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THE *ECHENEIS* AND EROTIC MAGIC

A number of ancient writers speak of the fish known in Greek as the ἐχενηΐς, 'ship holder' and in Latin as the *remora*.[1] With one exception,[2] they do so in reference to its eponymous[3] capacity to retard[4] or to stop[5] the progress of a ship, even when under full sail or driven by a following wind.[6] The *echeneis* has attracted a modest amount of attention on this score in both Classical and modern literature. But among the moderns, no one, to the best of my knowledge, has examined a less-noticed feature of the fish, which is mentioned by a mere two ancient authors, Aristotle and, following him closely, the Elder Pliny[7] – namely its use in erotic magic. The passages in question read:

Ἔστι δ' ἰχθύδιόν τι τῶν πετραίων, ὃ καλοῦσί τινες ἐχενηΐδα, καὶ χρῶνταί τινες αὐτῷ πρὸς δίκας καὶ φίλτρα. (Arist. *Hist. An.* 505b18–20)

and

Est paruus admodum piscis adsuetus petris echeneis appellatus. hoc carinis adhaerente naues tardius ire creduntur inde nomine inposito, quam ob causam amatoriis quoque ueneficiis infamis est et iudiciorum ac litium mora, quae crimina una laude pensat fluxus grauidarum utero sistens partusque continens ad puerperium. (Plin. *HN* 9.79)

The present paper investigates what magical rationales might have governed the use of the *echeneis* in amatory magic. Several considerations will be advanced, in ascending order of specificity.

(1) While it is true that fish are more often employed in non-erotic than erotic magic,[8] there is nothing surprising *per se* about the use of a fish in love magic. Apuleius (*Apol*. 33–5) was famously accused by his opponents in a legal case of utilizing two fish with obscene names (in other words, name magic)[9] to capture the affections of the rich widow Pudentilla; the fish name καλλιώνυμος was used metaphorically of the male and female genitals;[10] a stone found in the innards

[1] Or *mora* (Plin. *HN* 32.6, *e nostris quidam Latine moram appellauere eum*).
[2] Aristotle, in the passage quoted immediately below in the text.
[3] Λαβὼν ἐξ ὧν δρᾷ τὸ ὄνομα, Ael. *NA* 2.17.
[4] Plut. *Quaest. conv*. 641b, Ov. *Hal*. 100, Plin. *HN* 9.79.
[5] Oppian, *Hal*. 1.214–43, Ael. *NA* 2.17, *Cyranides* 1.13.11–13, 1.13.30–2, 4.18.1–4 Kaimakis, Nonnus, *Diony*. 21.45–8, 36.367–9, Luc. 6.674–5, Plin. *HN* 32.2–5, Isid. *Orig*. 12.6.34.
[6] Oppian, *Hal*. 1.227–34, Ael. *NA* 2.17, *Cyranides* 4.18.1–4 Kaimakis, Luc. 6.674 *puppim retinens Euro tendente rudentes*, Plin. *HN* 32.2 *ruant uenti licet, saeuiant procellae*; *imperat furori <echeneis> uiresque tantas compescit et cogit stare nauigia*.
[7] The Suda (2.292 Adler) repeat Aristotle's notice.
[8] Cf. V. Hunink, *Apuleius of Madaura. Pro se de Magia* (*Apologia*) vol. 2, *Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1997), on *Apology* 30.4 (p. 100).
[9] Cf. A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (Giessen, 1908), 139–40.
[10] Hesych. s. v.

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of the so-called Pan fish was deployed for φίλτρα;[11] the use of blood from the womb of a *silurus* (a river fish) is prescribed in an erotic fetching spell (ἀγωγή) at *PGM* 36.362–3;[12] a close connexion between Aphrodite and fish was established in astrology;[13] and, according to Athenaeus and others,[14] a number of fish were sacred to Aphrodite, who is often represented in art riding on the viviparous 'fish', the dolphin[15] and was in addition closely associated with the shellfish known as the κτείς, a term which also signified the *pudenda muliebria*.[16]

