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Votive Body Parts in Greek and Roman Religion

JESSICA HUGHES

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This book examines a type of object that was widespread and very popular in classical antiquity – votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body. It collects examples from four principal areas and time periods: Classical Greece, pre-Roman Italy, Roman Gaul and Roman Asia Minor. It uses a compare-and-contrast methodology to highlight differences between these sets of votives, exploring the implications for our understandings of how beliefs about the body changed across classical antiquity. The book also looks at how far these ancient beliefs overlap with, or differ from, modern ideas about the body and its physical and conceptual boundaries. Central themes of the book include illness and healing, bodily fragmentation, human-animal hybridity, transmission and reception of traditions, and the mechanics of personal transformation in religious rituals.

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This book had its genesis in a Leverhulme-funded project titled *Changing Beliefs of the Human Body*, which was based at the University of Cambridge between 2005 and 2009. This was a collaborative, multi-disciplinary project aimed at tracking how beliefs about the human body changed over time and space between the Neolithic and the present day. I joined the team as a postdoctoral student in late 2005, immediately after completing my PhD in Roman Art at the Courtauld Institute. I owe a great deal to all my colleagues on the Leverhulme project, and especially John Robb, Oliver Harris, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury and Simon Stoddart. Most of all, I owe an enormous debt of thanks to Robin Osborne, who read and commented on every chapter of the book, and who was the most inspiring and generous postdoctoral mentor I could have hoped for.

Whilst writing up my research project I have benefited from being part of a vibrant Department of Classical Studies at the Open University, and I thank all my colleagues there for providing such a supportive and fun environment to work in. I am particularly grateful to Emma-Jayne Graham, Helen King, Janet Huskinson and Phil Perkins, who have each commented on versions of these chapters and enthusiastically shared their knowledge about ancient bodies and archaeology. Beyond the OU, I have also benefited from presenting material at different seminars and conferences. Special mention must go to the participants in the seminar on *Ex-Voto: Votives across Cultures* organised by Ittai Weinryb at the Bard Graduate Center in New York in 2010, and the *Bodies of Evidence* conference organised by Emma-Jayne Graham and Jane Draycott at the British School in Rome in 2012. Further formative encounters happened in the context of the *Memoria Romana* project directed by Karl Galinksy. Although my work on that project addressed a different topic (Roman *spolia*), the time that I spent delving into the literature on Memory Studies shaped much of my subsequent thinking about votives, and the many ways in which these objects intersect with cultural and autobiographical memory.

Many other people have helped me bring this book into being. Three of my past teachers need special thanks: John Murrell at the John Henry Newman School in Stevenage, Mary Beard at Newnham College in Cambridge and

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Votive offerings are profoundly rewarding objects to work with, partly on account of the sense of intimacy that they bring to the study of history and the way in which they make us reflect on the practical, personal and emotional challenges faced by individuals in the past. During the last few years these objects have given me daily reminders about the transience and frailty of human existence, but also about the strength and tenacity of family bonds and friendships. In addition to those already mentioned, I am ever thankful for the presence in my life of Linda, Jon and Nick Hughes, Susan Zacharias, Alida Ferrara, Bruno and Ambra De Martino, and of course my husband Benedetto and our daughters Alice and Micòl. Finally, I would like to record my respectful gratitude to the men and women who first dedicated these votives to their gods, and who have unknowingly given me a precious glimpse of their world, and of other worlds beyond that one.

1 Introduction: Fragments of History

> There was a temple filled with various ornaments, where the barbarians of the area used to make offerings and gorge themselves with meat and wine until they vomited; they adored idols there as if they were gods, and placed there wooden models of parts of the human body whenever some part of their body was touched by pain.[1]
>
> *Gregory of Tours*

> The typical forms of the ex-voto, such as the anatomical forms, have practically never evolved – neither in size, nor in the choice of materials, nor in the techniques of manufacture, nor even in the 'style' of figuration, which it would be better to qualify as a formal insensibility to any affirmation of style – from Greek, Etruscan or Roman Antiquity, to what we can still observe today in the Christian sanctuaries of Cyprus, Bavaria, Italy or the Iberian Peninsula.[2]
>
> *George Didi-Huberman*

On Easter Monday in 1450, in the small town of Sant'Anastasia near Naples, a young boy lost a ball-game and, in a fit of pique, hurled the ball at an image of the Madonna that was painted into a nearby roadside shrine.[3] These events would hardly have gone down in history, had not the image – to the amazement and horror of those gathered – begun to bleed profusely down its left cheek. In the years that followed, a sanctuary was built on the spot, which became, and remains, one of the most important sites of pilgrimage in the whole of Catholic Europe. The bleeding face was the first miracle of many. Over the centuries, countless numbers of the faithful have been saved from death and disaster by the Madonna dell'Arco: evidence of these events can be seen today in the huge accumulation of ex-votos displayed in the sanctuary and its adjoining museum, which was inaugurated in the Jubilee year 2000. While the dedications include many different kinds of objects (crutches, medical instruments, degree certificates, photographs, clothes,

[1] Gregory of Tours, *Vitae patrum* 6.2 *De sancto Gallo episcopo*. Translation James (1985), 53–4.
[2] Didi-Huberman (2007), 7.
[3] For an introduction to the history of the sanctuary and the miracles performed there, see Giardino and De Cristoforo (1996).

Figure 1.1 Ex-voto body parts on display in 2011 in the sanctuary of the Madonna dell'Arco, S. Anastasia, near Naples.

hair), two types of votive gift predominate: the painted wooden tablets, which depict the intercession of the Virgin in the varied disasters of life, and the metal body parts which represent the part of the body that has been (or hopefully will be) healed from illness. These latter line the walls of the sanctuary's corridors, elaborately arranged on panels for the visitor's contemplation (Figure 1.1). Almost every part of the body is represented, including eyes, ears, hands, mouths, hearts, legs and the 'dissected' torsos which plot the internal organs in relief on the surface of the chest and stomach.

These votive body parts are not unique to the Madonna dell'Arco sanctuary, nor even to the Catholic faith. They are found at sanctuaries of different creeds all over the world, from Orthodox churches in Greece to Hindu temples in southern India.[4] Moreover, the practice has deep historical roots: 'anatomical' votives are found at least as far back as classical antiquity, when model body parts in metal, marble, wood and terracotta were dedicated in the sanctuaries of the gods of Greece and Rome. Like the later Christian offerings, these ancient models often appear to have

[4] For examples of votives from a range of geographical and cultural contexts, see Francis (2007) and Weinryb (2016).

been dedicated in thanks or expectation of a bodily healing miracle: this, at least, is the reading suggested by the tiny handful of literary texts which mention the practice, as well as by the occasional inscriptions found on the objects themselves, their frequent archaeological findspots in sanctuaries of ancient healing deities, and comparison with similar objects from later periods such as the Catholic ex-votos from the sanctuary of the Madonna dell'Arco.[5] Other body parts were no doubt appropriated for other reasons besides healing, although in most cases it is impossible to reconstruct the stories behind their dedication. Crucially – following what Day has described as the 'dissolution of the link between offering and dedicant' – the vast majority of viewers in antiquity would also have been left to wonder at the narrative behind many of the votives that they saw in sanctuaries, thereby creating an intimate relationship between dedicant and deity from which all other viewers were excluded.[6]

This book aims to track how and why the anatomical votive cult developed and spread in classical antiquity, and to shed light on some of the varied meanings that these objects held for their ancient users and viewers. It is structured around four case-studies of anatomical votives from different chronological and geographical contexts – four discrete snapshots, which are then woven together to construct a 'moving picture' of the anatomical votive cult in the ancient world. Chapter 2 looks at the early anatomical votive cult in fifth- and fourth-century BC Greece, exploring how these objects might be tied to emergent views of the body in the Classical period. Chapter 3 then moves across the Mediterranean to examine votive body parts in the sanctuaries of Republican central Italy, focusing on how and why these clay models differ from the votives studied in the previous chapter. After this, Chapters 4 and 5 use the examples of Roman Gaul and Asia Minor to investigate how the anatomical votive cult developed away from the classical 'centre', in each case again considering how these manifestations of the ritual relate to the material discussed in earlier chapters. This comparative approach leads to an understanding of the votive cult that is flexible and mutating: in this sense, it differs from the picture painted in the work of earlier scholars (including Didi-Huberman, cited above), who

[5] For a discussion of the evidence relating votives to healing, see Schultz (2006), 100–9. Most literary texts mentioning anatomical votives are Christian and later in date than the practices they describe. In addition to the passage from Gregory of Tours (above, n. 1), see Theoderet *Graecarum affectionem curatio* 8.64; Augustine *De civitate Dei* 6.9 (on parts of the body dedicated in temples of Liber and Libera for the hope of successful ejaculation); 1 Samuel 5.6–6.12 (on anatomical votives dedicated by the Philistines – see further discussion below).

[6] Day (1994), 40.

have preferred to see the longevity of the anatomical votive cult as evidence of a long and unbroken continuity in bodily beliefs and practices.

Anatomical votives are challenging objects to work with, partly on account of the difficulties involved in counting and dating them accurately (the contextual archaeological evidence is often frustratingly scant), but also because they challenge some of our most deep-rooted modern beliefs and ideas about how the body was represented and perceived in classical antiquity. It is important to state at the outset that this book does *not* attempt to present an exhaustive account of all the extant archaeological evidence for anatomical votives across the ancient world. The goal, instead, is to focus on a relatively small number of deposits, as well as on individual objects from within those deposits, and to start thinking about how this material might be interpreted in the light of the shifting social and cultural background against which the votives were dedicated. 'Interpretation' here often means looking beyond the original, often irretrievable intention of the dedicant, to consider instead what these objects might reveal about the more tacit beliefs held by those who used and viewed them. In part, this involves looking closely at which body parts were represented in particular contexts, and also at *how* these parts were represented. My approach also involves acknowledging that anatomical votives do much more than simply indicate sick parts of an individual's body, as has normally been assumed.[7] In fact, another central theme of the book is that of fragmentation, and over the pages that follow I will demonstrate how, in the material forms of these votives, physical suffering became intertwined with other ideas and images centred on the broken or 'rebuilt' body – from sickness and sacrifice to human-animal hybridity and the creation of the ancient 'body politic'.

Scholarship on Votive Offerings

Until recently, anatomical votives have remained on the margins of classical scholarship. Model body parts do not generally appear in standard textbooks on ancient art, nor in books about the representation of the classical body, and for most of the last century the discussion of anatomical votives was dominated by historians of medicine and religion. One of the earliest

[7] To give one typical example: in his publication of the votives from Corinth, Carl Roebuck notes that the votives 'should probably […] be regarded as thank offerings for the cure of some ailment of which the general nature or location is indicated by the part represented'. Roebuck (1951), 117. Other publications acknowledge the fact that anatomical votives may have been dedicated *before* healing, as a request for a future miracle, but the underlying assumption is still the same: the form of the votive, which isolates the body part from the context of the whole body, serves (only) to illustrate the part of the body that was (or had recently been) malfunctioning.

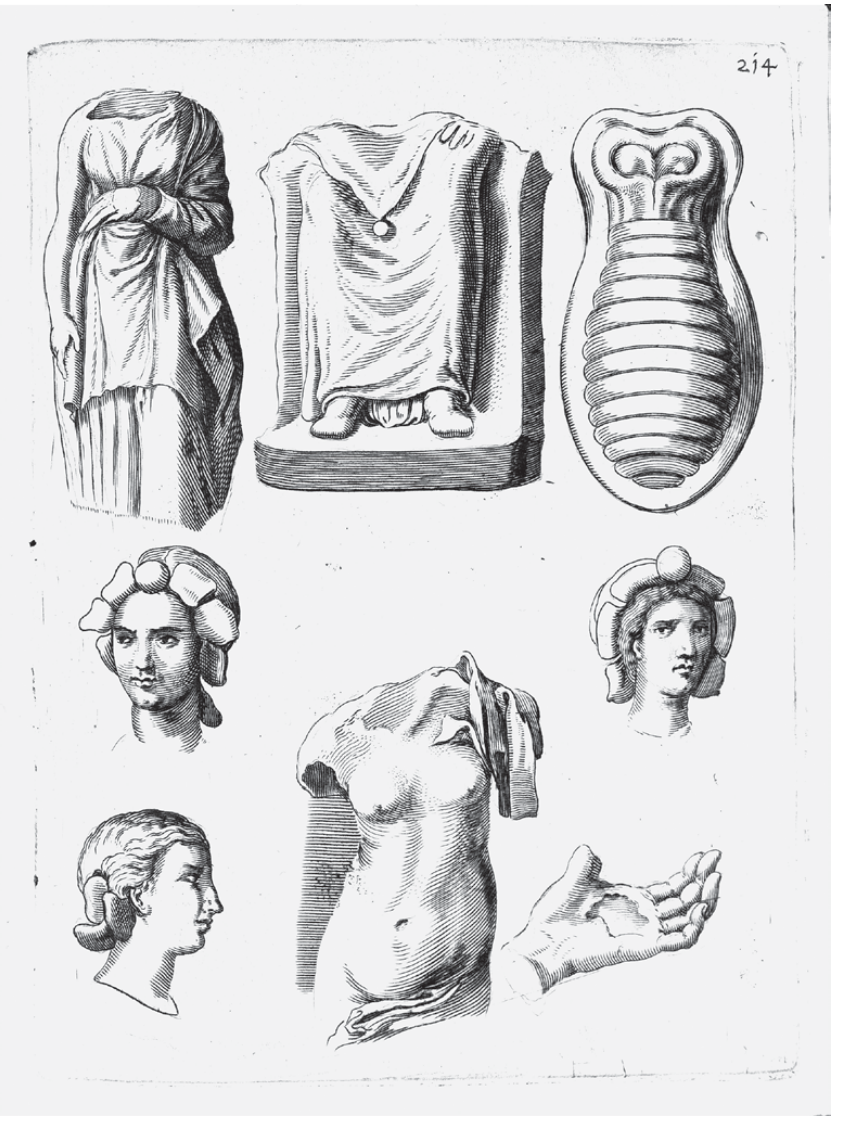

Figure 1.2 Plate from Tomasini *De donariis ac tabellis votivis liber singularis* (1639).

attested discussions of anatomical votives appears in a 1639 text by the Paduan bishop and intellectual Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, *De donariis ac tabellis votivis liber singularis* ('A monograph on votive offerings and votive tablets'), which was dedicated to the cardinal Francesco Barberini.[8] Tomasini was interested in all different types of ancient votive offerings, including anatomical models, and he briefly discussed and illustrated these objects in his discussion of the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi in central Italy (Figure 1.2).

[8] Tomasini (1639).

His book was then cited in one of the earliest studies devoted entirely to the anatomical votives: the 1746 thesis by Johann Jakob Frey titled *Disquisitio de more diis simulacra membrorum consecrandi: ad illustrandum cap. VI prioris libri Samuelis* ('A thesis on the custom of dedicating images of limbs to the gods: to illustrate Chapter VI of the first book of Samuel').[9] Frey's subtitle referred to the Old Testament story in which the Philistines dedicate golden models of their anuses (or, according to some interpretations, their buttocks) after they had been punished by God with a plague, following the theft of the sacred Ark of the Covenant.[10] This biblical narrative is analysed in the final chapter of Frey's text, where he focuses on diagnosing the disease suffered by the Philistines.[11] The rest of his book ostensibly fills in some of the background to this story by discussing the origins and various aspects of the anatomical votive ritual in pagan and early Christian antiquity, from the role of body parts in the cults of Asklepios, Minerva and Diana, to the continued use of such objects by the Franks and Germans.[12] Notably, one of the passages discussed by Frey would prove extremely useful to later scholars who wished to argue that anatomical votives worked to 'substitute' the real body of the dedicant: this was a section of Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi* (*Sacred Tales*) which describes how the god Asklepios appeared to the sick Aristides in a dream, instructing him to dedicate a (real) finger as a *pars pro toto* offering on behalf of his whole body; when Aristides complained that this was too great a demand, he was allowed to dedicate a ring instead.[13] We will return to consider this passage in Chapter 5 of this book.

The next significant study of anatomical votives was a 1902 monograph written by Cambridge schoolteacher, W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion*.[14] Rouse classified ancient votive offerings according to the motives for which they appeared

[9] Cf. Pezold (1710), another early dissertation on 'human body parts consecrated to gods'.

[10] 1 Samuel 5.6–6.12.

[11] Later discussions of this passage would also focus on retrospective diagnosis. The disease suffered by the Philistines has variously been interpreted as dysentry, bubonic plague and bacillary dysentry, which can lead to piles. See Josephus *Antiquitates Judaicae* 6.3, Harris (1921), Shrewsbury (1949), Lust (1990), Freemon (2005). For more on this passage see Schultz (2006), 187 n. 37 and Aejmelaeus (2007), 250–2: Schultz notes that 'The Masoretic commentary on the Hebrew text of Samuel (written perhaps as early as the eighth century AD and designed to promote stability of the Hebrew text) indicates that *ofolim* ought to be replaced with *tchorim*, "hemorrhoids").' Aejmelaeus suggests that the Greek εἰς τὰς ἕδρας is a 'euphemistic circumlocation' according to which buttocks were made to stand for emerods. Aejmelaeus (2007), 250–2; see also Lust (1990). For votive representations of buttock regions see e.g. Forsén (1996), plates 20, 21, 31, 62.

