríguez Martín & Marco Antonio Santamaría

**Scripta Orientalia 3
Barcelona, 2019**

Coordinación y edición: Alberto Nodar – Sofía Torallas Tovar

Coedición: María Jesús Albarrán Martínez, Raquel Martín Hernández, Irene Pajón Leyra,
José Domingo Rodríguez Martín, Marco Antonio Santamaría

Diseño de cubierta: Sergio Carro Martín



Montserrat



Publicacions
de l'Abadia
de Montserrat



Universitat
Pompeu Fabra
Barcelona

Primera edició, junio 2019

© los editores y los autores 2019

La propiedad de esta edición es de Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat

Ausiàs Marc 92-98 – 08013 Barcelona

ISBN 978-84-9191-079-4 (Pamsa)

ISBN 978-84-88042-89-7 (UPF)

Edición digital

<http://hdl.handle.net/10230/41902>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	i
Program of the congress	vi
Photograph of participants	xxi
PART I: Papyrology: methods and instruments	1
Archives for the History of Papyrology	
ANDREA JÖRDENS, Die Papyrologie in einer Welt der Umbrüche	3-14
ROBERTA MAZZA, Papyrology and Ethics	15-27
PETER ARZT-GRABNER, How to Abbreviate a Papyrological Volume? Principles, Inconsistencies, and Solutions	28-55
PAOLA BOFFULA, Memorie dal sottosuolo di Tebtynis a ... Roma e a Venezia!	56-67
ELISABETH R. O'CONNELL, Greek and Coptic manuscripts from First Millennium CE Egypt (still) in the British Museum	68-80
NATASCIA PELLÉ, Lettere di B. P. Grenfell e A. S. Hunt a J. G. Smyly	81-89
PART II: Literary Papyri	91
IOANNA KARAMANOU, The earliest known Greek papyrus (Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, MII 7449, 8517-8523): Text and Contexts	93-104
FRANZISKA NAETHER, Wise Men and Women in Literary Papyri	105-113
MAROULA SALEMENOU, State Letters and Decrees in P.Haun. I 5 and P.Oxy. XLII 3009: an Evaluation of Authenticity	114-123
MARIA PAZ LOPEZ, Greek Personal Names, Unnamed Characters and Pseudonyms in the Ninos Novel	124-134
MASSIMO MAGNANI, The ancient manuscript tradition of the Euripidean hypotheses	135-143
MARIA KONSTANTINIDOU, Festal Letters: Fragments of a Genre	144-152
MARCO STROPPA, Papiri cristiani della collezione PSI: storia recente e prospettive future	153-161
ANASTASIA MARAVELA, Scriptural Literacy Only? Rhetoric in Early Christian Papyrus Letters	162-177
PART III: Herculaneum	179
GIOVANNI INDELLI - FRANCESCA LONGO AURICCHIO, Le opere greche della Biblioteca ercolanese: un aggiornamento	181-190
GIANLUCA DEL MASTRO, Su alcuni pezzi editi e inediti della collezione ercolanese	191-194
STEFANO NAPOLITANO, Falsificazioni nei disegni di alcuni Papiri Ercolanese	195-206
ANGELICA DE GIANNI, Osservazioni su alcuni disegni dei Papiri Ercolanese	207-218
GAIA BARBIERI, Studi preliminari sul PHercul. 1289	219-230

VALERIA PIANO, P.Hercul. 1067 Reconsidered: Latest Results and Prospective Researches	231-240
DANIEL DELATTRE - ANNICK MONET La Calomnie de Philodème (PHerc.Paris.2), colonnes E-F-G. Une nouvelle référence à Hésiode	241-249
MARIACRISTINA FIMIANI, On Several Unpublished Fragments of Book 4 of the Rhetoric of Philodemus of Gadara	250-254
FEDERICA NICOLARDI, I papiri del libro 1 del De rhetorica di Filodemo. Dati generali e novità	255-262
CHRISTIAN VASSALLO, <i>Analecta Xenophanea</i> .	263-273
GIULIANA LEONE - SERGIO CARRELLI, Per l'edizione di Epicuro, Sulla natura, libro incerto (P.Hercul. 1811/335)	274-288
PART IV: Paraliterary texts- School, Magic and astrology	289
RAFFAELLA CRIBIORE, Schools and School Exercises Again	291-297
JULIA LOUGOVAYA, Literary Ostraca: Choice of Material and Interpretation of Text	298-309
PANAGIOTA SARISCHOULI, Key episodes of the Osirian myth in Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride and in Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri: How do the sources complement each other?	310-324
ELENI CHRONOPOULOU, The authorship of PGM VI (P.Lond. I 47) + II (P.Berol. Inv. 5026)	325-332
EMILIO SUÁREZ, The flight of passion. Remarks on a formulaic motif of erotic spells	333-341
JOHANNES THOMANN, From <i>katarchai</i> to <i>ikhtiyārāt</i> : The Emergence of a New Arabic Document Type Combining Ephemerides and Almanacs	342-354
PART V: Scribal practice and book production	355
MARIE-HÉLÈNE MARGANNE, Les rouleaux composites répertoriés dans le Catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins du CEDOPAL	357-365
NATHAN CARLIG, Les rouleaux littéraires grecs composites profanes et chrétiens (début du IIIe – troisième quart du VIe siècle)	366-373
GIOVANNA MENCI, Organizzazione dello spazio negli scholia minora a Omero e nuove letture in P.Dura 3	374-381
PIERRE LUC ANGLES, Le grec tracé avec un pinceau comme méthode d'identification des scripteurs digraphes: généalogie, limites, redéfinition du critère	382-398
ANTONIO PARISI, Citazioni e meccanismi di citazione nei papiri di Demetrio Lacone	399-404
ANTONIO RICCIARDETTO, Comparaison entre le système d'abréviations de l'Anonyme de Londres et ceux de la Constitution d'Athènes et des autres textes littéraires du Brit.Lib. inv. 131	405-416
YASMINE AMORY, Considérations autour du π épistolaire: une contamination entre les ordres et la lettre antique tardive ?	417-421
BENJAMIN R. OVERCASH, Sacred Signs in Human Script(ure)s: Nomina Sacra as Social Semiosis in Early Christian Material Culture	422-428