(2) Aristotle and Pliny are silent about the principles under which the *echeneis* operated as a love charm, but the language used of the *echeneis*' ship-retarding qualities is strongly reminiscent of the κατάδεσμος, 'binding spell', and the likelihood is that it functioned in the same way when harnessed in love magic: that is to say, it was a key element in the so-called φιλτροκατάδεσμος, 'erotic binding spell',[17] or φίλτρον, a word sometimes used as shorthand for the longer term (cf. Aristotle's πρὸς … φίλτρα above).[18] In particular, the terminology employed by Oppian in his long account of the *echeneis*[19] is decidedly suggestive of binding magic. He says of the vessel to which the *echeneis* has attached itself ἀλλὰ παγεῖσα | μίμνει τ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσα καὶ ἐσσυμένη πεπέδηται (*Hal*. 1.232–3), the ναῦται … τρομέουσιν, ἀείδελα δεσμὰ θαλάσσης δερκόμενοι (ibid. 235–6) and, again, τοίην νηῒ πέδην περιβάλλεται αἰόλος ἰχθὺς | ἀντιάσας (242–3). Similarly Aelian (*NA* 2.17), in a substantial treatment of the *echeneis*, says of its effects that it ἀναστέλλει τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ πεδήσας ἔχει. The language of constraint is likewise used by Nonnus, who twice mentions the *echeneis* in passing: at *Dion*. 21.45–8, where the expression ἀνέκοψε κατάσχετον ὁλκάδα δεσμῷ is again redolent of binding magic, and 36.367–9 ὁλκάδα … | … | δεσμῷ καρχαρόδοντι διεστήριξε θαλάσσῃ. And Pliny, in the longer of his two accounts of the *echeneis* (*HN* 32.2–6), similarly ascribed to it the capacity to *tenere deuincta* (3), 'hold fast' warships, an idea which he then illustrates by two historical instances.

That δεσμός and its cognates (δέω, καταδέω, κατάδεσμος) – used three times of the restraining effect of the *echeneis* in the passages quoted above – are the

[11] Photius, *Bibl*. 190 p. 153b Bekker–Henry, the Suda s. v. ἰχθῦς (2.267 Adler).

[12] See further S. Eitrem's edition with commentary of *PGM* 36 (= *Papyri Osloenses* Fasc. 1 (Oslo, 1925)), *ad loc*. For the abbreviation, see text below.

[13] Abt (n. 9), 67.

[14] Ath. 325b, Abt (n. 9), 68. In general on fish sacred to Greek and Roman deities, see F.J. Dölger, *Der heilige Fisch in den antiken Religion und im Christentum*, *Textband* (Münster, 1922), 306–30, L. Bodson, *ΙΕΡΑ ΖΩΙΑ* (Brussels, 1975), 52–3.

[15] See *LIMC* 2.1.977–86, with illustr. 981. A.A. Barb, 'Diva matrix', *JWI* 16 (1953), 193–238 at 200, arguing a connexion between δελφίς, 'dolphin' and δελφύς, 'womb', sees an explanation of the association between the goddess and the sea creature in the supposed functioning of the dolphin as a symbol of the uterus.

[16] Cf. Barb (n. 15), 205 with illustration 28e, D. Sider, *The Epigrams of Philodemus* (New York and Oxford, 1997), 106. For some examples of fish used in erotic magic additional to those cited in the text, see K. Bradley, 'Law, magic and culture in the "Apologia" of Apuleius', *Phoenix* 51 (1997), 203–23 at 209–12.

[17] For the term, see K. Preisendanz–A. Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*[2] = *PGM* (Stuttgart, 1973–4) 3.163, 4.296, 7.191, 8.1, R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* vols. 1–2 = *SM* (Opladen, 1990, 1992), 38.8.

[18] For φίλτρον of an erotic binding spell, cf. *PGM* 7.462 and 61.1 and 35. The near- equivalence of φίλτρον and φιλτροκατάδεσμος is already adumbrated in Theoc. *Id*. 2.159 νῦν μὲν τοῖς φίλτροις καταδήσομαι: see M.W. Dickie, 'Bonds and headless demons in Greco-Roman magic', *GRBS* 40 (1999), 99–104 at 102.

[19] Oppian, *Hal*. 1.214–43.