[12] Frey (1746), 12.

[13] Aelius Aristides *Hieroi Logoi* 48.27.

[14] Rouse (1902).

to have been dedicated, which ranged from 'war' and 'domestic life' to 'memorials of honour and office' and 'disease and calamity'. This last category was then subdivided into 'images of the deliverer', 'person delivered', 'act or process' and 'miscellaneous'. Like other scholars before and after him, Rouse took it for granted that the anatomical votives portrayed the body of the mortal worshipper rather than the deity, and placed them alongside other images of the 'person delivered' which took the form of 'whole body' reliefs and portrait statues.[15] He enumerated the types of body part found in Greek sanctuaries, and briefly considered how these might reflect ancient epidemiology. For instance, in relation to the body parts mentioned in the inventory inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Athens, Rouse commented that: 'The favourite disease in Athens during the fourth century seems to have been bad eyes: votive eyes, in ones and twos, make up two-fifths of the whole number. Next to the eyes come the trunk: this may betoken internal pains, or it may include various segments of the body which would tell different tales if we could see them.'[16] Rouse also indicated how the votives might fit into a Winckelmannian paradigm of classical art history as a history of decline, remarking that 'this custom [of dedicating body parts] shows how low the artistic tastes of the Greeks had already fallen.'[17]

Rouse was certainly not alone amongst his contemporaries in seeing the votive body parts as objects of historical interest rather than aesthetic appeal, and other studies from around the turn of the century focused on how the votives might be used as diagnostic tools for ancient illnesses. Studies of this kind were often written by physicians who had an interest in the history of their discipline, and were published in journals of medicine whose readership consisted primarily of other doctors. In 1895, for example, Dr Luigi Sambon published a two-part illustrated article in the *British Medical Journal* titled 'Donaria of Medical Interest in the Oppenheimer Collection of Etruscan and Roman Antiquities', which described and illustrated a series of 'instruments of surgery, pharmaceutical appliances, and painted tablets with miraculous healing', as well as 'the most interesting and least known of the *donaria*', models of the limbs and viscera.[18] Sambon picked out a handful of votives which he saw as reflecting ancient knowledge of human anatomy and pathology, including the models of phalli suffering from phimosis

[15] Cf. Recke (2013), 1074: 'The most important basis, from which all interpretive approaches proceed, is the recognition that the anatomical votives, as well as the relevant statues and heads, do not depict the deity revered, but rather mortal men.'

[16] Rouse (1902), 212. On these inscriptions, see the discussion in Chapter 2 of this book.

[17] Rouse (1902), 210–11. On Winckelmann and classical art history see Potts (1994); Harloe (2013).

[18] Sambon (1895); cf. Rouquette (1911).

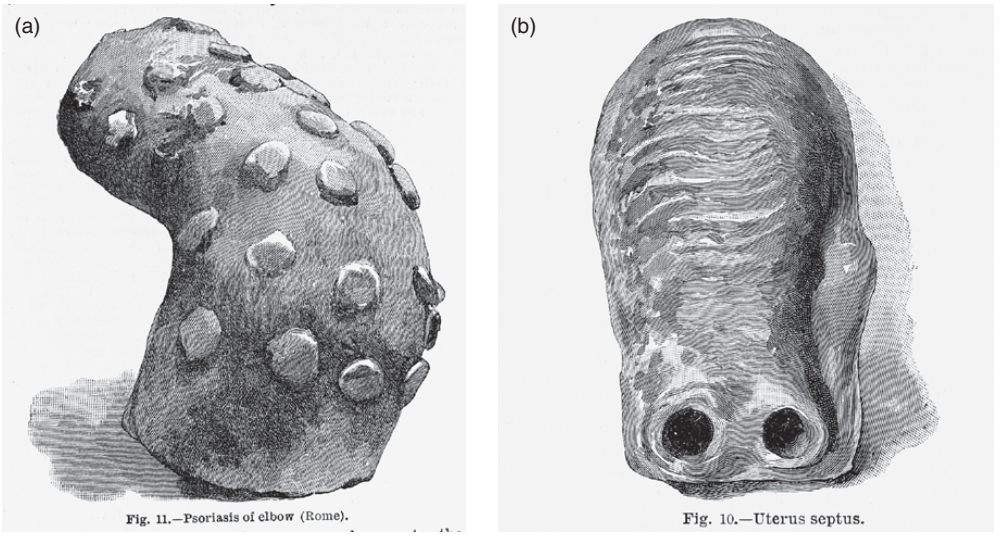

Figure 1.3 Two 'diagnostic' images of votives, from the 1895 edition of the *British Medical Journal* (Sambon 1895). Left: 'elbow with psoriasis'; right: 'uterus septus'.

(a condition related to venereal disease), an elbow afflicted with psoriasis, and the model uteri with double openings (Figure 1.3). These last Sambon regarded as evidence of *uterus septus*, a congenital malformation in which the uterus opening is divided by a longitudinal wall, which he suggested may have been seen as associated with twin pregnancies.[19]

Medical history approaches would continue to dominate scholarship on anatomical offerings for the rest of the century, and normally involved scholars analysing the votives for visual signs of illnesses. Anatomical votives appeared in the context of more general studies of art and medicine, such as Höllander's 1912 study of *Plastik und Medizin*, and Grmek and Gourevitch's 1998 book on *Les maladies dans l'art antique*, as well as in later archaeological publications of particular sites, which sometimes included sections on votives and retrospective diagnosis. Miranda Green's 1994 publication of archaeological material from the sanctuary of Dea Sequana near Dijon (on which see Chapter 4 below) uses the anatomical votives to diagnose a series of illnesses suffered by pilgrims to the site, including goitre, trachoma, arrested hydrocephalus, Paget's disease, Bell's Palsy, ulcers, infective osteitis of the skull, neuralgia, tuberculosis, leprosy, rickets, diabetes, osteomyelitis, poliomyelitis, post-traumatic Achilles tendinitis, Marfan's syndrome, gout, and a small umbilical hernia.[20] Others have taken a slightly

[19] Phimosis: Sambon (1895), 148. Elbow: Sambon (1895), 217. Uteri: Sambon (1895), 150.

[20] Green (1999), 35–53 (chapter on 'Anatomy and Pathology' co-authored with Richard Newell).

different approach, counting numbers of model body parts from a particular site and then using these figures as evidence for illnesses commonly suffered by people in that area. For example, in a study of terracotta votives from Etruria, Tim Potter took the large number of genitals in urban centres of Italy as evidence for a correspondingly high incidence of sexually transmitted diseases, and the high numbers of limbs in rural areas as reflecting the greater risk of accidents in an agricultural environment.[21]

One refreshing deviation from these medical-historical studies appeared in 1935, when an Italian historian of religion named Adalberto Pazzini wrote a paper on 'Il significato degli "ex voto" ed il concetto della divinità guaritrice'. Pazzini's work reflected the contemporary anthropological interest in subaltern cultures, and he drew comparisons between the ancient anatomicals and the modern Italian Catholic uses of ex-votos, which he attributed with a commemorative ('pro memoria') function. Unlike his history of medicine colleagues who focused on identifying the symptoms suffered by individual dedicants, Pazzini was interested the broader 'mechanics' of ancient votive religion – that is, how and why the original users thought that these objects worked to heal the body. Drawing on contemporary anthropological theory, and in particular on the notions of sacrificial substitution and sympathetic magic, Pazzini constructed a complex argument which can be summarised as follows: in antiquity, bodily illness was perceived as punishment sent by the gods; a person suffering sickness realised that they needed to expiate their transgression in order to appease the god and cure the disease; for this reason they dedicated a votive offering, which functioned as a 'substitute' offering for the real limb (which would otherwise have continued to suffer or waste away). Pazzini drew heavily on the Philistines passage from the Book of Samuel already singled out by Frey, which wove the anatomical votives into precisely this pattern of transgression and expiation. The aforementioned passage from Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi* was also useful to Pazzini, since it showed the logics of substitution

[21] Potter and Wells (1985). For other examples of this approach see Roebuck (1951), 114–15 (cited above, on the high numbers of eye votives found in the Asklepieion at Athens); Bernard and Vassal (1958); Marinatos (1960), 30; Chaviara-Karahalio (1990); Chaniotis (1995). A critique of this approach is Kuriyama (2000), who points out that similar morphologies are produced by a variety of diseases, while the tastes and the disproportionate interests of consumers in certain pathologies will have led to them being over-represented by ancient artists (the popular figure of the 'hunchback' is one good example). Furthermore, as Tim Potter has warned, features that appear pathological to modern viewers may not, in fact, have been recognised as such in antiquity, but may have been used instead as a means of personalising otherwise anonymous offerings through reference to the dedicant's distinctive but healthy bodily features. Potter and Wells (1985). He suggests comparing the evidence from skeletal remains to build up a more accurate picture of ancient illness.

(in this case, a ring being accepted instead of a real finger) at work in the ancient healing sanctuary.

A number of book chapters and articles on votives have appeared over the years since Pazzini's study was published, and interest in the topic has intensified over the past two decades.[22] This is in part due to the systematic excavation and publication of new material, particularly from sites in central Italy, but also because these objects dovetail neatly with broader intellectual trends such as the rise in interest in gender and 'the body' as fields of analysis and, more recently, the development of the discipline of 'material religion'.[23] Alongside the continuing healthy interest in retrospective diagnosis, the recent scholarship has also produced more oblique and creative perspectives on the relationship between the votives and the human body. Two contributions need singling out here, since they have certain themes and approaches in common with the current study. The first is Nicholas Rynearson's 2003 article 'The Construction and Deconstruction of the Body in the Cult of Asklepios', and the second is Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis' work on Asklepios and Aelius Aristides. Both these scholars have suggested that the visual form of the votive might have other functions besides that of simply indicating the location of illness and/or cure. Focusing on votives from Classical Greek Asklepiea, Rynearson has perceptively argued that the fragmented form of the anatomical votive served to contain as well as localise the illness, and that it contrasted with the whole, healed body of the dedicant.[24] He suggests that this was a specifically 'Asklepian' form of representation, which finds parallels in inscriptional evidence from healing sanctuaries, namely the *iamata* inscriptions from Epidauros (see Chapter 2 below for further discussion). Petsalis-Diomidis has also engaged with the notion of fragmentation, suggesting that by classifying the body in parts the patient regained control over the sick body; her work also shifts focus away from the individual dedicant and onto later visitors to the sanctuary, exploring

[22] An excellent sample of recent work in English can now be found in the collection of papers edited by Jane Draycott and Emma-Jayne Graham, *Bodies of Evidence: Ancient Anatomical Votives Past, Present and Future*, which had its genesis in a 2012 conference at the British School at Rome. I am very grateful to the editors and individual contributors for allowing me to read drafts of these chapters whilst I was preparing the final version of this book. The introductory chapter by Graham and Draycott gives further background on the study of anatomical votives and new approaches. Graham and Draycott (2017), 1–19.

[23] For an overview of the vast fields of body and gender studies, see Harris and Robb (2013), with futher bibliography. For examples of the 'material turn' in religious studies, good starting points are *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* and the *Material Religions* blog <http://materialreligions.blogspot.co.uk>. See also Morgan (2005) and (2008); Paine (2000) and (2013); Plate (2014).

[24] Rynearson (2003).

how these offerings worked together with other images and their broader architectural context to construct the ancient experience of the sanctuary space.[25] Insofar as they adopt a viewer-centred approach to the votives, which furthermore recognises the semantic power of the fragmented form, these earlier works represent important precursors for the current study.

One other recent trend in votive studies is that scholars have begun to reconsider the possible intentions which led to the dedication of individual votives, acknowledging the fact that these models may have been appropriated for reasons other than healing. As Fay Glinister has neatly summarised:

> While it is certainly valid to attribute a healing connection to many anatomical terracottas, it is worth remembering that other, quite varied interpretations of these terracottas are possible. For example, although male genitals (and the much rarer female external genitals) may be connected with venereal diseases, or with aspects of fertility, they could also relate to rites of passage (e.g. puberty: examples are often infantile). Heads or half-heads could be associated with medical problems such as headaches or ear, nose and throat complaints, but they could also simply represent the worshipper. Feet could symbolize pilgrims, pilgrimages, or secular journeys; hands could represent prayer, or the power of a god. Ears could imply the willingness of a god to listen to human requests … And so on.[26]

In fact, some of the most interesting work on anatomical votives has been devoted to exploring alternative meanings for these objects, by carefully recontextualising them within their particular cultural and religious contexts. Already in 1997 Joan Reilly suggested that the models of truncated female bodies represented on Attic grave stelai were anatomical votives dedicated *not* at times of illness, but rather at the potentially dangerous moment of menarche, the first menstrual period (Figure 1.4).[27] Attilio Mastrocinque has proposed that some of the head models from Italic sanctuaries might be seen as related to archaic Italic rituals of consecrating heads to the chthonic gods of the underworld.[28] Georgia Petridou's recent study of eye-models found in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore reflects on the innate ambiguity and polyvalency of these objects, which she argues can be understood not only as references to a physical, opthalmological cure but also as 'mementos of the intense visual experiences their dedicants may have had as part of

[25] Esp. Petsalis-Diomidis (2006), 213–14, where she uses inscriptional evidence and literary texts to give insight into the varied responses of sanctuary visitors to the votive offerings on display.

[26] Glinister (2006), 11–12; see also Green (1999); Girardon (1993); Schultz (2006), 102–9; Recke (2013), 1074–7; Cazanove (2013), 23–4.

[27] Reilly (1997). On menarche, see King (1998), esp. 75–98.

[28] Mastrocinque (2005).

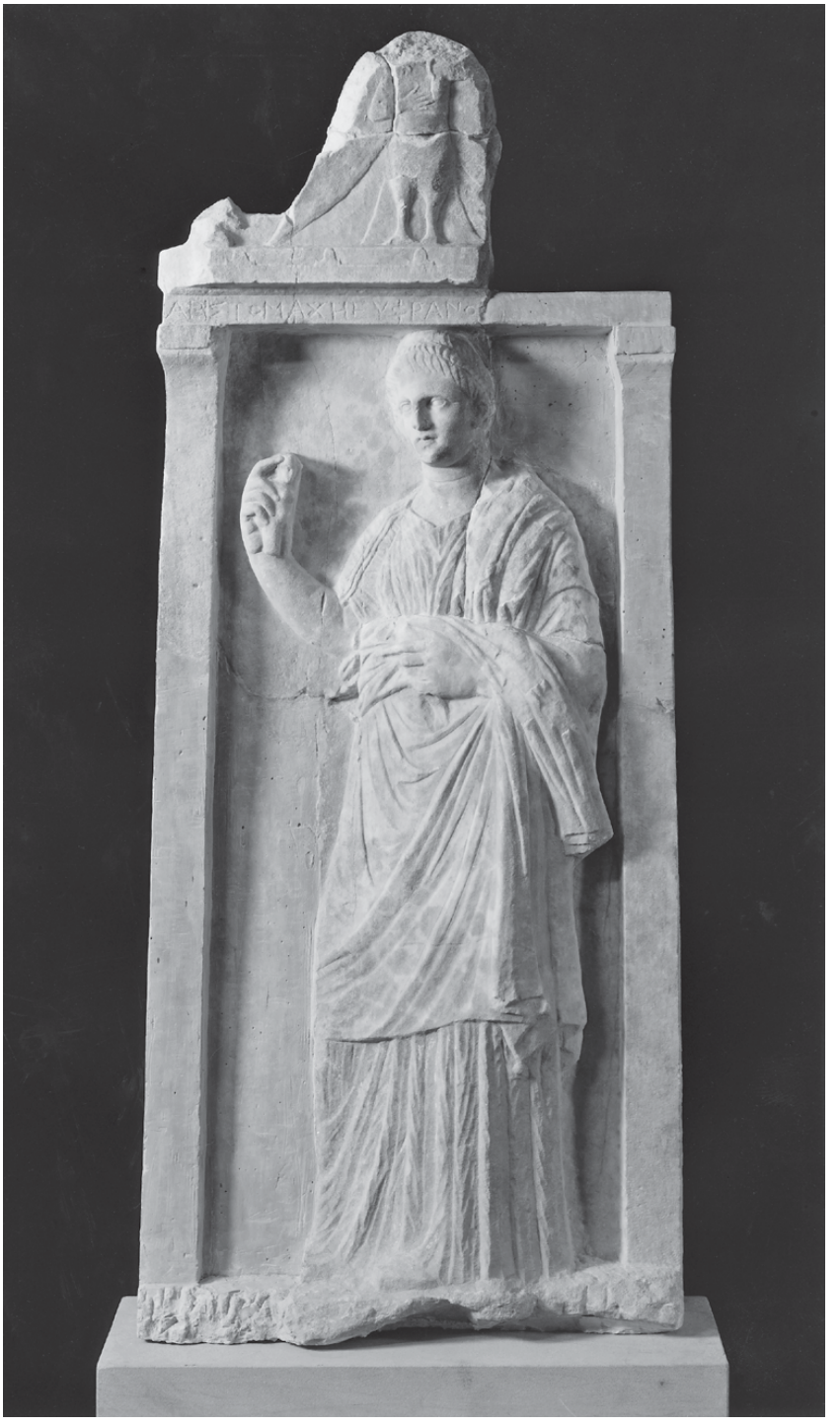

Figure 1.4 Grave stele of Aristomache, c.330–320 BC.

their participation in mysteric rites performed in honour of the two goddesses.'[29] As these scholars and several others have demonstrated, the careful historical contextualisation of votives can indicate a broader range of possible meanings for these objects, which are consequently shown to have a much wider relevance to ancient society and religion than has previously been realised.