PART VI: Documentary papyri **429**

Ptolemaic documents

- CARLA BALCONI, Due ordini di comparizione di età tolemaica nella collezione dell'Università Cattolica di Milano 431-436
- STÉPHANIE WACKENIER, Quatre documents inédits des archives de Haryôtês, basilicogrammate de l'Hérakléopolite 437-447
- BIANCA BORRELLI, Primi risultati di un rinnovato studio del secondo rotolo del P.Rev.Laws 448-455
- CLAUDIA TIREL CENA, Alcune considerazioni su due papiri con cessione e affitto di ἡμέραι ἀγνευτικάί 456-464

Roman and Byzantine documents

- EL-SAYED GAD, ἀντίδοσις in Roman Egypt: A Sign of Continuity or a Revival of an Ancient Institution? 465-474
- MARIANNA THOMA, The law of succession in Roman Egypt: Siblings and non-siblings disputes over inheritance 475-483
- JOSÉ DOMINGO RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍN, Avoiding the Judge: the Exclusion of the δίκη in Contractual Clauses 484-493
- FABIAN REITER, Daddy finger, where are you? Zu den Fingerbezeichnungen in den Signalements der römischen Kaiserzeit 494-509
- DOROTA DZIERZBICKA, Wine dealers and their networks in Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Some remarks. 510-524
- ADAM BULOW-JACOBSEN, The Ostraca from Umm Balad. 525-533
- CLEMENTINA CAPUTO, Dati preliminari derivanti dallo studio degli ostraca di Berlino (O. Dime) da Soknopaiou Nesos 534-539
- SERENA PERRONE, Banking Transactions On The Recto Of A Letter From Nero To The Alexandrians (P.Genova I 10)? 540-550
- NAHUM COHEN, P.Berol. inv. no. 25141 – Sale of a Donkey, a Case of Tax Evasion in Roman Egypt? 551-556
- ANDREA BERNINI, New evidence for Colonia Aelia Capitolina (P.Mich. VII 445 + inv. 3888c + inv. 3944k) 557-562
- JENS MANGERUD, Who was the wife of Pompeius Niger? 563-570

Late Roman and Islamic documents

- JEAN-LUC FOURNET, Anatomie d'un genre en mutation: la pétition de l'Antiquité tardive 571-590
- ELIZABETH BUCHANAN, Rural Collective Action in Byzantine Egypt (400-700 CE) 591-599
- JANNEKE DE JONG, A summary tax assessment from eighth century Aphrodito 600-608
- STEFANIE SCHMIDT, Adopting and Adapting – Zur Kopfsteuer im frühislamischen Ägypten 609-616

PART VII: Latin papyri **617**

- MARIACHIARA SCAPPATICCIO, Papyri and Latin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri 619-627
- SERENA AMMIRATI, New developments on Latin legal papyri: the ERC project REDHIS and the *membra disiecta* of a lost legal manuscript 628-637
- GIULIO IOVINE, Preliminary inquiries on some unpublished Latin documentary 638-643

papyri (P.Vindob. inv. L 74 recto; 98 verso; 169 recto)	
ORNELLA SALATI, Accounting in the Roman Army. Some Remarks on PSI II 119r + Ch.L.A. IV 264	644-653
DARIO INTERNULLO, Latin Documents Written on Papyrus in the Late Antique and Early Medieval West (5th-11th century): an Overview	654-663
PART VIII: Linguistics and Lexicography	665
CHRISTOPH WEILBACH, The new Fachwörterbuch (nFWB). Introduction and a lexicographic case: The meaning of βασιλικά in the papyri	667-673
NADINE QUENOUILLE, Hypomnema und seine verschiedenen Bedeutungen	674-682
ISABELLA BONATI, Medicalia Online: a lexical database of technical terms in medical papyri	683-689
JOANNE V. STOLK, Itacism from Zenon to Dioscorus: scribal corrections of <ι> and <ει> in Greek documentary papyri	690-697
AGNES MIHÁLYKÓ, The persistence of Greek and the rise of Coptic in the early Christian liturgy in Egypt	698-705
ISABELLE MARTHOT-SANTANIELLO, Noms de personne ou noms de lieu ? La délicate question des ‘toponymes discriminants’ à la lumière des papyrus d’Aphroditê (VIe -VIIIe siècle)	706-713
PART IX: Archaeology	715
ROGER S. BAGNALL - PAOLA DAVOLI, Papyrology, Stratigraphy, and Excavation Methods	717-724
ANNEMARIE LUIJENDIJK, On Discarding Papyri in Roman and Late Antique Egypt. Archaeology and Ancient Perspectives	725-736
MARIO CAPASSO, L’enigma Della Provenienza Dei Manoscritti Freer E Dei Codici Cristiani Viennesi Alla Luce Dei Nuovi Scavi A Soknopaiou Nesos	737-745
PART X: Papyri and realia	747
INES BOGENSPERGER - AIKATERINI KOROLI, Signs of Use, Techniques, Patterns and Materials of Textiles: A Joint Investigation on Textile Production of Late Antique Egypt	749-760
VALERIE SCHRAM, Ἐπίκινον ξύλον, de la bruyère en Égypte?	761-770
PART XI: Conservation and Restoration	771
IRA RABIN - MYRIAM KRUTZSCH, The Writing Surface Papyrus and its Materials 1. Can the writing material papyrus tell us where it was produced? 2. Material study of the inks	773-781
MARIEKA KAYE, Exploring New Glass Technology for the Glazing of Papyri	782-793
CRISTINA IBÁÑEZ, A Proposal for the Unified Definition of Damages to Papyri	794-804
EMILY RAMOS The Preservation of the Tebtunis Papyri at the University of California Berkeley	805-827
EVE MENEI - LAURENCE CAYLUX, Conservation of the Louvre medical papyrus: cautions, research, process	828-840