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mots justes for magical binding hardly calls for extensive discussion. Here are a few examples, selected randomly from the standard collections of Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (*DT*),[20] Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae* (*DTA*),[21] Preisendanz–Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (*PGM*) and the *Supplementum Magicum* (*SM*),[22] with their highly tralatician material.[23] I confine myself to the uncompounded forms, since it is these that the just-quoted texts employ to express the fish's retarding effects: δεσμεύων καὶ κατόχων δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις *DT* 253.36–7 (cf. 252.26–7), κατὰ σοῖς δεσμοῖς ἰσχυροῖς … ἀδαμαντίνοις *DT* 252.33–4, 253.47–8, *DTA* 45.1–3, δήσω ἐγὼ κείνην … δεσμοῖς ἀργαλείοις *DTA* 108.3–5, καὶ καταδήσατε αὐτὴν δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις … πρὸς φιλίαν ἐμοῦ *SM* 45.44–5 and similarly *PGM* 4.1246–7; cf. also Iambl. *Myst*. 3.27. As for κατάσχετος, used by Nonnus of the *echeneis*, this is cognate with κατέχω, which, like δεσμός κτλ. is extensively used in the *Zauberpapyri* and related texts of magical 'binding' or 'restraining.' Some examples: κατέχω *DTA* 109.1–3, 102b15–16 *et saepe*, *PGM* 4.332, 372–3, 5.363, 395, 397, 13.804 etc., *SM* index V s.v. (numerous instances), *DT* 253.36–7 quoted *supra*, κάτοχος γίνου *DTA* 90a4–5, κάτοχος ἴσθι *DTA* 100a8–9, κάτοχος παντὸς πράγματος *PGM* 7.429. The case of πεδάω/πέδη, used three times by Oppian[24] and once by Aelian in connexion with the *echeneis*, is more slippery: evidence that it belonged to the specialized register of magic is meagre, but one example at *PGM* 5.487–8 <an incantation> πέδας λύει, ἀμαυροῖ, ὀνειροπομπεῖ, χαριτήσιον may point in this direction if the 'bonds' thus magically loosened (λύω) are those of a spell. At all events, πέδη maintains the core notion of binding which is intrinsic to the effects of the *echeneis* and also conjures up the notion of the 'chains' or 'fetters' of love, which would be highly relevant to the deployment of the fish in an erotic spell: cf. Apul. *Met*. 2.5 *<Maga Pamphile> simul quemque conspexerit speciosae formae iuuenem … inuadit spiritum, amoris profundi pedicis aeternis alligat*.

Finally, the personification of the retarded ship as οὐκ ἐθέλουσα at Oppian *Hal*. 1.233 is again suggestive of a magical ambience, and in particular of the binding or constraining spell. For it is intrinsic to such spells that the target is forced willy-nilly to do what the magician desires under constraint of ἀνάγκη, magical compulsion.[25] The idea goes back at least to Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite* (frg. 1 L.–P.), which, as has often been remarked,[26] contains a number of elements suggestive of a love spell. Of particular note is the concluding promise of Aphrodite

[20] A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904, repr. Frankfurt, 1967).

[21] R. Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, *IG* vol. 3 pt. 3, Appendix (Berlin, 1897).

[22] See n. 17 *supra*.

[23] Many of the *defixiones* in Wünsch date to the 5th–4th century B.C. As for the magical papyri, although the papyri themselves were mostly inscribed under the late Roman empire (see H.D. Betz [ed.], *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [Chicago and London, 1986], xxiii–v for dates), the material and formulae which they contain are highly traditional, as one may see by comparing the few early examples which have survived; cf. P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini, in *Papiri letterari greci*, ed. A. Carlini (Pisa, 1978), 239–44, W. Brashear, 'Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus', *ZPE* 33 (1979), 261–78, C. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), 31–2, J.C. Petropoulos, 'The erotic magical papyri' in B. Mandiralas (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIII International Conference of Papyrology, Athens 25–31 May 1986* (Athens, 1988), 215–22.

[24] At. *Hal*. 1.239, in addition to the passages quoted in the text above.

[25] On this, see H. Schreckenberg, *Ananke* (Munich, 1964), 135–9.

[26] See in particular A. Cameron, 'Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite', *HTR* 32 (1939), 1–18 esp. 8–12 and J.C. Petropoulos, 'Sappho the sorceress – another look at fr. 1 (LP)', *ZPE* 97 (1993), 43–56.