New Approaches: (1) Fragmentation and (2) Continuity vs Change in the Anatomical Votive Tradition

This book has several themes in common with the more recent work on anatomical votives, such an interest in how these offerings related to broader ancient understandings of illness and healing, as well as a willingness to try and recreate the other, 'non-healing' meanings they may have held for their dedicants and viewers. In several places, the focus is shifted away from the dedicant and onto the effects that these objects had on their viewers, and how they may have accumulated additional, sometimes unintentional layers of meaning through their juxtaposition with other objects. I also develop Pazzini's earlier triangulation of votives, punishment, and expiation. Inscriptions on the Lydian votive stelai discussed in Chapter 5 explicitly demonstrate the dedicant's understanding that the sick body part has been punished by a god, and that the stele is being dedicated in recompense for a transgression; meanwhile, the visual imagery of votives from other parts of the ancient world brings them close to the imagery of mythical punishments. Thus, whilst I acknowledge that Pazzini's complex theory is far from watertight or rigidly applicable, many of the interpretations offered in this book also make connections between votives and divine punishment.

The book also picks up and develops the theme of fragmentation which other scholars have already identified as a fruitful area of analysis.[30] One central aim is to force readers to recognise the shocking, unsettling, even violent qualities of the anatomical votives – qualities that tend to be suppressed in academic discussions of these objects. I argue throughout that these votives always have the potential to disturb, alarm, even disgust their

[29] Petridou (2017), 111.

[30] On fragmentation and the body in antiquity and later historical periods see Elsen (1969) (1969–70); Pingeot (1990); Most (1992); the essays in Renaudin (1992); Nochlin (1994); duBois (1996); Kristeva (1998); Petrone and D'Onofrio (2004); Ferris (2007); Tronzo (2009); Adams (2017).

viewers, by presenting them with pieces of a body that appears to have been dismembered. As we shall see, some of the votive body parts evoke violence more strongly than others; in fact, we might imagine the votives in this book arranged along a 'dismemberment spectrum' ranging from the lifesize fleshy coloured terracotta models at one end ('strong' images of dismemberment, which become even stronger when they are viewed collectively), to miniature metal offerings or images safely contained within ornate marble relief frames at the other ('suppressed' images of dismemberment). These latter, 'suppressed' examples disavow the threat of dismemberment by distancing the body part from reality, but they do not dissipate it entirely. Instead, images of isolated body parts can always be seen in these potentially violent terms; even portrait busts – a deeply naturalised form of partial representation that few of us would automatically associate with violence – can suddenly be reassessed as images of decapitation, as Pliny's famous description of the triumphal portrait head of Pompey bleakly demonstrates.[31]

In addition to drawing attention to the ominous, unsettling qualities of the votive body parts, this book also seeks to demonstrate that the fragmentary form of the votives was a deeply meaningful form of representation, one which gave these objects multiple levels of symbolic meaning. At the most basic level, votive body parts drew the god's (and the mortal viewers') attention to a particular part of an individual's body – often a part that was sick, or had recently been healed. But the votive body parts were so much richer than this, and their fragmentary form meant that they could simultaneously reflect other aspects of the broader ancient discourse about human bodies (and their disassembly into pieces). It might help to remind ourselves here that the representation of the body in parts is not the only (nor indeed the most 'natural') way of indicating a particular part of the human body. Figure 1.6 depicts a pair of votive figurines from the site of Neapolis in Sardinia, which have been interpreted as images of sick people, dedicated for similar purposes as the votive body parts studied in this book.[32] They belong to a much larger series of over 220 figurines dating from the fourth century BC and are thus roughly contemporary with the Classical Greek anatomical votives discussed in the next chapter of this book. Like the isolated votive body parts, these figurines successfully draw the viewer's attention to one specific part of the body; however, *un*like the

[31] Pliny *NH* 37.14-16 on the triumph of 61 BC. Cf. Beard (2007), 35, who notes that 'the head of pearls in his greatest triumphal procession already presaged Pompey's humiliating end' (he was to be beheaded in 48 BC). For further discussion of the 'dual ontological status' of body parts, see the introduction in Hillman and Mazzio (1997).

[32] Moscati (1989).

Figure 1.5 Marble portrait head of Pompey, c.70–62 BC.

anatomical votives, the figurines keep that specific point within the context of the worshipper's whole, unbroken body, whose boundaries and proportions are respected and preserved. Although the Neapolis figurines come from another cultural context, they remind us that there are alternative ways of drawing attention to a sick body part which do *not* involve cutting the body up into its constituent pieces. I will show in this book how ancient viewers themselves recognised and experimented with the fragmentary

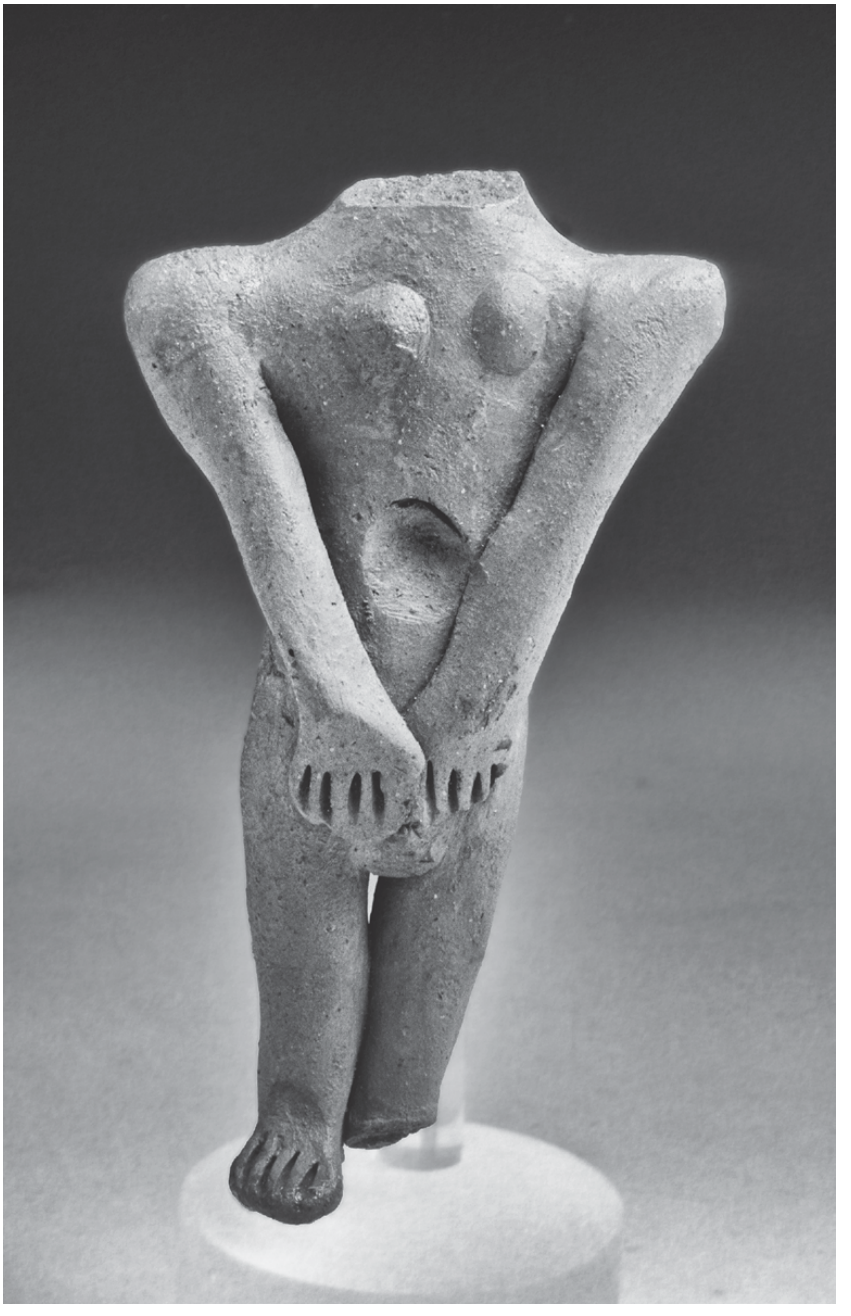

Figure 1.6 Terracotta figurines from Neapolis, Sardinia, fourth century BC.

Figure 1.6 (*cont.*)

quality of the anatomical votives, and I will also demonstrate how this form of bodily representation tied into other contemporary ways of representing and understanding the human body. While the basic 'localisation' function of the votives is a constant throughout all historical periods, we will see how fragmentation often endows these objects with further symbolic resonances, helping them to communicate and dramatise scenarios such as the breakdown of the body in illness and its remaking as a whole or healthy body (Chapter 2), the formation of human-animal hybrids and the symbolic enactment of metamorphosis (Chapter 3), the conflict of gods versus mortals, or even mortals versus mortals (Chapter 4), and the symbolic visualisation of an 'imagined community' or 'body politic' (Chapter 5).

One important difference between this book and the earlier studies lies in the comparative approach adopted here, and the wide chronological and geographical scope that this involves. Most existing studies (with a few exceptions, such as the 1981 survey of votive body parts from across the ancient world by F. T. van Straten) have focused on anatomical votives from one particular site or region. This site-specific approach does have some advantages – for instance, it allows for the detailed cataloguing of votive objects in a single deposit, and shows how the anatomicals from that deposit fit into a particular constellation of objects and architecture. But at the same time, this approach does not bring out how far anatomical votives differ from place to place, and as a consequence it frequently underplays the unique properties of votives at the site in question. In fact, the literature on anatomical votives often stresses the startling *continuity* of anatomical votives across time and space – not only within antiquity, but also throughout later history, and across different creeds and cultures. David Freedberg, for instance, dwells on the votives' 'striking internal consistency' as a category, while Maria Fenelli (commenting on the Etrusco-Italic material discussed in Chapter 3 of this book) highlights their 'surprising continuity of forms'.[33] Other studies of votives bear such titles as 'The Formal Continuities between Ancient *Donaria* and Modern *Ex-votos*' and 'Traces of Cultural Continuity between Paganism and Christianity', again emphasising notions of endurance and tradition.[34] Some scholars have even seen the votives as evidence of universal cognitive frameworks: we hear them described as 'very primitive ideas, rooted deep in a human, all-too-human essence across every time and every country', while others note that 'these

[33] Freedberg (1989), 153; Fenelli (1975a), commenting on the 'sorprendente continuità di forme'.

[34] Capparoni (1927), original title 'La persistenza delle forme degli antichi "Donaria" anatomici negli "ex-voto" moderni'; Rossi (1986), original title 'Tracce di continuità culturale fra paganesimo e cristianesimo' (my translations).

Figure 1.7 Marble votive relief from the sanctuary of the hero-physician Amynos at Athens, dedicated by Lysimachides. End of the fourth century BC.

offerings effectively respond to a primitive need, which springs from the deepest parts of the human being'.[35] Such claims seem to suggest that votives might be spontaneously reinvented in different periods and places, and that the impulse to create and dedicate anatomical votives is somehow hard-wired in the human brain.

Where the relationship between anatomical votives from different places or periods has been explicitly considered, it is the 'continuity narrative' that emerges as strongest. As this book will demonstrate, however, this emphasis on continuity belies the many differences between the ancient anatomical votives – differences which can help us to reconstruct how the votives were adapted and modified to fit different craft traditions, as well as changing beliefs about the human body and mortal–divine relations. We find votive body parts being represented in different materials – amongst them clay, stone, wood and precious metals – and at different scales (miniature, lifesize, and even colossal – see Figure 1.7). The range of body parts represented also changes as we move around the ancient world: for instance, as we shall see, ancient Greek deposits include no representations of the internal organs, while deposits from Roman Gaul include 'novel' representations of heads stacked one on top of another. Besides the claims made about fragmentation, then, the other central contention of this study is the following: that tracking the differences between anatomical votives is useful, that it can highlight *and* help us to understand the unique qualities of votives at particular sites, and that, in showing how different populations received and reshaped the votive tradition, it can give us some valuable insight into changing beliefs about the ancient body.

The juxtaposition of the following four case-studies is thus intended to make the reader notice and contemplate the differences between anatomical votives, and to reflect on how their visual properties (the techniques of manufacture, materials, scale, iconography, the modes in which they were displayed and then disposed of, and so on) might tie into broader social and religious beliefs about bodies and material culture in those particular

[35] The first citation is from Schlosser (1911), 72: 'Es sind im Grund wieder ganz primitive Vorstellungen, die tief in menschlichen, allzumenschlichen Wesen aller Zeiten und Länder würzeln.' I use the English translation of Didi-Hubermann (2007), 7–8. The second is from Deyts (1966a), 206: 'Ces offrandes répondent en effet à un besoin primitif, jailli du plus profond de l'être, d'attirer l'attention de la divinité sur le bien le plus précieux pour l'homme, sa santé, et par consequent la vie.' (My translation.) She continues: 'Ces répresentations, souvent très proches les unes des autres, qu'on trouve en Grèce, en Afrique ou en Gaule, aux temps les plus anciens ou les plus récents, ne nous permettent pas de voir, pour une époque donnée, d'influence d'une civilisation sur une autre ou d'un peuple sur un autre, mais tout au plus des similitudes curieuses en nous plaçant pour l'instant sur le plan de la stricte contestation.'

contexts. As already intimated, I pay particular attention to the types of body parts that appear in each of the case-studies, noting which body parts get introduced or phased out of the votive repertoire as the custom of dedicating anatomicals spreads around the ancient Mediterranean. Here, I have drawn on comments made by Mary Beard in her 2002 article 'Did the Romans have Elbows?', in which she used the example of the Roman arm to remind us that 'different cultures classify (or construct) the "same" natural world in very different ways; that different societies choose to see (or to make significant) categories and distinctions that are literally invisible to others'.[36] Beard focused her study on the different linguistic divisions of the parts of the arm in English, French and Latin, but it is not too hard to see how the comparison of visual representations of body parts across cultures might reveal similar discrepancies in 'how the body's naturally unbroken surfaces were given cultural boundaries' in different places and periods.[37] As this book will show, tracing these patterns in relation to anatomical offerings has the potential to reveal deep-seated cultural beliefs about how the human body could and should be divided, as well as signalling overlaps with other bodily discourses and practices.

This is not, of course, a comprehensive history of votive offerings from antiquity: other deposits of anatomical votives exist in other parts of the ancient world, and these will hopefully provide material for future investigations. Here, the selection of case-studies was driven in part by the strikingly different visual qualities of these groups of votives (their materials, sculptural techniques and iconography) as well as by the availability of reliable publications – although the material in the first two chapters is significantly better known and more intensively studied than that in the latter two. One caveat about this broad scale of analysis is that it inevitably downplays the diversity *within* each unit of comparison: a different set of stories could be told of change within each of the four regions and time periods studied here, and indeed other existing studies focus in narrower detail on each of the areas under analysis here.[38] It is also important to note that, although these four case-studies are presented as discrete data sets, the boundaries between them are permeable: anatomical votives and the people using them travelled along networks of cultural exchange, which may also help to explain why several of themes that emerge from the individual case studies also resonate across the other chapters.

[36] Beard (2002), 48.

[37] Beard (2002), 48.

[38] For a discussion of the impact of scale on historical accounts of change, see Robb and Pauketat (2013).

The next chapter of this book considers a selection of the clay, marble and metal anatomical votives that were dedicated in Greece during the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The votives studied here are not the earliest known examples (some Minoan votives date from as early as 2000–1500 BC) but it is in this period that the anatomical cult becomes widespread, and these Classical sites provide us with our earliest relatively secure archaeological contexts. In this chapter, I explore the reasons behind the votives' growth in popularity in this era, suggesting a number of congruent historical factors that might have combined to provide a fertile background for their reintroduction, including changing votive habits, the introduction of new approaches to healing the body, and the proliferation in this period of images and texts that explored the deconstruction of the body into its consituent pieces. After this, I move on to explore what these Classical Greek votives – many of which were found in sanctuaries of Asklepios or other healing deities – might reveal about contemporary understandings of the sick and healed body. And I argue that a focus on fragmentation can open up a whole range of possible new resonances for the votives, including the evocation of the physical disintegration of the suffering body, the construction of healing as a process of reintegration of the previously broken body, and the materialisation of links between illness and divine punishment.