PART XII: Digitizing papyrus texts	841
NICOLA REGGIANI, The Corpus of Greek Medical Papyri Online and the digital edition of ancient documents	843-856
FRANCESCA BERTONAZZI, Digital edition of P.Strasb. inv. 1187: between the papyrus and the indirect tradition	857-871

The flight of passion. Remarks on a formulaic motif of erotic spells*

Emilio Suárez de la Torre
Universitat Pompeu Fabra
emilio.suarez@upf.edu

Love spells are among the commonest magic texts known to date from ancient and modern times and I will not dedicate any time here to explaining why. Magical papyri and lead tablets (Greek and Latin) contain a considerable number of these incantations.¹ However, the differences among them are very few. In other words, there is a clear typology, with some exceptions, of course, maintained down the centuries and reaching far beyond the Ancient World. The commonest pattern of erotic spells can be illustrated by the one established by Martínez in his well-known study of P.Michigan XVI (1991), a model that covers the vast majority of love spells known to date. Moreover, the main features of those spells have been analysed in detail by several scholars,² not only from a typological standpoint, but also in their connections with literary texts and as representative of social and cultural trends. In this paper I will focus on one motif found in several love spells, in order to analyse its relation to other usual motifs of love charms. Thus, I hope to contribute to a more accurate interpretation of its meaning and to a reasonable explanation of the reasons for its occurrence in these contexts.

The motif I am dealing with is included among the actions that the petitioner requires to be exerted by the gods or dæmons on the desired individual and is expressed by different forms of the verbs ἀεροπετέομαι/ἀεροποτέομαι (three participles, one infinitive, and one imperative).³ It is usually translated as ‘to fly through the air’, ‘die Luft durchfliegen’, ‘volar por los aires’ (in the Spanish LMPG we find the alternative ‘caminar por los aires’, ‘to walk through the air’). As far as I know, the exception is Winkler’s translation as ‘to feel flighty’.⁴ I venture to say that, in my opinion, it is not the best option, although I understand that it is an attempt to resolve the problem I want to discuss in this paper.

The five examples of this motif that we have so far appear, in more or less chronological order, in a lead tablet of the 2nd century (Suppl.Mag. I 38, now in Geneva), in the Papyrus Osloensis no. 1 (PGM XXXVI, with three examples in three different spells), and in a papyrus of the Cologne collection (P.Köln inv. 5514).⁵ The first and the last belong to so-called applied (or real) magic: «Ammonion desires Theodotis and Dioscuros Leontia». The other three are part of a very interesting and well known papyrus,⁶ a peculiar grimoire, for

* This paper has been written within the framework of Research Project FFI2014-57517 financed by the Spanish Ministry of the Economy and Competitiveness.

¹ 136 to date, according to Pachoumi (2013).

² See, for instance, Moke (1975); Petropoulos (1988); Winkler (1990); Martínez (1991); Gager (1992); Brooten (1996); Montserrat (1996); Faraone (1999); Pachoumi (2013).

³ See infra n. 5 and the full texts infra §2.

⁴ Winkler (1990) 87.

⁵ (T1) Suppl.Mag. I 38 (T.Genav. inv. 269. II CE; ed. pr. III-IV); PGM XXXVI (P.Oslo 1 III/IV CE): (T2) ll. 109-113; (T3) ll. 125-132; (T4) ll. 144-150; (T5) Suppl.Mag. I 43.6-7 (P.Col. inv. 5514, IV CE).

⁶ P.Oslo. 1; first edition, Eitrem (1925). I should like to thank Anastasia Maravela and Federico Aurora for allowing me to work directly on this papyrus.

several reasons, that I suspect was an *ad hoc* copy ordered by a client with a very specific profile (and peremptory erotic needs).