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to Sappho, *καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει, | αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει, | αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει | κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα* (21–4). That is to say, the unnamed object of Sappho's affections will be constrained by the power of Aphrodite to pursue the poetess erotically, deprived of free will in the matter. For such compulsive power on the part of the *magus* similarly expressed in the *PGM*, in contexts both erotic and non-erotic, cf. 4.2929–35 *τάδε νεῦσον ἐμοί, τῷ δεῖνι, ὡς σὸν ἐν ἄστροις ἐς χορὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἥξας ἐπὶ λέκτρα μιγῆναι … διὸ ἄξον μοι τὴν δεῖνα, ἣν δεῖνα, φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ· σὺ δέ, Κυπρογένεια θεά τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν*,[27] 4.2251–2 *τὸ δεῖνα ποι<ή>σεις, κἂν θέλῃς κἂν μὴ θέλῃς*, ibid. 2257–8, 4.2295–6 *τὸ δεῖ μοι ποιήσεις, κἂν θέλῃς, κἂν μὴ θέλῃς*, ibid. 2323.

Before moving on to the final section of the argument, an additional piece of evidence may be adduced which will further confirm the capacity of the *echeneis* to bind magically, and in more than one context. It comes in the shape of the Elder Pliny's remark (*HN* 32.6) that *e Graecis alii lubricos partus atque procidentes <echeneidem> continere ad maturitatem adalligatum* (worn as an amulet) *… prodiderunt*.[28] Here we have an instance of obstetrical binding,[29] a familiar enough phenomenon, but one usually encountered in a far more malign context than the present.[30] Instances are the witch Meroe's binding of the womb of a rival in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses,* when she *amatoris sui uxorem, quod in eam dicacule probrum dixerat, iam in sarcina praegnationis obsepto utero et repigrato fetu perpetua praegnatione damnauit, et, ut cuncti numerant, iam octo annorum onere misella illa uelut elephantum paritura distenditur* (1.9);[31] or that visited by Lucina, at Juno's instigation, upon Alcmena when in labour with Hercules (Ov. *Met*. 9.280–315). In the latter instance, the presence of binding magic is particularly signalled in the following verses: *utque meos audit gemitus <Lucina>, subsedit in illa | ante fores ara, dextroque a poplite laeuum | pressa genu et digitis inter se pectine iunctis | sustinuit partus. tacita quoque carmina uoce | dixit, et inceptos tenuerunt carmina partus* (297–301) and (after Lucina has been tricked into abandoning the posture which is inhibiting Hercules' birth) *uinclis leuor <Alcmena> ipsa remissis* (315).[32]

(3) Supernatural 'binding' is a *generic* concept, applicable to a wide variety of situations – to inducing love in another, to silencing or impeding an opponent in the courtroom,[33] to wrecking the business of a commercial rival, to punishment

[27] For love compulsively induced by magic, Cameron (n. 26) also compares Luc. 6.452–4 and 458–60.

[28] Cf. also 9.79 quoted at the beginning of this piece.

[29] Cf. A. Corbeill, *Nature Embodied. Gesture in Ancient Rome* (Princeton and Oxford, 2004), 35–7. Also relevant: C. Faraone, 'New light on ancient Greek exorcisms of the wandering womb', *ZPE* 144 (2003), 189–97, discussing spells in which the offending womb is exhorted to 'stay' or 'remain' in its proper place.

[30] Cf. J.-J. Aubert, 'Threatened wombs. Aspects of ancient uterine magic', *GRBS* 30 (1989), 421–49.

[31] See further W. H. Keulen, *Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses Book 1* (Groningen, 2007) ad loc. (pp. 218–20).

[32] For the bodily attitudes which prevent delivery, cf. also 310–11 and Plin. *HN* 28.59. On womb binding and magic involving the womb more generally, see Aubert (n. 30), S.I. Johnston, *Restless Dead* (Berkeley, 1999), 186 and F. Celoria, *The Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis. A Translation with a Commentary* (London and New York, 1992), 88 (no. 29) and 188–91.

[33] The recently published survey of D.R. Jordan, 'New Greek curse tablets (1985–2000)', *GRBS* 41 (2000), 5–46 is particularly rich in *defixiones* of the judiciary type.