Chapter 3 moves across the Mediterranean to look at votives from central Italy in the Hellenistic or Republican period (the fourth–first centuries BC). The material in this chapter is probably the most well-known of all ancient votives: thousands of terracotta body parts have been excavated from sanctuaries in the regions of Etruria, Latium and Campania, and these objects have generated a great deal of interest amongst archaeologists and historians over the past two or three decades. Focusing on the novel representations of internal organs, which were absent from the Classical Greek deposits, I explore how these terracotta objects might be seen to reflect longer term visual traditions of representing and understanding the human body. I compare the internal votive models to the strong local traditions of representing animal innards in context of sacrifice and extispicy (the ritual use of animal entrails for prophecy). These rituals made the internal organs both salient and familiar to Etrusco-Italic populations, and also provided visual prototypes for the votive models which depicted the human viscera. The overlap between votives and animal sacrifice also introduces the themes of human-animal hybridity and metamorphosis, suggesting a new perspective on how both individual objects and the assemblage as a whole impacted on ancient visitors to the Etrusco-Italic sanctuary. This material also prompts us to consider possible reasons for the *non*-representation of

inner organs in Classical Greek contexts, drawing attention to the different Greek and Etruscan ideas about how the body could and should be represented visually, and intimating further possible differences in the religious and medical views of the two cultures.

Chapter 4 focuses on votive body parts in Roman Gaul. Current evidence suggests that the anatomical votive cult was imported into Gaul by the Romans after the annexation of the province in the mid-first century BC, with the practice of dedicating anatomicals soon being adopted by local Gallic communities. As such, the transmission of votives to Gaul has often been described in terms of a one-sided process of 'Romanisation' – which might be taken to imply the dissemination of a central, Classical body image to 'marginal' populations who lacked their own traditional ways of representing the body. This chapter uses the votive evidence to problematise this simple narrative of transmission, partly by highlighting differences between Gallic and Italic assemblages, but also by drawing attention to some striking resemblances between the Gallic votives and earlier objects and practices from pre-Roman Gaul. Noting these continuities with earlier local traditions allows us to explore how the new votive cult may have mapped onto or reconfigured existing bodily practices in the area, and indicates some of the additional (and potentially discrepant) meanings that these fragmentary objects may have held for their dedicants and viewers. For instance, I discuss the possibility that the anatomical votives may have been appropriated for reasons of conflict and violence, drawing attention to similarities with the Gallic 'head cult' and noting the presence, in the votive deposit, of other objects which remind us that the sanctuary could be a space for expressing conflict as well as healing.

Chapter 5 takes us onwards and eastwards to the Roman provinces of Lydia and Phrygia, to a group of free-standing marble stelai that were dedicated in rural sanctuaries there during the first, second and third centuries AD. These stelai are somewhat different to the other objects studied in this book, since they bear inscriptions that recount complex narratives of transgression, punishment and propitiation. These detailed textual commentaries give us an unprecedented opportunity to hear the voices of dedicants of votive body parts, removing some of the ambiguity and anonymity that characterises the votives studied in the previous chapters. I look at how the images of body parts relate to the written texts on the stelai, identifying a number of 'meta-narrative' themes that resonate across the whole group of stelai. The foremost of these themes is that of the 'body politic' – the notion that the body part image served to link its dedicant to his or her wider community, which was symbolically analogous to a whole, macrocosmic

human body composed of many interrelated parts. The body politic is, of course, a much older theme in ancient literary tradition, and one that might be seen as applicable to the votive material discussed in earlier chapters, too. In fact, the discussion of Chapter 5 brings out some further elements of continuity with earlier Classical beliefs, such as the links between human illness and divine punishment and the notion of inherited trangression. In this way, the material of this final chapter gestures back to the first case-study of the book, whilst simultaneously looking forward to a Christian world in which anatomical offerings would continue to be used as conduits for a new sort of divine healing.

2 Fragmentation as Metaphor: Anatomical Votives in Classical Greece, Fifth–Fourth Centuries BC

In his 1953 book *The Discovery of the Mind in Greek Philosophy and Literature*, Bruno Snell described what he saw as a fundamental change in representations of the human body between the Archaic and Classical periods.[1] In Homeric literature, Snell noted, the body had been described as a collection of individual limbs, denoted by plural nouns such as *guia* ('the limbs as moved by the joints') and *mele* ('the limbs in their strength'); instead, by the fifth century, the body had become the *soma* – a singular phenomenon, perceived as a totality. Snell argued that this same shift between an Archaic 'body multiple' and a Classical 'body singular' could be traced in the visual arts too: for while Classical artists of the fifth century represented the body as 'an organic unit whose parts are mutually correlated', the figures on earlier Geometric vases were 'nothing but μέλεα καὶ γυῖα, i.e. limbs with strong muscles, separated from each other by means of exaggerated joints'.

Snell's neat picture of change is complicated by the votive body parts studied in this chapter, which indicate that the Classical body was *also* sometimes conceived as a collection of separate limbs and other body parts. Anatomical votives became widespread as dedications throughout Attica and the rest of the Greek mainland during the fourth century BC, although some examples may date from as early as the last quarter of the fifth century. These models were made from marble, clay or metal, and they seem to have been particularly common dedications in sanctuaries of Asklepios and other healing deities, although several other gods and goddesses also received anatomical votives from their worshippers. This chapter aims to provide some background to these Classical Greek models, exploring the broader cultural contexts for the growth and early popularity of the anatomical votive cult. After introducing a selection of votives from two of the largest and most important Asklepieia, I consider how these objects might relate to other emergent ways of seeing and representing the human body as a system of closely interlinked but ultimately detachable parts. I then offer

[1] Snell (1953), 6–8. For a more recent study of the Homeric body, see Gavrylenko (2012).

an interpretation of the anatomical votives which builds on their visual appearance as bodily fragments. In particular, I suggest that the fragmentation of the body in the sanctuary gave visual form and social meaning to the otherwise intensely personal experience of illness; I also argue that this symbolic dismemberment played a dynamic functional role in the process of healing, which was metaphorically conceived as the reintegration of the dedicant's broken body.

Gifts to the Greek Gods

Votives in the shape of human body parts appeared in Greece much earlier than the Classical period.[2] Miniature clay body parts were already being used in the Middle Minoan period (2000–1650 BC) at sites such as Petsofa, Mount Juktas, and Palaikastro on Crete (Figure 2.2).[3] These tiny clay body parts were moulded by hand, and were often pierced, as though for suspension from a cord or nail. Most of these models represent human heads and limbs, but we also find arms attached to a portion of the trunk and a group of male half-figures that were split along a vertical section from head to groin. These early anatomical models are often presumed to have a healing significance, like many of their later Greek counterparts.[4] However, other possibilities have also been raised. Martin Nilsson wondered whether these Minoan miniatures might be related to the cult of the Mistress of the Animals, who is represented on Geometric vases with the detached parts of animal bodies (particularly legs and heads, which also appeared on Minoan gems).[5] And he tentatively suggested that these Minoan objects might have been dedicated in the context of 'fire festivals' that formed one element of the cult of the Greek Mistress of the Animals, noting that the votive body parts had been thrown onto a bonfire and burnt together with statuettes of both wild and domestic animals. Such an interpretation is – as Nilsson himself admitted – necessarily speculative, but it does alert us to the possibility that these objects were used for purposes other than bodily healing. It also highlights the juxtaposition of

[2] On Greek anatomical votives see Rouse (1902), 210–16; Forsén (1996); Rynearson (2003); Cole (2004), 171–4; Forsén (2004). On Greek votive offerings in general see van Straten (1990); Parker (2004).

[3] Myres (1902–3) on Petsofa; Nilsson (1927), 74–6 on Petsofa and Mt Juktas, 69–70 on Palaikastro.

[4] E.g. Peatfield and Morris (2012), 239.

[5] For detached animal heads in Minoan culture see Nilsson (1927), 232–5.

Figure 2.1 Map of Greece showing main sites discussed in the text.

human body parts with representations of animal bodies that will recur in other, later contexts for votive body parts.

The miniature body parts from Minoan sanctuaries form an important part of the background for the Classical votives studied in this chapter, although the precise relationship between these early and later versions of the anatomical votive cult is incredibly hard to reconstruct. There are a few examples of anatomical votives dating to intervening periods, such as the miniature metal body parts from the Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesos (see Figure 5.6 below), but this does not necessarily support the idea that the anatomical votive ritual 'survived' into Classical Greek times, as opposed to being 'reinvented'. And in fact the Minoan and Classical votives are visually quite different, with the later offerings being much closer to lifesize, and normally taking the form of marble reliefs (see Figures 2.3 and 2.4). Some Classical-era clay offerings were recovered from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Corinth, but again these are closer to life-size, and represent a much wider range of body parts in comparison to

Figure 2.2 Miniature (7–9 cm) terracotta votive limbs from Petsofa, Crete. Minoan, around 2000–1700 BC.

the Minoan examples. These Corinthian votives, which will be discussed further below, are amongst the earliest examples of Classical anatomicals, and date to between the last quarter of the fifth and the last quarter of the fourth century BC. Over the course of the fourth century, marble votive reliefs representing parts of the body began to be dedicated at sanctuaries all over Greece, with a particular high concentration in Attica.[6] Many of

[6] Forsén (1996). Of the 171 examples of marble votives included in Forsén's catalogue, 111 come from Attic sanctuaries; within Attica, the sanctuary with the highest proportion of surviving

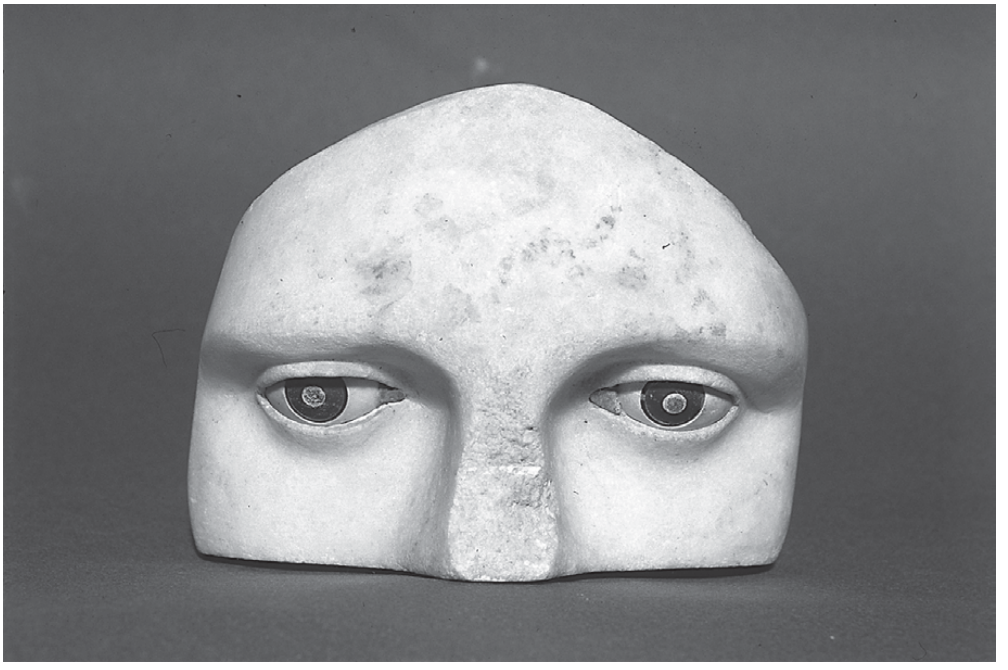

Figure 2.3 Marble votive eyes, once part of a limestone pillar in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Athens. Second half of the fourth century BC.

the sites where the Classical votives have been found belonged to healing deities: these include the sanctuaries of Amynos, the Heros Iatros and Hygeia at Athens, and sanctuaries of Asklepios in Athens, Corinth, Eleusis, Epidauros, Melos, Delos and Paros. However, other gods without an explicit connection to healing also received offerings of body parts, such as Herakles Pankrates, Artemis Kalliste and Ariste, and Eros and Aphrodite. The reader is referred to Forsén's comprehensive catalogue for an illustrated discussion of this material: here, the discussion will focus on the two sanctuaries which have furnished us with most of our evidence for anatomical votives in the Classical period – the Asklepieia of Corinth and

marble dedications is the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis in Athens (49 pieces). Indeed, it has been suggested that the Greek anatomical votive cult originated in Attica 'in the period of the great building programmes and the flourishing sculptors' workshops [fifth–fourth centuries BC]'. Chaniotis (1998). This is possible, but at the same time it is worth noting that many of the Attic votives can be dated to later eras: of the 49 votives from the Asklepieion at Athens, for instance, only two have been dated to the Classical period, while all 23 marble votives found at the nearby site of Zeus Hypsistos have been dated by inscription to the period between the first and third centuries AD. For *IG* references see the individual entries in Forsén (1996), 60–71.

Figure 2.4 Marble relief showing a pair of breasts, dedicated by Phile to Asklepios, from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Athens. Fourth century BC.

Athens. Both sanctuaries were developed in the last decades of the fifth century BC, in a phase of expansion of the Asklepios cult from the god's 'birthplace' of Epidauros.

The cult of Asklepios was imported into Athens from Epidauros in the 420s BC, when the plague of Athens and the ongoing Pelopponesian War had greatly reduced the city's population.[7] There are few structural remains

[7] On the introduction of Asklepios to Athens see Aleshire (1989), 8–12; Garland (1992), 116–35; Clinton (1994), 17–34; Parker (1996), 175–85; Wickkiser (2008), 67–72. The rapid rise in Asklepios' popularity in Athens is normally explained with reference to two historical events: the Pelopponesian War, and the Athenian plague of the 420s. Bronwen Wickkiser has also highlighted two further possible reasons for the success of the Asklepios cult in Athens at

of the Classical-era sanctuary on the south slope of the Acropolis, but numerous fragmentary inscriptions and votive objects have been recovered from the site, and these can help us to reconstruct the original appearance of the sanctuary.[8] The so-called 'Telemachos monument' is particularly useful in this respect: this is a double-sided figural relief supported by an inscribed stele, which was erected in c.400 BC by the man credited in the inscription as being the founder of the sanctuary.[9] The inscription begins by recording the arrival of Asklepios (presumably in the form of his cult statue) in the city during the celebration of the Greater Mysteries in honour of Eleusinian Demeter in 420/419; it then recounts how the statue was first housed in the Eleusinion in Athens, before being transferred to its permanent home in the sanctuary on the Acropolis, next to the theatre of Dionysus, where Telemachos constructed a *bomos* (altar) in honour of Asklepios, Hygeia and the Asklepiadi.[10] The inscription also tells of the construction of a *peribolos* wall, the construction of at least one wooden gate, and the probable planting of trees in the sanctuary.[11] Further information about the appearance of the sanctuary can be found in the figural reliefs, which represent the inside and exterior of a temple.[12] The side representing the exterior shows what Beschi claims is the first monumental gateway, probably the wooden door mentioned in the inscription; according to Beschi, this was flanked by the *pelargikon* wall (represented here with the figure of the stork – the *pelargos*) and the tomb of Kalos (indicated in the relief by the statue of a kouros). The other side of the relief depicts an interior space occupied by Asklepios and Hygeia, a column, surgical instruments and votive offerings. This space may have provided a space for suppliants to sleep – incubation was a characteristic of the cult of Asklepios, and its use at Athens is suggested by the passage

this time: the phenomenon of 'rational' physicians turning away patients who were suffering from chronic ailments, and contemporary Athenian civic policies of expansion, especially in regard to the acquisition of new territory. As she argues in the conclusion to her study on *Asklepios, Medicine and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece*, 'the importation of Epidauros' most famous god presented a convenient step toward bringing Epidauros under Athenian control, a goal expressed by Athens repeatedly in the 420s in its attempts to take Epidauros by force.' Wickkiser (2008), 107. On the plague of Athens see Longrigg (1980); Mitchell-Boyask (2008).

8 On the Athenian Asklepieion see Melfi (2007), 313–432, with bibliography. The anatomical votives from this site are discussed at van Straten (1981), 105–13; Aleshire (1991), 41–6; Forsén (1996), 31–54 and 3–39.

9 *IG* II^2 4961 + 4960; *SEG* 4725.226. See Beschi (1967/8); van Straten (1990), 255. The depiction of the exterior includes the representation of a small votive relief mounted on a pillar which shows a patient lying on a couch and being visited by the god.

10 *SEG* 226, 1–5.

11 *SEG* 226, 32–45.

12 Beschi (1967–8), 382–98.

of Aristophanes' *Ploutos* which describes the healing of Wealth through a process of ritual bathing, sacrifice and incubation.[13]

Another rich source from the Athenian Asklepieion is the series of fragmentary inventory inscriptions, which record 1,347 now-lost votive offerings that were made at that temple over the course of the fourth and third centuries BC.[14] The types of offering attested in these inscriptions include coins, jewellery, ceremonial and domestic vases, and *typoi* (small plaques bearing images of individuals, commonly depicted in attitudes of worship), as well as images of body parts made from precious metals. The body parts were dedicated by both men and women throughout the whole period represented by the inventories; they have been studied by van Straten (whose 1981 list of types and quantities is reproduced in Table 2.1) and by Sara Aleshire in her two monographs on the Athenian Asklepieion.[15]

Aleshire argued in her 1991 study that the order of the inventory inscriptions might be used to reconstruct how the votive offerings were displayed in the interior of the temple.[16] It seems that the votives were hung on the rafters and ridge beam of the roof, and in rows on the bottom half of the temple walls; the upper portion of the walls, Aleshire concludes, was probably filled by frescoes or paintings on boards. The anatomical votives appear to have been mixed together with the other types of offerings, although certain types of dedication seem to have been concentrated in certain areas of the interior.[17] For instance, the *typoi* seem to have been located mainly on the left wall, while the anatomical votives appear to have clustered in the bottom two rows of votives on the right wall. The more valuable offerings such as vases, crowns and jewellery were displayed on the rafters, while a number of small objects (eight sealstones and a gold *typos*) are described as located in the hand of the cult statue itself. This vision of the divinity 'taking' his offerings may have reassured viewers of the god's receptivity to their own votive gift, and his participation in the contract that it marked.