First of all, some linguistic remarks. This verbal compound, with ἀερο- as the first element, is not attested outside these magical texts. The linguistic creativity of the magicians, and their knowledge of different traditions, whether poetic, medical, or philosophical, is beyond any doubt, but perhaps in this case they were not very subtle, because the result, at first sight, is a redundant term (it is difficult to fly out of the air). However, in their defence we can argue that this verb is a logical verbal derivation from the adjective ἀεροπετής, which, depending on the texts, is related either to πίπτω or to πέτομαι (the same root, but in Greek they have been specialised from the very beginning). In fact we find the meaning ‘fallen from the sky’ (in Ph.Bybl. ap. Eus. PE 1.10, cf. Plb. 36.10.2), and also ‘flying through the air’ (said of a σφήξ in Horap. 2.24, and, in the magical papyri, of a πνεῦμα in PGM VII 559). As for the attested (simple) verbal forms, they are πέτομαι and ποτάομαι (poet.) / ποτέομαι (epic), but not πετέομαι, an innovation influenced by the epic ποτάομαι. Thus, the form ἀεροποτουμένη (Suppl.Mag. I 38) could be a ‘poetism’ (as proposed by Daniel-Maltomini [1990] 121), but it could also be a mere scribal error due to the proximity of the two nearby omicrons. There are, however, more novelties. In Suppl.Mag. I 43 we find an imperative (ἀεροπέτησον) of a previously non-existent active form, ἀεροπετέω. Finally, note the different syntax of the examples cited infra (§2-3): in the first three (T1, T2, T3) we have a participle connected with the subject/object of the magical action, whereas in T4 we have an infinitive subordinated to a causative verb, and in T5 we find the active form mentioned above.

That a spirit or a demonic entity, and, of course, a deity, can fly is not a novelty and is not surprising. We have seen that a πνεῦμα can be qualified as ἀεροπετής, but also as ἀέριον,⁷ or described as ἐν ἀέρι φοιτῶμενον (PGM XIII 278). Consequently, when the petition is introduced by the verb ἄγω we imagine that the invoked god or dæmon should bring the woman flying: this would be the case in the two first examples of P.Oslo 1 (T2 and T3). However, in two other examples the woman is described as acquiring the ability to fly by herself (T1, T4), and in one of them it is her soul and heart that fly (T5). It is a good illustration of the possibilities of variation that the authors of the spells had at their disposal, or perhaps we should say at the disposal of their imagination, but it is also more than that.

What I want to propose now is a reconsideration of the exact meaning of this verb. In order to attain a satisfactory result, I consider it very important (a) to discern clearly the place and function of this term in the context of each formula, and (b) to compare and contrast it with other terms that are in total or partial agreement with it. To begin with, we must have clear concept of the usual structure (I am tempted to say the narrative scheme) of these charms, and analyse how the term is inserted into that structure. I am not suggesting that there was an actual archetype of these spells (i.e. a written model, although perhaps there were several).⁸ What I will now attempt is to (re)construct a logical sequence of the actions required in these formulas. Of course, I am well aware that each of these texts has a complex history behind it, full of alterations, new combinations, at times absolutely inconsistent, and reworkings. The logical parts of the *logoi* (without implying that this was the narrative order) would be:

- a. Awakening and/or invocation of the dæmons (ἐγείρεσθε). Sometimes, reasons for this (positive or menacing – cf. διαβολαί).
- b. They must go (ὑπάγε εἰς πᾶν τόπον κτλ.) and catch the woman (sometimes, a man).

⁷ PGM I 50, 97; PGM IV 178, 1116, cf. PGM IV 1117, 1124.

⁸ This is a similar problem to the hypothetical archetypes of the texts of the Orphic *lamellae*.

c. Very important: the dæmons must prevent her from any sexual contact (sometimes there is a short catalogue of sexual practices).

d. She must be subjected to all manner of limitations and physical harm (the well-known series μὴ πιεῖν, μὲ φαγεῖν, μὴ εὐσταθεῖν, μὲ ὕπνου τυχεῖν and so on).

e. She must suffer a terrible and burning passion, be tortured, enslaved, almost annihilated: καιομένη, πυρουμένη (cf. πύρωσον, φλέξον) δεδουλαγωγημένη, ὑποτεταγμένη, βασανιζομένη, κτλ.

f. The effect must be that she comes immediately to the presence of the petitioner, carried by the dæmons or as an irresistible effect of the precedent actions. I will return to this point in the next paragraph.

g. Finally, the petitioner asks for the accomplishment of the sexual union (often by means of what I will label as the *kollesis*-motif) and its long-lasting term (till the end of time or Hades, and so on).

In these spells it is usually specified that she/he is brought directly by the dæmon or dæmons, although it seems sometimes that this is an automatic effect of the violence exerted by them. The simplest petition is: ‘bring her’ (ἄξον, ἔνεγκον, and so on), but violence appears too: ἔλκε τὴν δεῖνα τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν σπλάγχχνων, τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, «drag her, NN, by the hair, by the heart, by her soul, to me, NN» (PGM IV 376-378). The question is: if the verb ἀεροπετοῦμαι is properly a verb of movement, then it is here that the motif of the flight should be included. We would then have three verbs of movement used in the description of this part: ἐκπηδάω, ‘rush off’ (from her house), ἀεροπετοῦμαι, ἔρχομαι (ἔλθη). The last one does not merit any special commentary: there is no doubt that it signals the arrival of the ‘beloved’.⁹

Let us see then if the first two verbs indicate two different moments of the transfer action or if they denote two different things.