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and disclosure of a theft, to impeding horses and drivers in the circus, to keeping *postes* irresistibly closed by door magic – and, as we have just attempted to demonstrate, to seafaring: in which context, at least according to Aelian and Nonnus, the retardation of the ship is not an incidental effect of the *echeneis*'s attaching itself to the hull but, as is usual in binding magic, an outcome which the binding agent actively canvasses.[34] For a full appreciation however of how the *echeneis* might have been used in *erotic* magic, it is necessary to conjure up a more specific picture than is proffered by the blanket term 'binding spell'. Here it is crucial to note that the *echeneis* 'possess<es> a sucker on the top of its head',[35] whereby it 'fastens on to' or 'attaches itself to' the hull of a ship.[36] The verb which Pliny uses for this process is *adhaerere*,[37] a calque[38] on one of the ancient Greek terms for the fish's practice of adhering to the vessel's side,[39] viz. κολλάω (a characteristic which is also reflected in the MG name for the *echeneis*, κολλησόψαρο). Cf. *Cyranides* 1.13.11–13 ναυκράτης ἰχθὺς θαλάσσιός ἐστιν, ἡ ἐχενηίς. οὗτος ἐὰν κολληθῇ πλοίῳ ἁρμενίζοντι, οὐκ ἐᾷ αὐτὸ κινηθῆναι ὅλως, εἰ μὴ ἀπωσθῇ τῆς τροπίδος αὐτοῦ and 4.18.1–4 Kaimakis ἐχενηὶς ἰχθύς ἐστιν ἐναργής. οὗτος τοιαύτην φυσικὴν δύναμιν ἔχει. ἐὰν κολληθῇ πλοίῳ ἁρμενίζοντι φερομένῳ οὐρείᾳ, ἵστησιν αὐτό.

We may now turn to the use of the same verb, κολλάω, in the erotic spells of the *Greek Magical Papyri*. As Winkler has shown, the conventional designation 'love spells' is a misnomer, since this grossly underplays the elements of sexual violence and compulsion which characterize such texts.[40] Individual amatory spells commonly conclude with a graphically expressed anticipation of sexual congress with the desired party. And in the formularies of the *PGM,* such a wish regularly makes use of the verb κολλᾶν, 'to glue to', a recognized term under the Empire for sexual intimacy,[41] as in the following instances, ἵνα μοι ἄξῃς τὴν δεῖνα καὶ κεφαλὴν κεφαλῇ κολλήσῃ καὶ χείλεα χείλεσι συνάψῃ καὶ γαστέρα γαστρὶ κολλήσῃ καὶ μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῷ μέλανι (pubic hair) συναρμόσῃ καὶ τὰ ἀφροδισιακὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐκτελέσῃ ἡ δεῖνα μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δεῖνα *PGM* 4.400–5 (a φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός); καὶ χαριζομένη μοι ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἐκτελοῦσα, ἃ καθήκει γυναιξὶν πρὸς ἄνδρας, καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ

[34] Ael. *NA* 2.17 speaks of the *echeneis* 'mischievously meeting' (προσφθαρείς) its intended target, Nonnus, *Dion*. 21.46 of its 'attacking' (ἐπέχραε) the vessel, while 36.367–9 also seems to impute malign intent to the fish. For the 'stopping' (ἵστησι) of a ship by magic, cf. also *PGM* 1.115.

[35] D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (Oxford, 1947), 68 with illustration, E. de Saint Denis, *Ovide Halieutiques* (Paris, 1975) *ad Hal*. 99–100.

[36] Ael. *NA* 2.17, Oppian, *Hal*. 1.215–16, 223 and Nonn. *Dion*. 21.47 and 36.368–9 erroneously speak of the fish as fastening its jaws on to the hull of the vessel.

[37] *HN* 9.79, 32.2, 4, 5: cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv*. 641b προσεχομένη.

[38] Cf. *CGL* 2.421.58 προσκολλῶμαι *adhaereo*. Κολλᾶσθαι in the *Septuagint* is often represented in the Latin Vulgate by *adhaereo*, e.g. *Vulg. Gen*. 2.24, *uir adhaerebit* <προσκολληθήσεται> *uxori suae*.

[39] R. Strömberg, *Studien zur Etymologie und Bildung der griechischen Fischnamen* (Göteborg, 1943), 59–60 explains the reasons for the fish's attaching itself to the hull of ships (or to large fish): 1) *remorae* are poor swimmers and only if attached can they traverse large distances, 2) scraps of food dropped by their carrier can be consumed by them.

[40] J.J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (London and New York, 1990), 72.