In addition to the metal votives mounted on the walls of the Asklepieion temple, other votives were displayed around the sanctuary outside. One

[13] Aristophanes *Ploutos* 633–747. For a discussion of this passage and its relationship to the Asklepios sanctuaries at Piraeus and Athens see Melfi (2007), 318–21. On the rituals of incubation, see Renberg (forthcoming).

[14] *IG* II² 1532–9. Van Straten (1981), 108–13; Aleshire (1989) and (1991). Similar inventories have been found at the shrine of the Hero Physician at Athens (*IG* II² 839) and the Amphiareion at Oropos (*IG* VII 303 and 3498). On the votive material from the Amphiareion see Petsalis-Diomidis (2006).

[15] Aleshire (1989) and (1991). See also Aleshire (1992). Aleshire (1989), 38 discusses the difficulties of performing statistical analysis on these fragmentary reliefs.

[16] Aleshire (1991), 41–6.

[17] Aleshire (1991), 45.

Table 2.1 Body parts from the Athenian Inventories (after van Straten (1981), 109)

Body	65 (19 male, 29 female, 17 not specified)
Half-body	1
Dorsal view of body	2
Head	4
Face	17
Face without ears	1
Lower part of face	1
Half face	1
Eye(s)	154 (13 single, 141 pairs)
Nose	1
Jaw	2
Mouth	8
Teeth	1
Ear(s)	25 (13 single, 11 pairs, 1 set of four?)
Part of ear?	1
Neck	1
Chest	2 (1 female, 1 uncertain)
Female breast(s)	13 (10 single, 3 pairs)
Abdomen	1
Pubic region	3 (1 male, 2 female)
Genitals	15 (10 male, 5 not specified)
Heart	5
Bladder	1
Arm(s)/hand(s)	23 (18 single, 5 pairs)
Finger(s), or possible toe(s)	3 (2 single, 1 set)
Leg(s)	41 (34 single, 7 pairs)
Hips	2 pairs
Knee	3
Lower leg	1
Feet	2 pairs

Body, σῶμα, σῶμάτιον; half-body, σῶματος ἥμυσυ; dorsal view of body, [σῶματ]ιον ὀπίσθ[ιον], σῶμα ὀπ[ίσθιον]; head κεφαλή, κεφάλιον; face πρόσωπον; face without ears πρόσωπον ἄωτον; lower part of face πρόσώπου τὸ κάτω; half-face πρόσώπο ἥμυσυ; eye(s) ὀφθαλμός (-ὀί); nose ῥίς; jaw σιαγών; mouth στόμα; teeth ὀδόντες; ears οὖς (ὦτὰ), ὠτάριον (-α); part of ear? μήκων; neck τράχηλος; chest στῆθος; female breast(s) τίτθη, τιτθος (-οί), τιτθιον (-α); abdomen ήτρον; pubic region ἥβη; genitals αἰδοῖον; heart καρδία; bladder [κ]ύστις; arm(s)/hand(s) χείρ (χεῖρες), χειρίδιον (-α), [?ἀπ]ὸ τοῦ ὤμου; finger(s) or possibly toe(s) δάκτυλος (-οι); leg(s) σκέλοσ (–η); hips ἰσχία; knee γόνυ; lower leg κνήμη; feet πόδες.

stunning semi-circular painted relief representing the upper portion of a face was given to Asklepios at some point during the later fourth century BC by a male dedicant on behalf of (ὑπὲρ) his wife Praxias; it was mounted in a niche in a freestanding pillar, which also contained other, now-lost votive offerings (Figure 2.3).[18] Other votive reliefs dating from the fourth century BC include a pair of female breasts inscribed with the dedication *Phile Asklepio* ('From Phile to Asklepios', Figure 2.4), and a fragmentary relief showing a seated Asklepios with Hygeia standing next to him.[19] In the background of this latter relief, immediately to the right of the head of Hygeia, and partly covered by it, is a large eye, which van Straten notes is 'probably intended as being fastened onto the wall of Asklepios' temple'.[20] Another relief from the Athens Asklepieion, showing a collection of anatomical votives arranged on the temple wall, will be discussed later in this chapter (Figure 2.11).

All the surviving votive body parts from Athens are made from marble, and take the form of sculpted reliefs. We find a very different situation at Corinth, where all the anatomicals are made from terracotta, often sculpted in the round or mounted on relief backgrounds (Figures 2.5–2.7).[21] These body parts were found in deposits associated with the Classical-era sanctuary of Asklepios, which stood on a hill at the northern edge of the city next to the fortification wall.[22] The cult activity and buildings of the Asklepieion date from the latter part of the fifth century BC, although the site had also been used in the preceding century as a cult centre of Apollo.[23] The Classical sanctuary comprised at least three buildings,

[18] *IG* II² 4372; Forsén (1996), 31 no. 1.1; van Straten (1981), 106 no. 1.4. On the use of pillars to display votive reliefs see van Straten (1990), 248–50. Note that another inscription that accompanied a now-lost marble foot from Athens tells us that it had been offered to Asklepios by someone on behalf of his or her son: Forsén (1996), 53 no. 1.47. We might compare the fourth-century 'miracle inscription' from Epidauros which describes a mother sleeping in the sanctuary for the sake of her daughter. See LiDonnici (1995), 101 no. B 1 [21].

[19] Phile's votive breasts: *IG* II 1482; Athens Epigraphic Museum 8761; Svoronos (1908–37), II, 673, pl. 232, n. 1482; van Straten (1981), 107, n. 1.8; Forsén (1996), 33 n. 1.5 pl. 6. Relief with Asklepios and Hygeia: Athens Epigraphic Museum 2777; van Straten (1981), 106, no. 1.2; Svoronos (1908–37), II, 670, pl. 225.

[20] Van Straten (1981), 106.

[21] On the exclusive use of terracotta at Corinth, see Roebuck (1951), 112–13: 'It is probable that sculptured marble plaques were not dedicated because of the absence of good marble at Corinth, which would make such offerings very expensive. Marble stelai, too, were possibly not dedicated for the same reason, and tablets of bronze would scarcely have survived because of their intrinsic value or destructability.'

[22] On the Corinthian deposits see Roebuck (1951), 113–51, and Melfi (2007), 289–312, with further references.

[23] Melfi (2007), 292–3 discusses the relationship between the cults of Apollo and Asklepios at Corinth. The first traces of cult activity at the site are signalled by a votive deposit inside a well, which might be connected to the worship of Apollo; these objects are dated to the first half of sixth century BC. Roebuck (1951), 15–19.

Figure 2.5 Terracotta votive legs from the Asklepieion at Corinth, late fifth–fourth centuries BC.

including 'an open air shrine surrounded for the sake of privacy by a wall'.[24] The interior of this shrine contained a baldachino with wooden posts, which the excavator Carl Roebuck suggests may have covered the cult statue placed at the western end of the temple; it also housed an altar and a sacrificial table with a small libation drain which emptied into a settling basin.[25] A long rock-cut drain channel extended from the shrine towards the east, and there were two wells north of the shrine, which provided the sanctuary with water.[26]

These Classical buildings had been destroyed when the sanctuary was enlarged and monumentalised in the late fourth century BC, and at this point, many of the votive offerings that had accumulated in the early sanctuary over the preceding decades were cleared away and used as filling for the new structures. Large deposits of votives were found in the drain channel of the early sanctuary, in the western well north of the temple and in the packing against the foundations of the *abaton* ('dormitory') building.[27] These deposits contained many terracotta figurines and body parts, together with coins, lamps and pottery fragments which could be dated to between the last quarter of the fifth century and the last quarter of the fourth century BC. Table 2.2 lists the attested body parts.

Most of these body parts had been made by hand using clay moulds. After firing, they were covered with slip; in some cases, painted colour was then added to a base of white sizing. This was sometimes used to indicate gender: the penises were for the most part painted red, while breasts were left white, a schema which corresponded to the gendered *Contrastcoloristik* of contemporary vase painting.[28] The majority of the Corinthian votives are highly naturalistic, with their size, colour and three-dimensional modelling functioning to narrow the perceptual distance between 'real' and 'represented' bodies. The occasional striking departure from realism is found, too, such as the blue pubic hair on one of the penis models, a hand painted partly red and partly black, and gilded models of the eyes and male genitals.[29] This use of unrealistic colours, gilding and body markings might be intended to

[24] Roebuck (1951), 10–12. This shrine measured approximately 7.40 × 5 m and was apparently 'a very unpretentious establishment'.

[25] Roebuck (1951), 10.

[26] Roebuck (1951), 10, 21–2.

[27] Roebuck (1951), 113.

[28] Roebuck (1951), 116. For *Contrastcoloristik* and Greek vase painting, see Henderson (2002), 34.

[29] Male genitals with blue pubic hair = Roebuck (1951), no. 31; black and red hand = Roebuck (1951) no. 64; male genitals with gilding = Roebuck (1951), no. 42; eye with gilding = Roebuck (1951) no. 15. Van Straten takes this gilding as evidence that gold and silver models were also dedicated at this site. Van Straten (1981), 50.

Table 2.2 Body parts from the Asklepieion at Corinth (after Roebuck (1951), 119–128)

Legs	21
Feet	17
Arms	14
Hands	11
Breasts	11
Male genitals	18
Heads	7
Male chests	3
Ears	5
Eyes	3
Fingers	3
Bone	1
Plait of hair	1
Tongue (possible)	1
Stomach (possible)	1

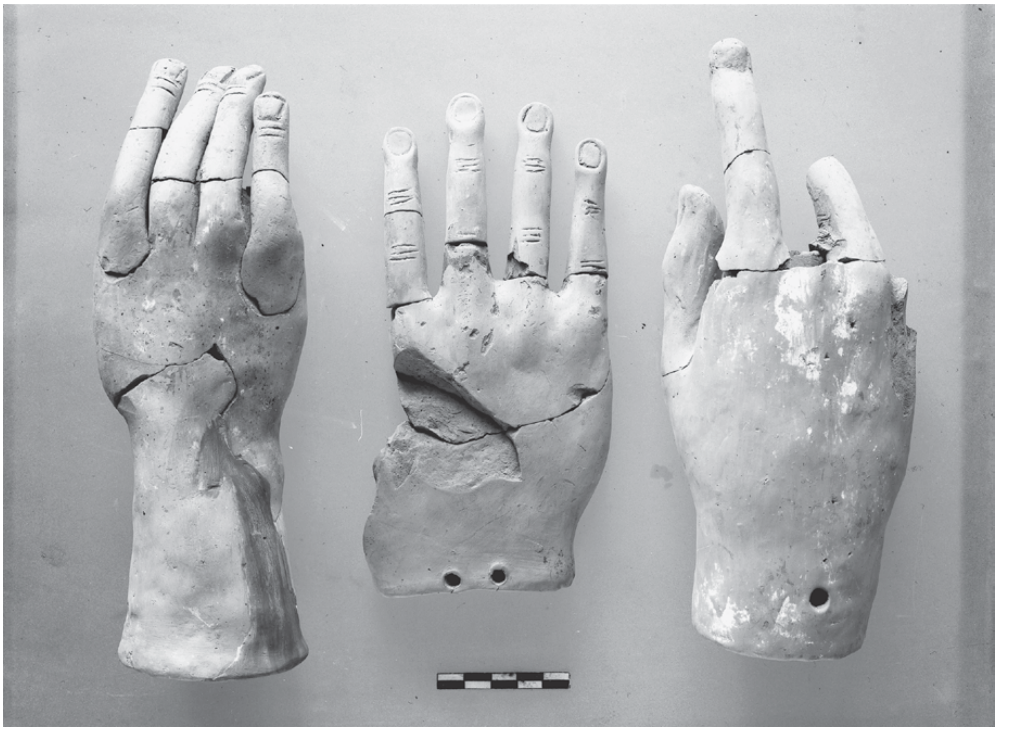

Figure 2.6 Terracotta votive hands from the Asklepieion at Corinth, late fifth–fourth centuries BC.

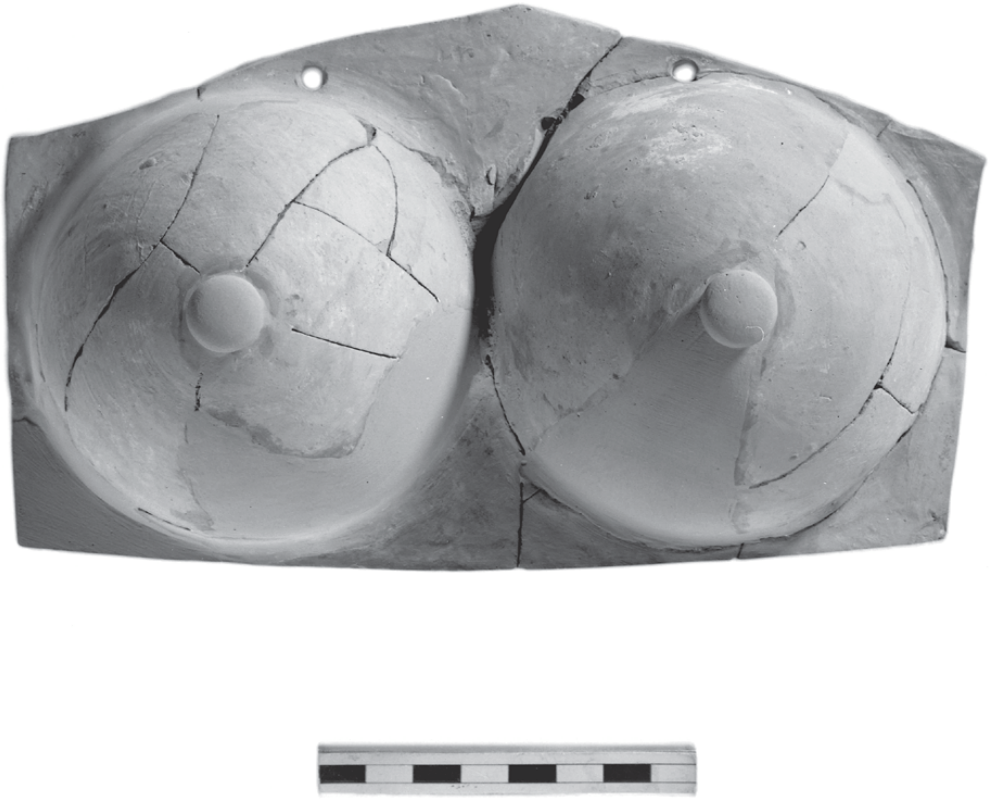

Figure 2.7 Terracotta votive breasts from the Asklepieion at Corinth, late fifth–fourth centuries BC.

signal the location of an abnormality in a sick body part, although it might simply be a mechanism for making the individual offering more salient and valuable in the eyes of the deity to whom it was dedicated.

The forms of the body parts tell us something about how they were displayed. The heads and chests have flat bases, indicating that they may have rested on shelves in the temple, or even on the floor. Most of the smaller body parts (including the breasts, male genitals, eyes and ears) are mounted on relief plaques, which are pierced for suspension in the corners or at the top. The arms and hands and most of the legs and feet are also pierced, perhaps for suspension from the walls or ceiling of the temple. The lack of oxidisation around the holes suggests that leather thongs rather than metal nails were used for this purpose. Roebuck notes that 'it is likely that suspension against a wall was normal, for frequently only one side of the hand shows details and some of the arms are flattened on the inner side'.[30]

[30] Roebuck (1951), 116.

Figure 2.8 Boeotian red-figure vase showing Asklepios and Hygeia, c.400 BC.

This hypothesis gains support from narrative scenes in visual media which represent votives *in situ* inside the temple. A Boeotian pot made at the start of the fourth century BC depicts body parts in a sanctuary of Asklepios and Hygiea.[31] One side of the pot shows Asklepios seated with a gigantic snake, while the other side depicts a priestess bringing offerings to the animated cult statue of Hygeia. On the wall behind her hang votive models of two legs and a hand, the latter of which is placed so that its fingertips seem to gently touch the outstretched hand of the goddess (Figure 2.8).

[31] Vase: Athens National Archaeological Museum no. 1393; *LIMC* II, 871 ('Asklepios'), no. 41; Reinach (1899–1900), 515; Lullies (1940), 21–2. As Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis has noted, 'this unusual vessel translates three dimensional anatomical votives into flat painted votives within a fictitious sacred space and offers them to the viewer within a domestic, sympotic context'. Petsalis-Diomidis (2016), 57. Other scenes showing anatomical votives *in situ* in a sanctuary include a fourth-century BC marble votive relief from Athens, now in the Kanellopoulos Museum, which depicts a colossal leg hanging from the wall of the temple interior (van Straten (1981), 119, no. 9.1; Baggieri (1999), 10, fig. A), and a votive relief showing a leg and foot in the sanctuary of the healing god Amynos (this volume, Figure 1.7).