1. ἐκπηδάω

This verb is used to mark a decisive moment in the process of wish-fulfilment of the practitioner: it is essential that she/he abandon her familiar or usual environment. This is concisely expressed in one ἀγωγή of PGM XXXVI (69-101): καὶ παρθένους ἐκπηδᾶν οἴκοθεν ποιεῖ (70). This effect is presented as a consequence of the actions described previously in d (symptoms of illness) and e (burning), that is, as a result of the total submission caused by the dæmons. We find it in Suppl.Mag. I 48, 40 and 42, PGM XXXVI 70 and 360, PGM XIXa, and Suppl.Mag. I 45. The process is completed by his/her arrival at the practitioner’s house. This is described with a subordinate clause with ἕως οὗ (Suppl.Mag. I 48, 10-11) or ἄχρις + subjunctive, as in PGM XIXa, where we read ἄχρις ἂν ἐκπηδήσασα [ἔλ]θη (l. 51), and also ἕως ἐκπεδήσασα ἔλθη (XXXVI 360) without the particle. Sometimes the place to be abandoned by the woman or man is not their dwelling place, but the formula includes every possible place: ἕως οὗ ἐκπηδήση {ἐκπηδήση} ἐκ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας (Suppl.Mag. I 48, 10-11); or it can be intensified by emphasizing the effect of complete abandonment not only of the physical abodes, but also of parents and siblings, as in Suppl.Mag. I 45, 46-47: ἀλλὰ ποιήσατε αὐτὴν ἐκπηδήσαι ἀπὸ παντὸς τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας

⁹ The sequence ἕως ἂν ἔλθη is frequent. There is an interesting case in PGM XIc col. 2. ll. 3-4, where the petition specifies [ὕπ’ ἐμὸν] / ὄροφ[ον ἐλθέτω].

καὶ καταλίψε πατέρα, μητέρα, ἀδελφούς, ἀδελφάς, ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ etc. One exception can be found in Suppl.Mag. I 42, 17-38, a spell meant to work at the bathhouse. The particularities are (a) that the verb ἐκπηδάω is constructed with consecutive function immediately after the imperative δαμάσεται (-ε): δαμάσεται αὐτὴν ἐκπηδήσῃ ἐκ παντός τόπου καὶ πάσης οἰκίας φιλοῦσα<v> Σοφία (16, 38), and (b) that the point of arrival is not the practitioner's house, but rather the bathing place, into which she must be thrown by the dæmons: βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ βαλανίον (14, 34, 44, 51).¹⁰

2. ἀεροπετοῦμαι

T1 Suppl.Mag. I 38, 8-12 (T. Genav. inv. 269. II CE; ed. pr. III-IV CE):

τελείωσον τὸ τοῦ φιλτροκαταδέσμου / –τοῦτο ἐχρήσατο ἡ Ἴσις– ἵνα ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὐς μηκέτι λάβῃ πείραν ἐταίρου / ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ Ἀμμωνίωνος, δεδουλαγωγημένη, ὑ/στρωμένη {v}, ζητοῦσα ἀεροποτουμένη τὸν Ἀμμωνίονα Ἑρμιταρῖς καὶ / μηρὸν μηρῶ πελάσῃ καὶ φύσει{v} φύσει πρὸς συνουσίαν ἀεὶ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς.

«Fulfill the content of this binding love-spell –this is the one that Isis used– so that Theodotis, daughter of Eus, may no longer have experience of another man than me alone, Ammonion, she being enslaved, driven mad, flying through the air in search of Ammonion, son of Hermitaris, and so that she bring thigh to thigh and sexual organ to sexual organ for intercourse always, for the entire time of her life».¹¹

At first sight, it seems that the logical process is accomplished: the victim is ‘enslaved’ and ‘excited’ (οἶστρος), and then she flies in search of the petitioner and accomplishes the sexual union. At a syntactic level we have an imperative (τελείωσον) followed by a final sentence (ἵνα μηκέτι λάβῃ... καὶ πελάσῃ). The participle ἀεροποτουμένη, connected to the subject, has a modal value, specifying the semantic value of the precedent participle ζητοῦσα. Here the action focuses on the intermediate and final phases of the process.

T2 PGM XXXVI 110-113 (P.Oslo 1, III-IV CE):

ἄξον ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα κεομένην, πυρουμένην, ἀεροπετουμένην, πεινώσαν/διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτοκεν ἡ δεῖνα,/ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν ἑαυτῆς/ φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ.

«Attract to me NN, her, NN, aflame, on fire, flying through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, loving me, NN whom NN bore, until she come and glue her female pudenda to my male one».

Here, things have begun to change. The difference lies in the insertion of ἀεροπετουμένην between the participles indicating actions that should come before the flight, unless we assume that this flight happens simultaneously with the other symptoms, which seems rather forced. However, in this case, some suspicions begin to arise concerning the real semantic value of the verb. As for the syntactic construction, we again have an imperative (ἄξον) followed by a series of participles concerted with the direct object and then the final/consecutive sentence ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ + κολλήσῃ.

T3 PGM XXVI 125-130:

ἄξετέ μοι... κεομένην, πυρου/μένην, ἀεροπετου/μένην, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα.

«Attract to me..., aflame, on fire, flying through the air, loving me, NN».

¹⁰ To this aim, the dæmon/es must become the woman who runs the bathhouse.

¹¹ All translations are taken either from Daniel / Maltomini (1990) or from Betz (1996).

This order of actions is more logical here than in the former example: the woman is subjected to torture, and then is brought flying and loving. It is clearly an abridged or synthetic formula, without any syntactic deployment (the last participle in a way replaces the subordinate phrases of the other examples), with only the imperative and the participles connected to the direct object.