[41] For κολλάω used thus, cf. *AP* 11.73.7 (Nicarchus), 1 *Cor.* 6.16, *Matt.* 19.5, *Vit. Aesopi* G30 p. 46.14 Perry and the passages from the *Cyranides* cited at the conclusion of the paper. Note also Pl. *Leg*. 776a3–5 ἐν γὰρ ταῖς φιλίαις ἐὰν μὲν πόθος ἐνῇ τις, κολλᾷ καὶ συνδεῖ πάντα ἤθη.

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καὶ ἑαυτῆς ἐπιθυμίᾳ ὑπηρετουμένη ἀόκνως καὶ ἀδυσωπήτως μηρὸν μηρῷ καὶ κοιλίαν κοιλίᾳ κολλῶσα καὶ τὸ μέλαν αὐτῆς τῷ ἐμῷ μέλανι ἡδυτάτῳ … ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ PGM 17a19–25; *SM* 71 frg. 5.2; *ἄξον ἐμοὶ τῷ δεῖνα τὴν δεῖνα καιομένην, πυρουμένην, ἀεροπετουμένην, πεινῶσαν, διψῶσαν, ὕπνου μὴ τυγχάνουσαν, φιλοῦσαν ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτοκεν ἡ δεῖνα, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ, ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ PGM* 36.109–13; *ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμαί, Δίδυμων … καὶ κολλήσῃ αὐτῆς τὰ χίλη εἰς τὰ χίλη μου, τὴν τρίχαν εἰς τὴν τρίχαν μου, τὴν γαστέραν εἰς τὴν γαστέραν μου, τὸ μελάνιον εἰς τὸ μελάνιόν μου, ἕως τελέσω τὴν συνουσίαν μου καὶ τὴν ἀρσενικήν μου φύσιν μετὰ τῆς γυναικίας αὐτῆς φύσεως P. Duk.inv. 230*, 25–30:[42] cf. also *PGM* 36.144–50 and 36.80–4. Significantly, the last passage is prefaced by a prescription for a rite involving sympathetic magic, or, to use the term preferred nowadays, persuasive analogy. This involves inscribing with ass's blood on a clean strip of papyrus certain magical names and a magical figurine (*ζῴδιον*), smearing the papyrus with spirit gum and 'glueing' (*κόλλα*) it to the dry vaulted vapour room of a bathhouse.[43] As E.N. O'Neil notes,[44] the action of 'glueing' the papyrus to the wall will be mimicked in the female target's 'glueing' her female genitals to the genitalia of the male spell caster. This piece of analogical ritual, and the congruence of the verb *κολλάω* in describing both the *echeneis*'s attaching itself to the ship's hull and genital adhesion in the *PGM* suggests a clear frame of reference for the use of the *echeneis* in love philtres. In the same way as the fish adheres to a vessel, so will the pudenda of the desired party 'conjoin' or 'attach' themselves to those of the sexual partner. And in a further linguistic pointer to this interpretation, it may be noted that the uncompounded form of *haereo,* Pliny's preferred term for the action of the sucker fish, was used in Latin of intercourse and various sexual acts.[45]

(4) The preceding paragraphs have suggested, on linguistic and analogical grounds, that the idea of adhesion was central to the deployment of the *echeneis* in erotic ritual. It may be possible to focus the picture a little more sharply by examining further Pliny's account of the *echeneis* at *HN* 9.79. Pliny, as noted, fails to provide an explanatory context for the use of the fish in amatory magic, merely stating, nebulously, 'when the *echeneis* adheres to vessels these are believed to proceed more slowly – whence it has derived its name: for which reason it is notorious also for furnishing love charms etc.' None the less, the overall thrust of the passage, with its repeated emphasis on 'retardation' or 'holding in check' (*naues* ***tardius ire*** *creduntur*; *et iudiciorum ac litium* ***mora***; *fluxus grauidarum utero* ***sistens*** *partusque* ***continens ad*** *puerperium*) does suggest that, to Pliny's mind at least,[46] the notion of *retarding, checking* and *prolonging* was somehow intrinsic to the operation of the fish in love magic.[47] Now there are two contexts in erotic

[42] See D.R. Jordan, 'P. Duk.inv. 230, an erotic spell', *GRBS* 49 (1999), 159–170, who lists p. 169 additional recently published instances of *κολλᾶν* used thus in erotic spells.

[43] For the baths as a locus of harmful magic, cf. K.M. Dunbabin, '*Baiarum grata uoluptas*: pleasures and dangers of the baths', *PBSR* 57 (1989), 6–46 at 33–46.