Figure 2.8 (*cont.*)

Changing Beliefs about the Human Body

What factors might help us to understand the (re)appearance and subsequent spread of votive body parts in Classical Greece? One relevant context must surely be the growth and development of the cult of Asklepios, which provided a formal religious framework for divine healing and for the dedication of votive offerings intended to initiate or commemorate those healing events. According to mythical tradition, Asklepios was the son of Apollo and a mortal woman, who had received his medical training from Cheiron the centaur. Asklepios had appeared as a (mortal) healer in Homer's *Iliad*, but it was not until the fifth century that his worship became widespread in the Greek world.[32] While there has been a considerable amount of debate about the origins and dissemination of the Asklepios cult, most scholars agree that the sanctuary at Epidauros – the god's legendary

[32] Homer *Iliad* 2.729–32. On Asklepios see Edelstein and Edelstein (1945), and *LIMC* II, 863–97 (entry by Bernard Holtzmann).

birthplace – played a crucial role in the early phase of expansion and development.[33] In the second half of the fifth century BC, a number of other city-states imported the cult and built new sanctuaries to Asklepios, amongst them Corinth and Athens, and it is at these sites, as we have seen already in this chapter, that the earliest Classical anatomical votives have been found.

The rapid growth in Asklepios' popularity in the fifth century provided, then, the background to the new votive offerings dedicated in relation to illness and healing. Certainly, our understanding of the anatomical votives is enhanced when we consider them against the background of Asklepian worship, as Nicholas Rynearson has demonstrated in his 2003 article on 'The Construction and Deconstruction of the Body in the Cult of Asklepios'. Rynearson identifies some convincing conceptual parallels between the anatomical votives and other elements of the nascent cult of Asklepios, namely the famous group of *iamata* inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Epidauros – the narratives of miraculous cures which were inscribed on stone stelai in the fourth century BC and displayed within the Epidauros sanctuary.[34] As we shall see in more detail below, the *iamata* stelai describe healing events that took place while, or shortly after, the worshippers slept in the sacred *abaton*; the cures are often performed by Asklepios himself, who is described cutting out sick eyes, removing spearheads from jaws, and evicting worms and leeches from the patients' bodies. Rynearson uses these two types of evidence (the *iamata* and the votive body parts) to reconstruct a specifically Asklepian view of the body, in which illness and cure were both understood as strictly localised phenomena. In other words, just as the fragmented visual form of the votive effectively contained the illness and cure within one discrete part of the body, so the written texts of the *iamata* inscriptions often presented the god working directly on a single body part, such as a diseased eye or jaw. Rynearson further contrasts this Asklepian body image with the contemporary Hippocratic, humoral view, in which the human body was seen as a whole and integrated system, and in which the role of the healer was 'to restore the proper proportion, mixture or movement of the body's humors'.[35]

[33] For the spread of the Asklepios cult from Epidauros, see Melfi (2007). Her interpretation contrasts with that of Riethmüller (2005), who gives the Asklepios cult a Thessalian origin. See Riethmüller (2009) esp. 229–40 with Renberg (2009).

[34] LiDonnici (1995). The original display context of the stones is discussed on pp. 18–19. See *SEG* 45.271 for comments on LiDonnici's edition and concordances with other epigraphic corpora.

[35] Rynearson (2003), 3. Note, however, that no examples of anatomical votives have been found at Epidauros. For discussion of the general lack of small finds at this site, see LiDonnici (1995), 41–2. Cf. Melfi (2007), 35, who notes the paucity of both anatomical votives and votive reliefs, and comments that this shows the singularity of the Epidaurian version of the cult of Asklepios.

However, even though the cult of Asklepios forms part of the background for the votive body parts, it cannot by itself explain their genesis. This becomes clear when we look at other developments in dedicatory practices during the Classical period. Anthony Snodgrass has pointed out that there was an abrupt shift in the nature of dedications at the end of the Archaic period, which he characterises in terms of a dichotomy between 'raw' and 'converted' offerings.[36] 'Raw' offerings are defined in this context as unmodified objects of secular use, such as weapons of war, vessels and jewellery, which may have been used for some time before their dedication, 'Converted' offerings, on the other hand, are defined as objects commissioned and produced specifically for the purposes of dedication, such as inscribed plaques, statuettes – and anatomical votives. It is not the case that all Archaic offerings were 'raw', and all post-Archaic offerings were 'converted'; nevertheless 'the overall balance between "raw" and "converted" appears to have undergone a reversal in the early fifth century'.[37] Snodgrass also notes that 'converted' offerings by their nature require a greater financial outlay than raw ones, since the dedicant pays for the materials and for the professional labour needed to transform those materials into an offering; he therefore suggests that this shift might be related to broader socio-economic factors, such as the decline of the egalitarian ethos of the early polis, and the increasing use of the sanctuary as an arena for competitive self-display in the Classical period.[38] Ultimately, Snodgrass's analysis reminds us that the anatomical votives were not an isolated phenomenon, and that they should be seen in the light of a contemporary taste for offerings that were made especially for dedication. But again, 'converted' offerings could take many forms, even within the narrower context of the healing sanctuary. The *iamata* inscriptions at Epidauros, for instance, mention amongst the offerings left by worshippers a silver pig, a snake, a goose, an athlete, horses and a chariot.[39] The particular choice of form for the anatomical offering therefore also requires explanation.

In fact, when we look at other texts and images from the late Archaic and Classical periods it becomes apparent that the relationship between the whole body and its parts was a more general source of fascination and symbolism for contemporary writers and artists. One particularly compelling

[36] Snodgrass (1989–90); Osborne (2004), 2.

[37] Snodgrass (1989–90), 292.

[38] Snodgrass (1989–90), 293. He also suggests that the dedication of raw offerings signalled the subordination of private interest to public in the new democratic constitution (the same period saw the abandonment of costly offerings in private graves).

[39] For the offerings mentioned in the *iamata* see LiDonnici (1995), 44, table 1. Other objects in the list appear to belong to Snodgrass' category of 'raw' offerings: a ladder, a medicine bottle, an operating table and a cup.

literary example comes from the work of the philosopher Empedocles who in his work *On Nature* recounted an early stage of human evolution in which 'many neckless heads sprang up, bare arms wandered bereft of shoulders, and eyes wandered alone, destitute of faces'.[40] Empedocles described how these isolated body parts wandered about on their own for a time, before spontaneously combining to form whole, complex beings. This version of the evolution of the human species echoed Empedocles' theory of human foetal development, wherein separate, fully formed body parts came together inside the mother's womb to create an individual body – which in turn, we might note, echoed aspects of new contemporary processes of statue production (cf. Figure 2.10 below).[41]

Other Classical bodies-in-parts appear in the sphere of political rhetoric, in the form of explicit analogies between human society at large and the individual human body. As Roger Brock has explained, these analogies fall into two broad categories: some describe the anatomy of the human body in terms of a city or state ('the political body'), while others describe the city or state in the anatomical terms of the human body (the so-called 'body politic').[42] These complex and interrelated metaphors have a long post-Classical history, and constitute a rich source for uncovering ancient ideas about physiology and politics alike. Here, they simply provide another example of Classical thinkers exploring the body as a whole system which is divided into elements that are simultaneously discrete and interacting. Perhaps the best-known Classical version of the 'political body' metaphor occurs in Plato's *Timaeus*, where the body is divided up into three parts (head, chest/heart, and abdomen/groin) whose functions mirror the tripartite structure of the city-state.[43] Meanwhile, early representations of the polis or state as a human body appear in two fifth-century oracles cited by Herodotus. The

[40] Empedocles frag. B57. See Sedley (2003).

[41] For Empedocles' theory of embryology see Aristotle *De generatione animalium* 722b 9; Plutarch *De sollertia animalium* 946E. For further discussion of the relationship between Empedoclean embryology and zoogony see Gemelli Marciano (2005), esp. 383–6.

[42] See Brock (2000) and (2006): he describes how the evidence for 'the polis as body' considerably antedates 'the body as polis', and how, while the former is widespread in Greek literature, the latter has a much more particular and specialised distribution. Brock (2006), 351. See also Squire (2015).

[43] *Timaeus* 70ab. We learn that 'the divine soul is located in the head and the mortal soul in the chest, the former separated and quarantined from the latter by the neck', with the torso further partitioned by the diaphragm into male and female quarters. As Brock (2006), 356, has pointed out, 'Plato's model of monarchy in the body is less physiological than psychic, since it is grounded fundamentally on the right of the soul to rule the body.' However, 'occasionally he expresses this principle in physical terms, drawing on his belief in the head as the seat of conciousness'. Contra this 'superficial analogy' of the Body Politic, which 'still exerts considerably influence in modern school of sociology' see Delanda (2006).

first of these instructed the Argives to 'guard the head, for the head will save the body'; the second informed the Athenians that 'the head is unstable, the trunk totters, nothing – not the feet below, not the hands, nor anything in between – nothing endures; all is doomed'.[44] Oracles are the only fifth-century examples of the body being used as a metaphor for the *state* but, as Brock points out, 'we do find parallels drawn between parts of the body and other human associations: in his *Memorabilia*, Xenophon compares the dysfunction of strife between brothers to dysfunction in co-ordinate bodily systems such as the hands or feet'.[45]

The relationship between the whole body and its parts also played a key role in the artistic advances of the Classical period. The iconic statue of the Doryphoros by Polykleitos and the name vase of the Foundry Painter might be used as examples here (Figures 2.9 and 2.10). The Doryphoros is conventionally seen to embody the principles of Polykleitos' famous *Canon*, which drew on the Classical doctrine of *symmetria* – that is, 'the commensurability of one part to another, and of all the parts to a whole, in an artistic design'.[46] The earlier 'Foundry Vase' also documents an interest in how statues were literally constructed from pieces.[47] On the right-hand side of the detail shown in Figure 2.10 we see a sculptor working on an incomplete bronze statue whose head lies on the floor, while models of human hands and feet hang on the wall above. These hanging body parts closely assimilate the anatomical votives that we see on later vases and relief-sculptures (cf. Figures 2.8, 2.11), and this ambiguity may have been enhanced by their proximity to the votive *pinakes* ('tablets') hanging underneath the long curving horns by the furnace. Meanwhile, the headless statue-in-progress is depicted in the new 'naturalistic' style, and its depiction on the vase heightens the ambiguity between art and life: the statue's hands are outstretched as if to shield it from the blow of the craftsman's hammer, while the disembodied head on the floor is placed so that it appears to look up between the older man's legs. The boundary between art and life was another central topos in Classical art, and one that holds great relevance for the anatomical votives too, as we shall see later in this chapter.[48]

[44] Oracle to Argives: Herodotus 7.148. 3. Oracle to Athenians: Herodotus 7.140.2. See Brock (2006), 352 for discussion.

[45] Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.3.18; Brock (2006), 353.

[46] The definition is that of Pollitt (1974), 21. For further discussion of *symmetria* see Pollitt (1974), 14–22, 218–28 and 256–8. On the Doryphoros see Squire (2011), 5–6.

[47] Berlin State Museums F 2294. From Vulci. Beazley, *ARV*^{2} 400, I; Mattusch (1980), with literature at 435, n. 5; Neer (2002), 77–84.

[48] On mimesis and artistic illusion in antiquity, see Else (1958); Schnapp (1994); Spivey (1995); Squire (2010) and (2011), 63–8.

Figure 2.9 Roman marble copy of Polykleitos' Doryphoros (original c.440 BC).

Figure 2.10 Detail of the Foundry Vase, c.480 BC.

The relationship between parts and wholes was also explored by the artist of another marble relief that was dedicated in the Athenian Asklepieion at some point during the fourth century BC (Figure 2.11). This relief would almost certainly have been displayed amidst individual votive body parts, like the metal ones mentioned in the temple's inventory inscriptions, and the marble ones illustrated at Figures 2.3 and 2.4.[49] The scene represents a female worshipper – probably the dedicant of the relief – kneeling in front of a male figure (or a statue of a male figure) who wears an animal-skin tunic.[50] A number of body parts are depicted behind the kneeling woman, and these are probably to be understood as hanging on the wall of the temple. All of these votive forms except one (the head and shoulders shape) correspond to 'real' votive objects that have been found in Greek

[49] Athens, Acropolis Museum 7232; Walter (1923), 61–2, no. 108; van Straten (1981), 106, no. 1.1.

[50] Walter suggested that this figure represents Herakles Menytes, or another healing hero or deity. Walter (1923), 61–2.

Figure 2.11 Marble votive relief from the Asklepieion at Athens, fourth century BC.

sanctuaries.[51] Viewed in the context of the whole narrative scene, both the choice of votives and their arrangement on the wall become deeply significant. The votive body parts have been displayed in approximately the 'correct' order, with the result that they both mirror and fragment the body of the woman kneeling beside them. Moreover, the visual similarities between the two bodies force the viewer to contemplate the relationship between them – the votive head turns to face in the same direction as the dedicant; likewise, the pair of disembodied arms mirror the dedicant's 'real' arms in their gesture of supplication.

This relief is deeply significant in the present context, because it shows that people in antiquity – in this case the sculptor and/or the commissioning

[51] One much later (first–third century AD) votive image of the abdomen and thigh area from the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx in Athens is virtually identical to the version on the relief, indicating a conservatism in types over the centuries that separate the two examples. Forsén (1996), 68, no. 8.15, pl. 55b; Berlin State Museum, Sk 721. Votive models of arms and legs are attested in the Athenian Asklepieion inventories (see above). For arms at Corinth, see Roebuck (1951), 123–4, nos. 49–62. For legs, see Roebuck (1951), 125–7, nos. 77–97. Only the votive representing the head and upper part of the body to the left of the group has no exact parallels in the extant material, although this does not necessarily mean that such a shape never existed.

dedicant – both recognised and experimented with the fragmentary quality of anatomical votives. All anatomical votives can always potentially be seen as fragments, but this relief unambiguously shows the votive body parts as corresponding to the 'real' parts of a dedicant's broken body.[52] Anyone who looked at the relief would have been encouraged to read the other anatomical votives on display in the sanctuary in the same light, that is, as representing pieces of a disaggregated body or bodies. The rest of this chapter will explore the resonances of such fragmentation in the context of the ancient Greek healing sanctuary.

Fragmentation as Metaphor

Somewhat surprisingly, scholars working on the votive body parts have never explored the possibility that the fragmentation of the body might have been understood as a metaphorical representation of the body in illness and pain.[53] In discourses on illness in our own society, the fragmentation metaphor looms large. Even a cursory glance through autobiographical accounts of suffering like those collected in Arthur Kleinman's *The Illness Narratives* shows how frequently the metaphor is evoked. Patients often describe their bodies or their identities as 'broken' and 'shattered', or as 'split apart'.[54] One of Kleinman's patients says of his body that what he needs 'is a kind of glue to hold the pieces together'.[55] Similar vocabulary is used in theoretical writing about illness. Eric Cassell, for instance, explains that 'Suffering occurs when an impending destruction of the person is perceived; it continues until the threat of disintegration has passed or until the integrity of the person can be restored in some other manner.'[56] The imagery of fragmentation is also evoked in modern visual representations of illness. In Frida Kahlo's 1944 painting *The Broken Column*, the image of the broken

[52] Subtly different interpretations of this scene might be offered. For instance, the dedicant might have had a succession of illnesses in different parts of her body; or the votives might represent parts of different bodies, dedicated by a succession of worshippers. But whatever the story behind the scene, the similarities between the individual votives and the body of the kneeling woman remain – the same would also be true even if the (now fragmentary) relief was originally much larger and included other body parts.

[53] I follow Sontag in my use of the term metaphor: 'By metaphor I mean nothing more or less than the earlier and most succinct definition I know, which is Aristotle's in his *Poetics* (1457b). "Metaphor," Aristotle wrote, "consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else.' " Sontag (1989), 5.

[54] Kleinman (1988), 37 and 61.

[55] Kleinman (1988), 61.