T4 PGM XXVI 147-150:

καὶ ποιήσατε τὴν δεῖνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἀγροειπνῖν, ἀεροπε/τίσθαι, πινῶσαν, διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, ἐράσθαι / ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα ἔρωτι σπλαγχνικῶ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ.

«And cause her, NN, whom NN bore to be sleepless, to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, to love me, NN, whom NN bore, passionately with passion in her guts, until she comes and glues her female pudenda to my male one».

This is more in line with T2 (the subordinate phrase with the subjunctives reappears), but it goes a step further in the alteration of the ‘normal’ sequence: the gods and dæmons must «cause her to fly through the air, hungry, thirsty, not finding sleep, to love me». What is more, a sign that there is something wrong in this construction is the reiterative use of the synonyms ἀγροειπνῖν and ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν before and after the other participles. It seems that, for the sake of expressiveness, the magician has accumulated the verbal forms and thus the last infinitive ἐράσθαι has been left too detached from the main verb ποιήσατε. But, syntax apart, are we sure that there is no other reason for this sequence? I suspect that, perhaps since its original use, this verb, ἀεροπετέομαι, was not always used as a full verb of movement, so to speak. In other words, are we sure that in T2 the sequence ἄξον ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα κεομένην, πυρουμένην, ἀεροπετουμένην, πεινῶσαν, (110) διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα implies a mistaken alteration of the order, due to careless accumulation of participles, or must we look for a more nuanced semantic analysis of the term? Must we accept that the victim is flying during the time of the physical limitations? And, if it is so, what kind of flight is it? What I am suggesting is that perhaps ἀεροπετέομαι should be interpreted, at least in T 2, 3, 4, as indicating a flight that does not always imply a movement from A to B, with change of place, but something closer to the meaning either ‘to feel as if she/he were flying’, as a kind of ‘dizziness’, or even ‘to levitate’. I am speaking of a psychological, and metaphorical, use of the verb. Its insertion among the participles describing the physical symptoms awakens the suspicion that it is considered more a symptom than a consequence or effect of the symptoms. Must we then presume that we are dealing here with a chronological semantic development, or conversely that there was no development and the semantic nuance mentioned above was always present in these spells? To obtain a possible answer, or, perhaps, to complicate matters, we must now take into account text number 5.

3. The soul in erotic magical texts

T5 Suppl.Mag. I 43, 6-11 (P.Köln. inv. 5514. IV CE ed. pr.).

ἀεροπέτησον τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν /καρδίαν Λεοντίας, ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρα/ Εὔα, καὶ μὴ ἐάσης αὐτὴν φαγῖν /μήτε πῖν μήτε ὕπνου τυχῖν/ ἕως δὲ ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ Διός/κ[ο]υρον.

«Make fly through the air [in fact: excite] the soul and the heart of Leontia, whom the womb of Eva bore, and do not let her eat or drink or get sleep until she comes to me, Dioskouros».

This is an isolated example of this verb in the active voice and with causative meaning, but a very interesting one. Its direct object is now specified as the soul and the heart, and this effect

is separated from the other physical consequences of the magical operation. In fact, it is presented almost as a prior step preceding the other physical damages, as a loss of control with the specified consequences. At this point we have been led (but not ἀεροπετοῦντες!) to an interesting issue, that of the conception of the soul, at least in the magical papyri. Allow me then in the last part of my paper to address this question, albeit succinctly.

The soul appears in 28 examples of erotic spells (either on papyrus or lead tablets).¹² If we add to these examples those that pertain to non-erotic spells, we can see that the soul, i.e. the soul of the living, is considered the centre of the main vital functions and frequently appears together with the heart.¹³ The distribution of the processes affecting the soul in the erotic charms is as follows (the numbers refer to those of footnote 12):

- a. The soul can be ‘burned’ (8, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, even ‘tortured’ 13).
- b. The soul can be ‘driven’/ ‘carried’ (4, 14, 15) or even ‘dragged’ (ἔλκω: 1, 27).
- c. In T. 5 the verb used for the action affecting the soul is ἐπιστρέφω + εἰς (‘to turn the soul to’). A similar action is described in PGM XIc, although this time the object is the heart (στρέψον... πρὸς).
- d. It is also the object of the process or submission or domination (6 –ὕποταγή–, 7 –δάμναμαι).
- e. In two examples the process is described as the ‘inclination’, or ‘surrendering’, of the soul (gr. κλίνω, 4, 21).
- f. In no. 22 (Suppl.Mag. I 39), along with the inclination, we find two more effects on the soul: the actions asked of the dæmon are «let her soul be roused [ἀγριανθήτω]/ so that her soul be deranged [παραλλαγήναι] and incline [κλιθῆναι] towards my soul».¹⁴
- g. In other two cases the dæmon is asked «to penetrate through the soul» of the victim (3, εἰσέλθης) or ‘enter into’ her and ‘to settle’ on the soul (9, εἴσβηθι). In both examples the heart is mentioned together with the soul: in the first case because it is the place where the dæmon must remain, and in the second as the initial subject of the burning action.
- h. Finally, the soul is mentioned in three examples of a different nature. In 2 the meaning of the phrase κατὰ ψυχὴν is ‘silently’. In 9 the dæmon is asked to bring the woman, after having been whipped, «with generous soul» (μετὰ μεγαλοδώρου ψυχῆς), surrendered to the man. In 10 a πιττάκιον must be put «on her soul» (ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς) to force the woman to speak while sleeping (a νυκτολάλημα).