[44] In Betz (n. 23) ad loc.

[45] Cf. J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982), 181–2.

[46] Abt (n. 9), 139 not implausibly suggested that the original signification of *ἔχειν* in *ἐχενηΐς* was 'to hold fast to ships', but the verbal element in the name was subsequently misinterpreted to mean 'restrain', so that the range of powers imputed to the fish by Pliny represent a false inference based on that misinterpretation.

[47] The anonymous referee for *CQ* draws attention to Artemidorus, *Onir*. 2.14 p. 131 Pack, where boneless fish are said to signify *ἐμπόδια καὶ κατοχάς*.

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magic where the idea of postponement or prolongation is to the fore. These may help to make sense of Pliny's apparent linking of the *echeneis* as love charm with a process of delay or prolongation. The first involves erotic binding spells whereby the possibility of the desired party's forging a relationship elsewhere *is held off for a given period or indeed in perpetuity*. The second, a closely related type of formulation, aims at bringing about coitus between the spell caster and the object of his or her desire, *but further specifies that the union thus effected should be prolonged for a specified time or, more usually, indefinitely*: sometimes in addition it is stipulated that the *defixus*/*a* be constrained to 'stay' or 'remain'[48] with the originator of the spell, magically restrained from sexual intercourse with any other party.

An example of the first type appears in a recently published *defixio* from Pella dating to the fourth century B.C., which seeks to retard as it were in perpetuity the union of Dionysophon with any other woman than the *defigens*. The key lines read 'and were I ever to unfold and read these words again after digging <the tablet> up, only then should Dionysophon marry, not before (*πρότερον δὲ μή*); may he indeed not take another woman than myself'.[49] A further instance is found in the text inscribed within the drawing of a magic ring attached to *PGM* 5.304–69:[50] the crucial words are *μὴ γαμείτω ἡ δεῖνα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*. Here, as the accompanying text and the parallel of other love spells make clear, the intention is that NN should hold off for ever from 'marrying' anyone other than the party responsible for the spell, but instead be conjoined with him in perpetuity – or at least for as long as the magical ring remains ritually buried (325)

Let us turn now to conjurations of the second type, whereby it is desired that, sexual union being once achieved by the agency of the charm, the *defixus*/*a* is thereby to be joined to the originator of the spell, either for ever or, less commonly, for as long as the spell caster wishes.[51] Spells of this type include *PGM* 4.380–406 (a *φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός*), 7.908–16, 11c14–21, 16.6–9 *et passim* and *DT* 271, especially ll.42–6.[52] Of particular relevance in this connexion is the so-called 'pudenda key spell' (*φυσικλείδιον*) at *PGM* 36.283–94. In this the desiring party is advised to smear his penis with a special concoction including the gall of an electric river eel and, while pronouncing the following *λόγος*, 'I say to you, womb of NN, open and receive the seed of NN ... and do you womb, remember me for all the time of my life', to have intercourse with the woman, 'and she will love you alone and by no one else will she ever be laid, except by you alone'. Here it seems that intercourse with the specially doctored phallus has the effect of binding the *ἐρωμένη* inalienably and in perpetuity to the *amator*, an idea repeated in at least one other prescription in the *PGM* for penis ointment, 7.191–2 (a

[48] Cf. *PGM* 4.378–80 *μέχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ ἀχώριστός μου μείνῃ ἡ δεῖνα* (from a *φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός*): 7.910–13: 15.12–13 *ἵνα μου ἐρᾷ Καπετωλίνας καὶ ἀσάλευτός μου ᾖ Νῖλος*: 16.6–8, 15–17, 25–7 *ἕως ἔλθῃ … καὶ ποιήσῃ τὰ καταθύμιά μου πάντα καὶ διαμείνῃ ἐμὲ φιλῶν, ἕως ὅτου εἰς Ἅιδην ἀφίκηται*.

[49] Text and commentary in E. Voutiras, *ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΙ. Marital Life and Magic in Fourth Century Pella* (Amsterdam, 1998).

[50] For the text, see the base of p. 193 of the Preisendanz–Henrichs edition of the *PGM*, vol. 1, for the ring, *Abbildung* 6, vol. 1.