[56] Cassell (1991), 33.

column bears a direct relation to the pathology of the sufferer, transposing and dramatising the real rupture of Kahlo's spine.[57] Meanwhile, a painting by George Dergalis titled *Anguish*, which featured in a 1989 exhibition of 'Headache Art', shows the subject's face broken into three kaleidoscopic segments, reproducing something of the experience of migraine, including the sensation of violent splitting, the distortion of normal vision and the dissolution of personal identity.[58]

Perhaps it is *because* the fragmentation metaphor is so prominent in modern accounts of illness that scholars have been reluctant to pursue its relevance to the ancient votive material, presuming it to be too banal and ahistorical an observation to make explicitly. On the other hand, it is often true that the more banal a metaphor *appears*, the more pressing the need for its interrogation. Susan Sontag's work has demonstrated how metaphorical representations of illness – no matter how natural and appropriate they may seem at first sight – always distort the stark biological 'facts', often infusing disease with a moral or ideological component.[59] Moreover, the symbolic fragmentation of the body can also be perceived in texts about illness from the Classical period, a fact that serves to mitigate any fears that in reading the votives as metaphorical images of illness we are simply retrojecting aspects of the modern discourse onto the ancient evidence. We might invoke, for example, Thucydides' famous description of the Athenian plague of 430 BC:

> Suddenly and while in good health, men were seized at first with intense heat of the head, and redness and inflammation of the eyes and the parts inside the mouth, both the throat and the tongue immediately became blood-red and exhaled an unnatural and fetid breath. … In a short time the disorder descended to the chest, attended by severe coughing. And when it settled in the stomach, that was upset, and vomits of bile of every kind named by physicians ensued … If they passed the crisis, the disease went into the bowels, producing there a violent ulceration. … It attacked the privates and the fingers and toes, and many escaped with the loss of these, although some lost their eyes also.[60]

In this passage, the description of the plague is formulated as a consecutive list of symptoms localised on the sufferers' bodies. The verbal enunciation of the subject's body parts here leads to an 'imaginary' fragmentation that 'undoes' the body in a similar fashion to the much later poetic genre of

[57] Fundacion Dolores Olmedo, Mexico City, DF, Mexico.
[58] Reproduced at Morris (1991), fig. 1, with discussion at pp. 10–11.
[59] Sontag (1978).
[60] Thucydides 2.49.

the *blason anatomique*.[61] Similar emblasoning techniques are used in the Hippocratic text *Epidemics* – a series of case-studies that detail the progression of individual illnesses over a series of days.[62] We can cite the case of the wife of Epicrates, who on the second day after the delivery of her baby daughter was 'seized with a pain in the stomach and in the genitals. A pessary relieved these symptoms, but there was pain in the head, neck and loins.' On the tenth day there were 'severe pains in the legs; pain again at the stomach; heaviness in the head'.[63] Another man lying sick in the garden of Delearces 'had for a long time heaviness in the head and pain in the right temple'. On the fourth day he suffered from 'sweat about the head and collar-bones, spleen enlarged, pain in the direction of the thigh, and tension, soft underneath, of the right hypochondrium'. The ninth day brought 'squinting of the right eye; tongue dry'; the fifteenth day 'pain in the knees and legs'; the twenty-seventh day 'pain in the right hip'; and the twenty-ninth day 'pain in the right eye'.[64]

In these descriptions, the sufferers' bodies are figuratively dismembered and redistributed through the written text. This narrative technique may be seen to reflect the passivity of the patient in the hands of the physician, mirroring in words the physical breakdown of the ill body and the sensation of fractured identity. It is interesting to note that similar anatomical lists are used to describe disturbed, disordered bodies in other genres of ancient text. For instance, some Greek and Roman *defixiones* ('curse tablets') list the various parts of the body that are to be bound, stabbed, chilled, twisted or transformed to lead. As Henk Versnel has explained in an illuminating study, some of these texts specify 'the parts of the body that may help their owner to gain an advantage over the author of the curse' (most commonly the hands, feet and tongue, as well as the soul and mind), while others offer longer lists of virtually every part of the human body.[65] Versnel cites

[61] On the *blason* and its capacity to fragment the (female) body see Michelson (1984); Pacteau (1994), 25–31 and 57–72; Sawday (1995); Vickers (1997), with further bibliography on the French anatomical *blazon* at n. 3.

[62] On the *Epidemics* see Langholf (1990). For the relationship between Thucydides' description of the plague and the Hippocratic texts see Craik (2001), with bibliography at n. 1. Jouanna describes the Hippocratic principle of classifying diseases *a capite ad calcem* (from head to foot). For instance, the nosological treatises *Diseases II* and *Internal Affections* 'begin with diseases of the head, moving on to diseases of the throat and nose; next come the disease of the breast and back'. Jouanna (1999), 145.

[63] *Epidemics* book 1, case 5.

[64] *Epidemics* book 3, case 3.

[65] Versnel (1998), citation on p. 218. Most of the 'anatomical curses' discussed by Versnel date from post-classical times, but some examples from Classical Greece are also included, e.g. *DTA* 77 and *DTA* 89, both from Attica.

Richard Gordon's comparison between these anatomical curses and the modern movie-camera's 'panning-shot': 'just as the panning-shot spares our attention for *that* thing *now*, so the remorseless enumeration of parts of the body enables the practitioner imaginatively to dismember the victim so that the curse moment, the period of the practitioner's projective fixation upon the victim, can be extended as long as possible'.[66] In other words, the verbal deconstruction of the body serves to emphasise and amplify the primary function of the tablet – to render the opponent's body powerless and to inflict it with pain. In turn, Page duBois draws attention to the figurative dismemberment of the body in Sappho's *Poem 31*, in which the lover herself 'sees the disorder in the body in love, sees herself objectified as a body in pieces, disjointed, a broken set of organs, limbs, bodily functions'.[67] The 'emblasoning' of the sick body in the texts of Thucydides and Hippocrates therefore provides just one more example of a widespread ancient fashion for representing the dysfunctional, troubled body – a literary conceit that was, I would argue, given visual form in the anatomical votive assemblage, where the normal proportions of the body were collapsed, and the order and relationship of its parts reconfigured.

The discussion so far has suggested that the fragmentary form of the anatomical votives might be seen to correspond to representations of illness in written texts from the fifth and fourth centuries BC, thereby indicating one additional layer of meaning that would have been available to the dedicants and later viewers of the anatomical votives. This observation may be relevant to anatomical votives in other periods too, for as we have already seen, the representation of illness as fragmentation is *not* a uniquely Classical phenomenon. However, the form of the anatomical votives also overlapped with other aspects of the Classical discourse on illness and healing, in particular the representation of illness as a punishment inflicted by a deity, and the process of healing as one of reintegration following disassembly.

A succinct illustration of the link between bodily fragmentation and divine punishment is found in a number of rather gruesome red-figure vases which were produced in Athens at the beginning of the fifth century BC, and which illustrated the dismemberment (*sparagmos*) of the Theban king Pentheus by the bacchants of Dionysus. These vases represent a striking departure from the normal Greek iconography of death, where the whole, beautiful body is shown at the 'pregnant moment' just before suffering any irrevocable physical mutilation (cf. Figure 3.19).[68] One red-figure

[66] Cited at Versnel (1998), 224, n. 22.

[67] DuBois (1996), 60.

[68] For a selection of examples and discussion see Cohen (2000).

Figure 2.12 Attic red-figure vase showing the dismemberment of Pentheus, c.500 BC.

hydria dating to c.500 BC shows three bacchants: the bacchant on the left grips an arm and a leg, the one in the centre clasps an arm and a torso, while the one the right holds a leg and a head (Figure 2.12). On another vase dated to c.480 BC and attributed to the painter Douris, Dionysus is shown in the company of bacchants, one of whom waves a lower leg, while another two each hold thick chunks of human thigh. On the opposite side of the vase, another bacchant waves Pentheus' other lower leg, while her two companions prepare to rip his head and torso right down the middle (Figure 2.13).[69]

At this point, we might return to the votive relief from the Asklepieion depicted at Figure 2.11, to note the striking parallels between this scene and the vases representing Pentheus' dismemberment. Both the vases and the relief show a human body dismantled into parts. In appearance, these parts are very similar – in fact, the closest Classical parallel we can find to the 'head and shoulders' shape in the Asklepieion relief is the image of Pentheus' torso shown on the vase painted by Douris. In neither medium

[69] Toronto Slg. E. Borowski *LIMC* VII.1 s.v. 'Pentheus', 312 no. 43.

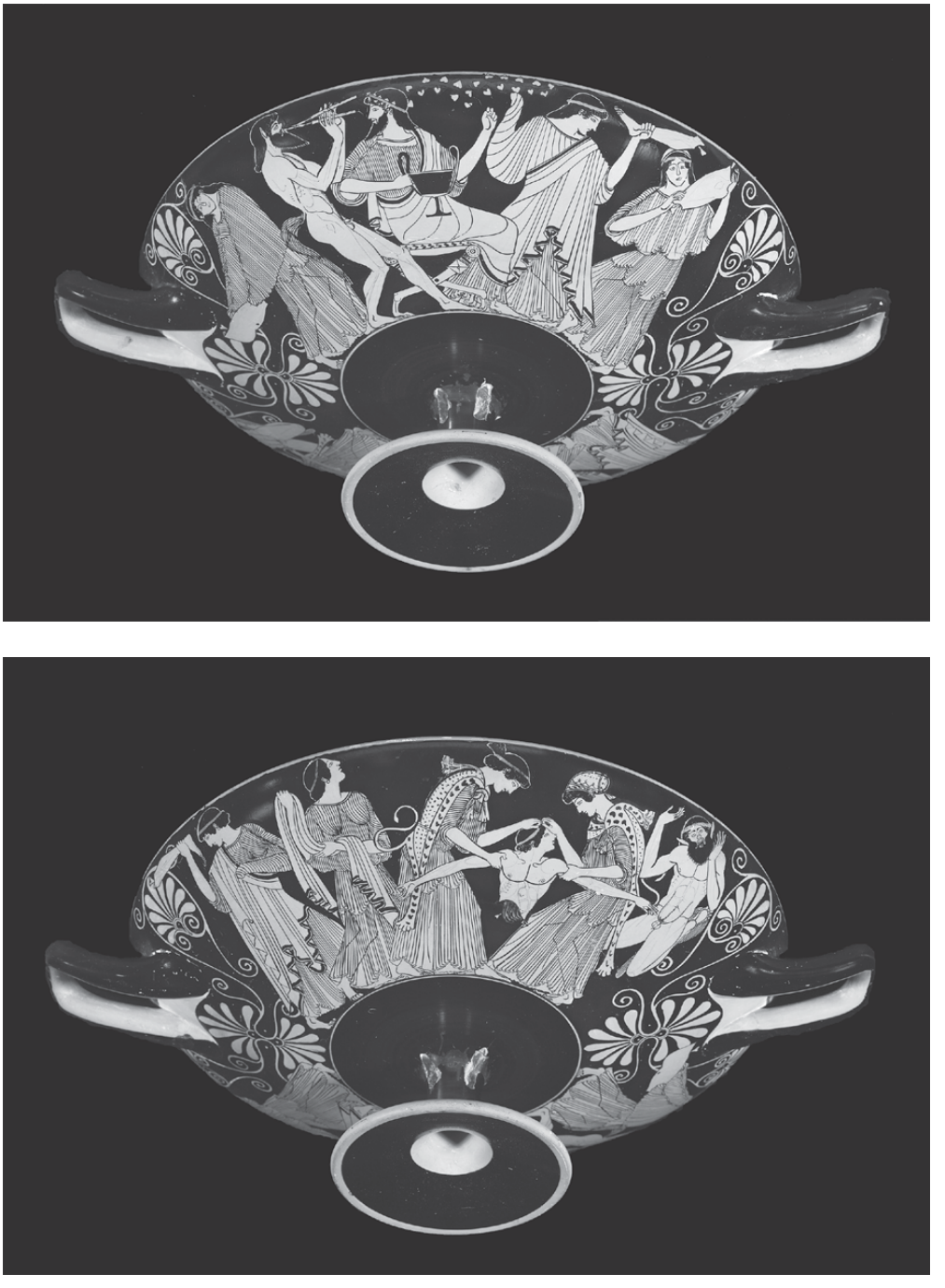

Figure 2.13 Red-figure cup showing the death of Pentheus. Painted by Douris c.480 BC.

do the severed parts lose any of their original beauty – we might even argue that the eroticism of the naked body is accentuated through the process of the dismemberment.[70] Moreover, a careful scrutiny of the Pentheus vases confirms that here, as in the votive relief, we have exactly the right number of body parts with which to reassemble the protagonist. These vases incite their viewers to mentally reconstruct the shattered jigsaw of Pentheus' body – in the one shown in Figure 2.13 this would have necessitated the viewer turning the vase over in his or her hands, since here the king's body is distributed all over the vase's surface.

The parallels between these images of Pentheus' death and the votive relief from the Athens Asklepieion have some far-reaching implications. On one level, they give further support to the argument that votive body parts in the relief would have been perceived as evoking dismembered parts of a previously whole body: for not only does the choice and arrangement of the votives within the relief conjure up the image of a fragmented 'body-in-pieces', but the representation also borrows the established visual language of the mythical *sparagmos*. Perhaps more importantly, the overlaps between the scenes remind us that the dismembered body had a particular cultural and religious meaning for ancient viewers – one that involved the recognition of divine power over the mortal body, and implications of divine retribution.[71] Pentheus was dismembered because he had offended Dionysus – while the *sparagmos* was undertaken by the women of Thebes, it was motivated by the god himself. Other *sparagmos* myths follow the same thematic structure, whereby the protagonist incites divine anger, and the god subsequently sets in motion a sequence of events which culminate in the mortal's dismemberment. For instance, the hunter Actaeon angered Artemis, either because he boasted that he was a better hunter than she was (this is the version recorded in Euripides' *Bacchae*) or because he had gazed upon her naked body, after which the goddess turned him into a stag, and he was ripped to pieces by his own hounds.[72] Hippolytus, likewise, offended Aphrodite by valuing his chastity

[70] On the relationship between fragmentation and beauty, see Pacteau (1994).

[71] We might also remember this sanctuary's topographical location just to the west of the Theatre of Dionysus. Dionyus himself was closely connected to *sparagmos* – being both agent and object of dismemberment; meanwhile, the myths associated with *sparagmos* would have been enacted within the space of the theatre, in close proximity to the Asklepieion sanctuary and the images of corporeal fragmentation that it contained.

[72] Euripides *Bacchae* 336–40. For Actaeon spying on Artemis while she bathed see Callimachus *Hymn* 5.106ff.

over sexual love: he was eventually dashed to pieces through the agency of the goddess.[73]

The act of *sparagmos* represented a loaded manifestation of divine power over the mortal realm: as such, it constituted a highly appropriate mode of representation for the human body in the context of the sanctuary, where it served to confirm the powerlessness and frailty of the mortal body in the face of divine omnipotence. Even more importantly, the disarticulation of the body in these *sparagmos* myths was framed as a punitive measure against a mortal's contravention of divine will. It should not be too difficult to see how this form of representation ties into contemporary beliefs about the origin and meaning of sickness. Throughout antiquity, sickness and disease were often rationalised as punishments sent by the gods. One of the earliest and most famous examples is the plague at the start of Homer's *Iliad*, dispatched by Apollo after the Greeks took his priestess hostage, but such beliefs persisted into and well beyond the Classical period, where they coexisted with more 'rational' approaches to human illness.[74] At the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, for instance, an inscription set up by the priests of the sanctuary in the second half of the fourth century BC records the story of a certain Echedorus, who took money from his friend Pandarus to make a dedication to the god. But instead of handing the money over to Asklepios, Echedorus kept it; the god subsequently punished him by transferring Pandarus' facial marks onto Echedorus' own face.[75] For the Classical Greek viewer who knew their mythology, this belief that illness was a form of divine punishment would have been consolidated in the healing sanctuary, whose surfaces were scattered with 'dismembered' parts of the human body.

[73] Euripides *Hippolytus* 1239. Seneca's *Phaedra* (1105–13) contains a chilling account (albeit much later than the material discussed in this chapter) of how Hippolytus' servants searched the fields for his scattered body parts.

[74] Homer *Iliad* 1.9ff. Other Archaic examples are at Homer *Odyssey* 4.377ff. and Hesiod *Works and Days* 238ff and 260ff. Besides the Epidaurian *iamata*, Classical-era evidence for such beliefs can be found in the form of mythical narratives, curses and oracles. For the oracles, see Parke and Wormell (1956); for myths where transgression leads to madness, see Mattes (1970), 36–49; for myths in which sexual transgression is punished by blindness, see Devereux (1973); for more on blindness and madness as a punishment in myth, see Buxton (1980), esp. 30–4. For further examples and general discussion of illness as a divine punishment in antiquity, see Pettazzoni (1936); Noorda (1979); Versnel (1990), 101–2; Chaniotis (1995), 325–6; Parker (1983), 235–56; Lloyd (2003), 16ff.; van der Eijk (2005), 45–73. On the Near Eastern material, where the connection between illness and divine punishment is even more prevalent, see von Siebenthal (1950). Chapter 5 below explores the connection between illness and punishment in relation to the Lydian-Phrygian propitiatory stelai.

[75] *IG* IV² 1, 121; LiDonnici (1995), 91 [A7], ll. 66–8. Other *iamata* which show illness as divine punishment are at LiDonnici (1995), 113 [B6] and 121 [C4].