In my opinion, and without entering now into a broad analysis of the concept of the soul in the PGM, in these texts *psychē* (ψυχή) is a part of the human being, functioning not only, as

¹² 1 PGM IV 376-380; 2 PGM IV 1265-1274 (Aphrodite’s name); 3 PGM IV 1522-1531 (Ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ζυμύρης ἐπιθυομένης); 4 PGM IV 1715-1720 (Ξίφος Δαρδάνου); 5 PGM IV 1803-1809; 6 PGM IV 1818-1820; 7 PGM IV 2738-2741; 8 PGM IV 2764; 9 PGM VII 989-991; 10 PGM VII 411-415; 11 PGM XII 474-475; 12 PGM XVII 16-19 (applied); 13 PGM XIXa 49-51; 14 PGM XXXII 9-11 (applied); 15 PGM XXII 14-16; 16 PGM XXIIa 7-8 (applied); 17 PGM XXXVI 79-81; 18 PGM LXIII 8-12; 19 PGM LXVIII 2-8; 20 PGM LXVIII 14-17; 21 PGM LXXVIII 5-7; 22 Suppl.Mag. I 39.1-7; 23 Suppl.Mag. I 40, 17; 24 Suppl.Mag. I 42, 15, 36, 46, 54, 59; 25 Suppl.Mag. I 43, 6-7; 26 Suppl.Mag. I 48, 10-11; 27 Suppl.Mag. I 50, 64; 28 Suppl.Mag. I 72, 17.

¹³ See the frequent examples of καταδῶ (sometimes κατέχω) τὴν ψυχὴν + other parts of the body + the name of the person in many *katadesmoi*. See, for instance: IG III App. 49, 50, 51, 56, 66, 79, 84, 86, 87, 89, 93, 96, 97, 107, 120, 159, 197; DT 47, 49, 50, 51, 241.

¹⁴ Tr. Daniel / Maltomini (1990). I should propose ‘inclined’.

mentioned earlier, as the centre of the vital functions, but also as that of the emotions.¹⁵ The mention of the soul in many texts, and not only those of an erotic nature, in parallel with the heart leads us to accept that it could even be considered an organ, although with a particular status, and also allows us to think that it is located in person's breast. This is not surprising, if we bear in mind that the location of the soul within the human body is an issue with a long history, in both the philosophical and medical Greek traditions. Of these theories I will limit myself here to recalling the description found in Plato's *Timaeus* (69d-72d), in which the spirit-infused portion (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν) of the soul is located «between the diaphragm and the neck» (70d).¹⁶

The particular status of the soul in these texts reinforces the suspicion that the verb we are dealing with has not always been understood in the literal sense of 'fly', but approaches the description of a psychological-emotional effect that implies a strong excitation and even loss of consciousness. The factors that might have influenced this semantic development are varied in nature. On the one hand, the magicians tried to enlarge the range of effects, and this lead to an increase in the imaginative creation of 'technical' terms. There are not only the crude terms for burning, torturing, and terms of enslavement, but also others such as the use of σκότωσον (PGM XIXa 50, PGM LXI 14-16, here with the specification μὴ γνώτω, ποῦ ἐστίν); or the participles φοβουμένη, φανταζομένη (very interesting), ἀγρυπνοῦσα (PGM VII 788); or the accumulation of physical, almost medical, effects such as λεπτή, χλωρά (remember Sappho!),¹⁷ ἀσθενή, ἄτονα, ἀδύναμος (PGM XXXVI 357-358); or even the possibility of forgetting husband and son (Sappho again!),¹⁸ parents, friends, as well as eating and drinking (PGM XIXa 51-52 μὴ [ἰδίῳ] ἀνδρὶ μνημονεύειν, μὴ τέκνου, μὴ ποτοῦ, μὴ βρωτοῦ; PGM LXI 28-30 [καὶ] ἐπιλάθεται πατρὸς καὶ μητρ[ό]ς, ἀδελφῶν, ἀνδρός, φίλου, π[λ]ῆν ἐμοῦ μόνου τούτων πάν[τ]ων ἐπιλάθεται). In addition, we must not lose sight of the fact that in Phaedrus (251a-b) Plato had made a paradigmatic description of the effect of contemplating τὸ κάλλος and falling in love, in terms involving the process of recovering the wings of the soul,¹⁹ so to speak. It is superfluous to remember that the Platonic description of love will have an enormous influence, which can be traced in different directions. Allow me now to add some references to three very diverse texts that are witnesses of this Platonic influence.

The first is the spell included in PGM IV 1715-1867, entitled «The Sword of Dardanus».²⁰ This wonderful text illustrates the nature of these spells as witnesses of the contemporary visions of the erotic process, in a double perspective that synthesizes the 'sublime' conceptions found in philosophical trends with the elementary notions on the efficacy of the most drastic magical procedures. Both aspects are reflected as much in the indications for the *praxis* and the instructions for molding or engraving images (Eros burning Psyche and Eros embracing her), as in the different *logoi* (the requests to Eros to burn and to pressure the soul, side by side with a sublime prayer to the god). In some way the motif analyzed in this paper

¹⁵ At this point I should like to make it clear that, after some hesitation concerning PGM IV, I fully side with Smith (2004) in rejecting that ψυχή can mean 'women's sex', as has been traditionally accepted.