[51] Cf. *PGM* 15.3 *ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ βούλωμαι*, 19a52 with footn. in Betz (n. 23) ad loc., 101.36–8 (ten months), Winkler (n. 40), 230 n. 52.

[52] Cf. also *PGM* 4.2933, 2966, 7.650–1, 15.22, *DT* 267.18–19 and 25, *SM* 38.12, *P. Mich.757* J.12, 25 ed. D. G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI. A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P Mich. 757)*, Atlanta, 1991.

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φιλτοκατάδεσμος (*sic*) αἰώνιος).[53] Of particular note, since they combine the idea of genital 'glueing' (κολλάω) with that of prolongation/erotic exclusivity are some comparable passages of the *Cyranides*.[54] which again involve the binding effects of a special ointment applied to the male organ. The first reads τὸν δὲ ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ ὀρνέου σὺν μέλιτι καὶ σατυρίῳ ἐὰν περιχρίσῃς τὸ αἰδοῖον, μεγίστην ἡδονὴν παρέξει τῷ συνουσιάζοντι πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα. καὶ πάνυ ἀγαπηθήσῃ παρ᾽ αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ κολληθήσεται πλὴν σοῦ (3.7.10–13 Kaimakis), the second prescribes smearing the penis with an unguent made from essentially the same ingredients and ends ἐὰν …<οὕτω> συγγενῆς γυναικί, πάνυ σε ἀγαπήσει καὶ οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ κολληθήσεται πλὴν σοῦ (3.22.4–6 Kaimakis). A further passage, 3.55.15–6 Kaimakis, gives effectively the same procedure in shortened form, τὰ δὲ τῆς κορώνης ὠὰ χριόμενα τοῖς αἰδοίοις ἡδονικά εἰσιν ἄγαν καὶ φιλτροποιά, except that this time the eggs of the κορώνη[55] are the binding agent, as in the φυσικλείδιον spell of *PGM* 36.

Given that the unguent in the last passage is described as φιλτροποιόν, which is reminiscent of Aristotle's phrase, καὶ χρῶνταί τινες αὐτῷ <*sc*. the *echeneis*> πρὸς … φίλτρα, given also that one of the ingredients in the φυσικλείδιον spell of *PGM* 36 comes from a fish (see above), it is tempting to speculate that some part of the *echeneis* might have been used in a magical penis salve much like the preparations mentioned by the various pudenda key spells referred to above. But in the absence of any information from either Aristotle or Pliny as to how precisely the *echeneis* was used in erotic magic, this must remain mere speculation. It seems best therefore to conclude by reiterating the two main suggestions in this paper which rest on firmer textual evidence. First, that notwithstanding the reticence of Aristotle and Pliny regarding the mechanisms whereby the *echeneis* operated as a φίλτρον, those deploying it must have purposed, with unabashed specificity, that the object of their lust should conjoin, κολλᾶν, their private parts with those of the spell caster, in a manner commensurate with the *echeneis*'s attachment of itself to a ship. Second, if the evidence of Pliny is to be credited, the sexual congress effected analogically by the use of the *echeneis*/*remora* had the effect of simultaneously enforcing the prolongation of the relationship thus initiated. We are thus dealing, as so often in the *PMG* and comparable texts, with a love spell which has two interrelated purposes, erotic capture and the retention for ever of the party thus captured: or, to put it another way, with the metaphorical adhesion of the two parties to each other, in the sense that their union is to be indefinitely prolonged and any separation infinitely retarded.

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[53] Cf. also Aubert (n. 30), 427 n. 8. *PDM* 14 contains many recipes for penis ointments, but without specifying everlasting love as the result of its use.

[54] Another possible correlate for this idea is Apul. *Met*. 1.7, *et statim miser, ut cum illa <sc. Meroe saga> adquieui, ab unico congressu annosam ac pestilentem <cladem> contraho*: here, if *cladem* vel. sim. is read, the sense will be that, from a single act of intercourse with the witch, the speaker became bound erotically *over a lengthy period* (*annosam*) to Meroe. Unfortunately the MSS either read ĉ after *pestilentem* or omit the abbreviation entirely, so the interpretation must remain speculative. A full discussion of textual and interpretational problems in Keulen (n. 31) ad loc.

[55] It may also be relevant to the establishment of a long-lived relationship in the three pudenda key spells of the *Cyranides* that the bird used, the crow, was proverbial for longevity.

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