¹⁶ See Smith (2004) 206-207. Plato's theories will have a strong influence on Galen, who gives a very concise description of the location of the three parts (also called by him εἶδη and δυνάμεις) of the soul (Gal. De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis 9, 9, 7-10. See Schiefsky (2012).

¹⁷ Fr. 31, 14-15 V. See *infra*, with n. 21.

¹⁸ Fr. 16, 10-11 V.

¹⁹ See the whole description of 251 a-b-c, with interesting coincidences with the expressions used in the love charms and the traditional erotic vocabulary.

²⁰ See Pachoumi (2011) and Suárez de la Torre (2012/2013).

reflects a kind of trivialization of the philosophical and poetic love visions and, at the same time, may be justified by the ambiguous status of the soul.

The second is a Plotinian quotation (6.7.22): a sublime version of the process under discussion:

Καὶ τοίνυν ψυχή, λαβοῦσα εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπορροήν, κινεῖται καὶ ἀναβακχεύεται καὶ οἷστρον πίμπλαται καὶ ἔρωσ γίγνεται (...). Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἦκη εἰς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ θερμασία ἐκεῖθεν, ῥώννυται τε καὶ ἐγείρεται καὶ ὄντως πτεροῦται...

«Then the soul, receiving into itself an outflow from thence, is moved and dances wildly and is all stung with longing and becomes love (...). But when a kind of warmth from thence comes upon it, it gains strength and wakes and is truly winged ...» (transl. A.H. Armstrong, Loeb).

Finally, I will refer to the descriptions of the effects of passion and love we find in the Greek novel, and more concretely in Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, where we find, for instance, a detailed description of the effect of falling in love at first sight in Platonic terms (3.5.4), mixed with a clear evocation of Sappho's fr. 31 V.²¹

4. Conclusion

My proposal is that the meaning of the verb ἀεροπετοῦμαι oscillates between actual flight and loss of control and conscience (compare the use of ἀεροβατῶ in modern Greek), with a flexible adaptation to the different needs and contexts: an additional effect of the ἐρωτικὴ μανία (Plato again),²² with which the authors of these charms seem very familiar, as can be seen in the expression ἔρωσ μανιώδης of *Suppl.Mag.* I 45, 7.

Bibliography

- Betz, H.D. (1996²), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, vol. I (Chicago-London).
Brooten, B.J. (1996), *Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago-London), (ch. 3, "Inflame Her Liver with Love. Greek Erotic Spells from Egypt", 73-113).
Daniel, R. / Maltomini, F. (1990), *Supplementum Magicum I* (Opladen).
Eitrem, S. (1925), *Papyri Osloenses*, vol. I, *Magical Papyri* (Oslo).
Faraone, Ch.A. (1999), *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge MA-London).
Gager, J.G. (1992), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York-Oxford), (ch. 2, "Sex, Love, and Marriage", 78-115).
Martínez, D.G. (1991), *P.Michigan XVI. A Greek Love Charm From Egypt (P.Mich. 757)* (Atlanta, Georgia).
Moke, D.F. (1975), *Eroticism in the Greek Magical Papyri. Selected Studies* (Diss. University of Minnesota).
Pachoumi, E. (2011), "Eros and Psyche in Erotic Magic", *C&M* 61, 39-49.
Pachoumi, E. (2013), "The Erotic and Separation Spells of the Magical Papyri and Defixiones", *GRBS*, 294-325.
Petropoulos, I. (1988), "The Erotic Magical Papyri" in Mandilaras, B. G. (ed.), *Pap.Congr. XVIII* (Athens) 215-222.
Schiefky, M. (2012), "Galen and the Tripartite Soul" in Barney, N. / Brennan, T. Ch. Brittain (eds.), *Plato and the Divided Self* (Cambridge).

²¹ ὅτε, φίλε Κνήμων, καὶ ὅτι θεῖον ἡ ψυχή καὶ συγγενὴς ἄνωθεν τοῖς ἔργοις ἠπιστούμεθα· ζομοῦ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἐώρων οἱ νέοι καὶ ἡρώων, ὥσπερ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκ πρώτης ἐντεύξεως τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπιγνούσης καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν οἰλεῖον προσδραμούσης. «...when, dear Chemon, we knew that the soul is something divine and related from the beginning to the actions. For, as the young people saw each other, they loved each other, as if the soul recognized its fellow from the first encounter and ran towards its proper mate». See also Ach. Tat. 5.13.4, with the description of the κάλλους ἀπορροή and many other mentions of the effects of emotions on the soul.

²² Pl. Phd. 265b.

The flight of passion. Remarks on a formulaic motif of erotic spells

- Smith, G.A. (2004), "The Myth of the Vaginal Soul", GRBS 44, 199-225.
- Suárez de la Torre, E. (2012/2013), "Pensamiento filosófico y pensamiento mágico: el hechizo de Eros y Psique en la Espada de Dárdano (PGM IV 1715-1870)", Itaca 28-29, 167-181.
- Suárez de la Torre, E. (2014), "Yambos y coliambos en un hechizo erótico (SM 42)" in Vintró, E. / Mestre, F. / Gómez, P. (eds.), Som per mirar. Estudis de filologia grega oferts a Carles Miralles (Barcelona), vol. I, 325-345.
- Winkler, J.J. (1990), *The Constraints of Desire. The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York/London).