Healing as Reintegration

The story of Echedorus cited above is one of more than seventy stories preserved on a series of large, now-fragmentary stelai from the Asklepieion at Epidauros.[76] As briefly discussed above, these narratives are known as *iamata* ('miracle') inscriptions; they were written down in the fourth century BC on blocks of stone displayed within the sanctuary. Most of the *iamata* tales record success stories – dreams or visions in which supplicants witnessed the epiphany of the god and their own miraculous healing: like the votive offerings left by visitors, then, these inscriptions functioned as permanent material testimonies of the god's healing power. While so far in this chapter I have focused on how fragmentation was used as a metaphor to give visual form and social meaning to the otherwise intensely personal experience of illness, a closer reading of these Epidaurian healing narratives suggests that corporeal fragmentation may also have played a functional role in the *curing* of the sick body. For in a number of cases, the process of healing is explicitly connected with the physical dismantling and reassembly of a fragmented body:

> A man from Torone, leeches. When he was sleeping, he saw a dream. It seemed to him that the god ripped open his chest with a knife, took out the leeches and gave them to him in his hands, and sewed his breast together. When day came he left having the animals in his hands, and had become well (*hygies egeneto*).[77]
>
> Arata of Lacedaimon, dropsy. For her sake, her mother slept here, while she remained in Lacedaimon, and she sees a dream. It seemed to her the god cut off the head of her daughter and hung the body neck downwards. After much fluid had run out, he untied the body and put the head back on the neck. Having seen this dream she returned to Lacedaimon and found on her arrival that her daughter was well (*hygiainousan*) and that she had seen the same dream.[78]
>
> Aristagora of Troezen. Since she had a worm in her belly, she slept in the temenos of Asklepios in Troezen and she saw a dream. It seemed to her that the sons of the god, while he was not there but was in Epidauros, cut off her head, but they couldn't put it back again so they sent someone to the Asklepieion, so that he would return. Meanwhile the day overtakes them and the priest clearly sees the head removed

[76] *IG* IV² 1, 121–4; Edelstein and Edelstein (1945), 221–37; Dillon (1994); LiDonnici (1995); Rhodes and Osborne (2003), 532–42. All translations here are taken from LiDonnici (1995). Pausanias (2.27.3) saw six stelai at the site: these presumably included the four that are preserved today. The four stelai are labelled A to D. A and B (*IG* IV² 1, 121 and *IG* IV² 1, 122) contain large sections of extant text, while C and D are more fragmentary. Here I follow LiDonnici's consecutive numbering of the tales across the stelai.

[77] LiDonnici (1995), 95 [A13].

[78] LiDonnici (1995), 101 [B1].

from the body. When the night finally came again, Aristagora saw a vision. It seemed to her that the god had returned from Epidauros and put the head on her neck, and after that cut open her belly, took out the worm and sewed it together again, and from this she became well (*hygies egeneto*).[79]

In these stories, the restitution of the patient to health is explicitly equated with their physical reconstitution into whole bodies, which prefigures their departure from the sanctuary as healthy beings. Just like the metaphors that align the broken body with the ill body, these tales offer a normative representation of health as *wholeness*. But here the fragmented body is not simply equated with the ill body; rather, the act of (albeit temporary) dismemberment plays a vital role in the process of healing itself. On one level this is a practical measure: the disarticulation of the body facilitates the removal of some hostile agent (leeches, fluid, worms). Nevertheless, the significance of the operation goes above and beyond its immediate practical uses. The wholesale removal of the head is an unnecessarily drastic measure for the expulsion of liquid or small creatures, and I would argue that this hyperbolic imagery of dismemberment and reintegration serves a symbolic purpose, through enacting on another, metaphorical level the transformation undergone by the individual during their visit to the healing sanctuary. This idea finds support in another of the Epidaurian *iamata*, where the fragmentation and reintegration of the 'body' has no practical value.

The goblet. A porter, upon going to the Temple, fell when he was near the ten-stadia stone. When he had gotten up he opened his bag and looked at the broken vessels. When he saw that the goblet from which his master was accustomed to drink was also broken, he was in great distress and sat down to try to fit the pieces together again. But a passer-by saw him and said: 'Foolish fellow, why do you put the goblet back together in vain? For this one not even Asclepius of Epidaurus could put to rights again.' The boy, on hearing this, put the pieces back in the bag and went on to the Temple. When he got there he opened the bag and brought the goblet out of it, and it was entirely whole (*hygie*); and he related to his master what had happened and had been said; when he [the master] heard that, he dedicated the goblet to the god.[80]

Fred Naiden describes the episode of the broken pot as a 'morality tale' whose purpose was to confound sceptics, thereby rationalising the citation of such a miracle amongst all the other narratives of bodily illness and cure.[81] However,

[79] LiDonnici (1995), 103, [B3].

[80] LiDonnici (1995), 93 [A10].

[81] Naiden (2005), 86. Dillon rightly describes the whole group of *iamata* as *aretalogiai* which 'demonstrated that the god was all powerful, that he expected thanks for cures, and that his sceptics had been proven wrong'. Dillon (1994), 257.

when the broken pot is read alongside the stories that show healing as the reintegration of a previously broken body, the tale acquires an obvious structural significance. In Classical times, the image of a clay pot frequently served as a metaphor for the human body.[82] The miraculous mending of the broken pot thus provides an analogy for the mending of the pilgrims' bodies recorded in the same stele. The significance of the allegorical representation would not have been lost on other visitors to the sanctuary. The pot in its reconstituted state is described as *hygie* – 'healthy'. The same word occurs at the climax of most other tales on the stelai, including the three mentioned above. Moreover, the jeer of the anonymous passer-by, that 'not even Asklepios' could make the pot whole again, affirms that Asklepios' acknowledged claim to fame was precisely that – making things whole again.

In the Epidaurian *iamata*, then, one of the ways in which the process of healing was represented was as the disassembly and subsequent remaking of the patient's body.[83] We might see a similar narrative laid out in the relief from the Asklepieion at Athens (Figure 2.11), where the juxtaposition of the two female bodies – one broken, one whole – can be read as visualising the transition from sickness to health that was being solicited or commemorated by the dedicant. In turn, the relief's juxtaposition of the whole and fragmented bodies would have been mirrored in the juxtaposition of the viewer's own body with the assemblage of individual anatomical votives displayed within the Asklepieion; this 'multimedia' representation may have prefigured, or re-enacted, the viewer's own personal transition from a state of illness to a state of health. The individual votive body part can thus be seen to play a functional role in the healing process, not (only) through processes of sympathetic magic or substitution, as has previously been suggested, but because the bodily fragmentation that it symbolises sets the whole process of healing in motion.

This use of bodily dismemberment to enact the transformation of an individual's status offers a new perspective on a very old theme in scholarship on Greek myth and ritual; that is, the symbolic use of dismemberment

[82] DuBois (1988), 46–9, 57–9, 132–6; Sissa (1990). Cf. Henderson (2002), 22: 'Amphorae, however, insist on their bodily existence in the round: if their "ears," the handles, halve the expanse between neck and belly, nevertheless bands of belting and studding symbolically hoop the whole circumference and truss the girth into shape.'

[83] This was not the only way in which healing was represented. Other tales record healing being achieved through the act of incubation alone (as in the case of the five-years-pregnant woman who slept in the sanctuary then gave birth immediately afterwards: LiDonnici (1995), 85 [A1]) or using the gods' snakes as intermediaries (as in the tale recorded at LiDonnici (1995), 97 [A17], in which a man's toe is healed after being licked by a snake; here we might compare the healing of Wealth in Aristophanes' *Ploutos* 410–12, 633–747).

in rituals of initiation. One early statement of this idea is found in Jane Harrison's 1912 study *Themis: The Social Origins of Greek Religion*, which begins with the discussion of a Greek hymn which had been rediscovered in 1904 in the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus at Palaikastro on Crete.[84] The hymn describes a baffling sequence of events, including marching, rejoicing and the stealing and hiding away of a child; it was addressed to the Kouros, and was thus presumed by scholars to describe a ritual of adolescent initiation. In reconstructing the details of this ritual, Harrison sought the help of two different types of source: first the combined myths of the young Zeus, Zagreus and Dionysus – all of which involved the theft of the young protagonist, their violent death and their subsequent resurrection in whole bodies – and secondly the 'primitive' rites of adolescent initiation observed by Victorian ethnographers in Africa, America, Australia and the South Pacific Islands, which involved the simulation of the neophyte's dismemberment followed by his reconstitution and rebirth as a new, fully socialised adult being. For Harrison, these mythological and ethnographic sources made the content of the Palaikastro ritual clear: 'Young Men who have been initiated themselves and will initiate others, will instruct them in tribal duties and tribal dances, will steal them away from their mothers, conceal them, make away with them by some pretended death and finally bring them back as new-born, grown youths, full members of their tribe.'[85] Inspired by Van Gennep, whose study of *Les Rites de Passage* had appeared three years earlier, Harrison ultimately postulated that 'myths … which embody the hiding, slaying and bringing to life again of a child or young man, may reflect almost any form of initiation rite'.[86]

In today's intellectual climate, scholars are reluctant to accept Harrison's reconstruction of this ancient passage ritual. This reluctance derives, in part, from a deep-running distrust of the comparative methodology that she used and the evolutionary view of human development which this methodology reflected. Meanwhile, recent work has problematised the whole concept of initiation, or at least 'its use as an explanatory paradigm for a large area of ancient religion and culture'.[87] Others remain convinced that dismemberment did play a part in ancient rituals, and in those of the

[84] Harrison (1927 [1912]). For the text see West (1965).

[85] Harrison (1927 [1912]), 19–20.

[86] Harrison (1927 [1912]), 16.

[87] The citation is from Graf (2003), 20. For contextualisation and critique of the comparative and ritualist approaches to myth, see Calame (1999). Further problematisation of Harrison's reading, and of the whole concept of initiation, is found at Graf (2003).

mystery cults in particular; even so, because of the hermetic nature of these cults, the practice remains only indirectly accessible, for instance through enigmatic allusions in Greek drama.[88] However, in this chapter we have met archaeological and epigraphic evidence that explicitly connects the dismemberment and reintegration of the body with an individual's transition between two existential states – that is, between the state of illness and the state of health. We can thus positively conclude that the Classical Greeks *did* use the image of dismemberment to symbolise and actualise rites of passage, albeit in relation to healing rather than initiation into the mystery cults. Any use of similar imagery in contemporary initiation rituals would only have underscored, for viewers of the anatomical votives, the transformative powers of human bodily dismemberment.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the Classical Greek evidence for anatomical votives, focusing on the material from the major Asklepios sanctuaries at Athens, Corinth and Epidauros. It has explored how and why anatomical votives (re) appeared in Classical Greece, calling particular attention to the fact that this form of representation emerged alongside other ways of experimenting with the imagery of the parted body, including medical texts which enumerated the parts of the sick body, artistic depictions of real and represented bodies-in-pieces, literary metaphors of the body politic and philosophical theories about human evolution and foetal development. Although there are clearly important distinctions to be made between these different genres, it is also striking that they broadly coincided in time: ultimately, the visual and textual sources introduced here suggest that the imagery of the human body-in-pieces proved exceptionally 'good to think with' in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

Replacing the anatomical votives alongside other sorts of 'deconstructed' bodies has also suggested some new ways in which they might be interpreted. I have concentrated here on how the votives resonate with textual descriptions of illness as bodily breakdown, and also with images of *sparagmos*, which was another dominant way of visualising divine–mortal relations in the ancient world. However, we must assume that the votives were multivalent images, and that further meanings would also have been generated from similarities and juxtapositions with other types of bodies-in-pieces.

[88] E.g. in the context of a more general study of reflections of Dionysiac cult in Euripides' *Bacchae*, Richard Seaford argues that we can perceive in the death of Pentheus 'a pathetic hint of joyful rebirth, not only in the mother's recomposition of the body, but in the passage in which Dionysos predicts Pentheus' triumphal return (963–70)'. Seaford (1981), 267.

Modern viewers of votive body parts are often struck by their apparent Freudian or Lacanian qualities, and the Empedoclean texts discussed here raise the possibility that ancient viewers may *also* have made a connection between the fragmented body parts and an early stage of human development – a connection which may, in turn, have constructed the sanctuary as a space with maternal and preternatural resonances.[89] Neither can we rule out the possibility that ancient writers themselves may have been influenced by viewing the votives. Roger Brock reminds us that 'the elements that shape Plato's imagery can be varied and complex'.[90] Is it possible that Plato's vivid image of the 'feverish' Athenian body politic, described in chapter 8 of his *Republic*, owed something to the votive images of the sick citizenry that he saw strewn around the local healing sanctuaries?[91]

After the Classical period had ended, anatomical votives remained a feature of ancient Greek material religion right through until Roman Imperial times. In Athens, marble body parts continued to be dedicated in the sanctuaries of Asklepios, but also appeared in the sanctuaries of Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis, of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx, as well as at the shrines belonging to the Heros Iatros, Artemis Kalliste and Ariste, Artemis Kolainis, and Herakles Pankrates.[92] Findspots outside Athens in the Hellenistic period include the Asklepieia at Epidauros, Eleusis and Piraeus, as well as the sanctuaries of Artemis Kyparissia at Sparta, Aphrodite Neleia at Demetrias and Artemis Ennodia at Pherai.[93] However, rather than pursuing the later Greek trajectory of the anatomical votive tradition, this book will instead move across the Mediterranean to Italy, to pick up on how this tradition was transformed in a very different cultural context.

[89] For examples of modern connections between votives and psychoanalysis see Albano, Allison and Abel-Hirsch (2010), 13 (the catalogue of an exhibition *Psychoanalysis* in which anatomical votives were presented as examples of wish-fulfilment); also contemporary artist Christie Brown's piece titled *Ex Votos*, which is reproduced and discussed in Brown and Hughes (2012).

[90] Brock (2006), 352.

[91] Plato *Republic* 8.556e: 'Just as a sickly body needs only a slight push from outside to become ill, and sometimes even without any external influence becomes divided by factions within itself, so too doesn't a city that is in the same kind of condition as that body, on a small pretext – men brought in as allies from outside, from a city under an oligarchy, by the members of one party, from a city under a democracy, by members of the other – fall sick and do battle with itself, and sometimes even without any external influence become divided by faction?'

[92] Eros and Aphrodite: Forsén (1996), 57; Zeus Hypsistos: Forsén (1996), 70; Heros Iatros: Forsén (1996), 56; Artemis Kalliste and Ariste: Forsén (1996), 57; Artemis Kolainis: Forsén (1996), 58; Herakles Pankrates: Forsén (1996), 59.

[93] Epidauros Asklepieion: Forsén (1996), 83; Eleusis: Forsén (1996), 82; Piraeus: Forsén (1996), 77; Artemis Kyparissia at Sparta: Forsén (1996), 84; Aphrodite Neleia at Demetrias: Forsén (1996), 87; Artemis Ennodia at Pherai: Forsén (1996), 88.

3 Under the Skin: Anatomical Votives in Republican Italy, Fourth–First Centuries BC

Our second case-study looks at the three-dimensional terracotta models of body parts that were dedicated in Republican Italy between the fourth and first centuries BC in the regions of Etruria, Latium and Campania (see map at Figure 3.1; Figures 3.2 and 3.3).[1] These 'Etrusco-Italic' models are the most intensively studied of all the anatomical votives from antiquity, and over the last thirty years this material has appeared in numerous publications, including archaeological site reports, a handful of glossy exhibition catalogues and several significant articles addressing particular characteristics of the votive material in this area.[2] Scholars have debated the origin and dissemination of the anatomical terracottas within Italy, the cultural identity, gender and social status of their dedicants, the techniques of their manufacture and the possible symbolic meanings of certain types of body part. The votives have also been used to reconstruct ancient anatomical knowledge, to retrospectively diagnose illnesses suffered by people in this area and to explore interactions between different communities living within ancient Italy.

The current chapter builds on all this work, but adopts a slightly different approach, which is driven by the questions of how and why these Etrusco-Italic terracotta body parts differ from the Classical Greek votives that were the focus of the previous chapter. The relationship between the Greek and Italic anatomical votives has conventionally been seen in terms of a straightforward *influence*, according to which the custom of dedicating

[1] See also the distribution map at Comella (1981): note, however that 'the geographical limits of this practice, defined by Comella and accepted by other scholars, have now come under significant criticism from other scholars, Schultz (2006), 99; see also Glinister (2006), 14–23. In this chapter, the term 'Etrusco-Italic' is used as a term of convenience, but in reality the votives appear to have been used by people from a range of different backgrounds, including Etruscans, Romans, Umbrians, Faliscans and Samnites: cf. Söderlind (2002), 39 and 375–81.

[2] For the Etrusco-Italic anatomicals, see Graham (2017); Flemming (2017); Recke and Wamser-Krasznai (2008); Turfa (1986), (2004a) with bibliography, (2006a), (2006b); Glinister (2006); Schultz (2006), 95–120; Lesk (1999) and (2002); Comella (1981); Fenelli (1975b). Several of the articles in Draycott and Graham (2017) address this material. For discussion of the terminology used for votive deposits in antiquity, with references to further bibliography, see Schultz (2006), 96–7. Fenelli (1992), 127–8 has a list of votive catalogues for the regions of Etruria, Latium and Campania.

Figure 3.1 Map of Italy showing main sites discussed in the text.

model body parts was 'copied' from incoming Greeks at some point during the early Hellenistic/Republican era. And it *is* true that the historical scenario of trade and other types of contact between Greece and Italy in this period, coupled with the strong formal similarities between Greek and Italic body part models, make for a convincing narrative of continuity and influence in the anatomical votive tradition. At the same time, though, there are some important differences between the Greek and Etrusco-Italic votives, not least in the range of body parts that were represented in each place. As we saw in the previous chapter, the votives from Classical Greece all represented 'external' body parts: that is, those limbs and other body parts which could be seen and touched from the outside. The Italian deposits, instead, are full of images of internal organs represented both singly and in groups, suggesting that these populations had radically different views of the human body and its physical and conceptual boundaries.

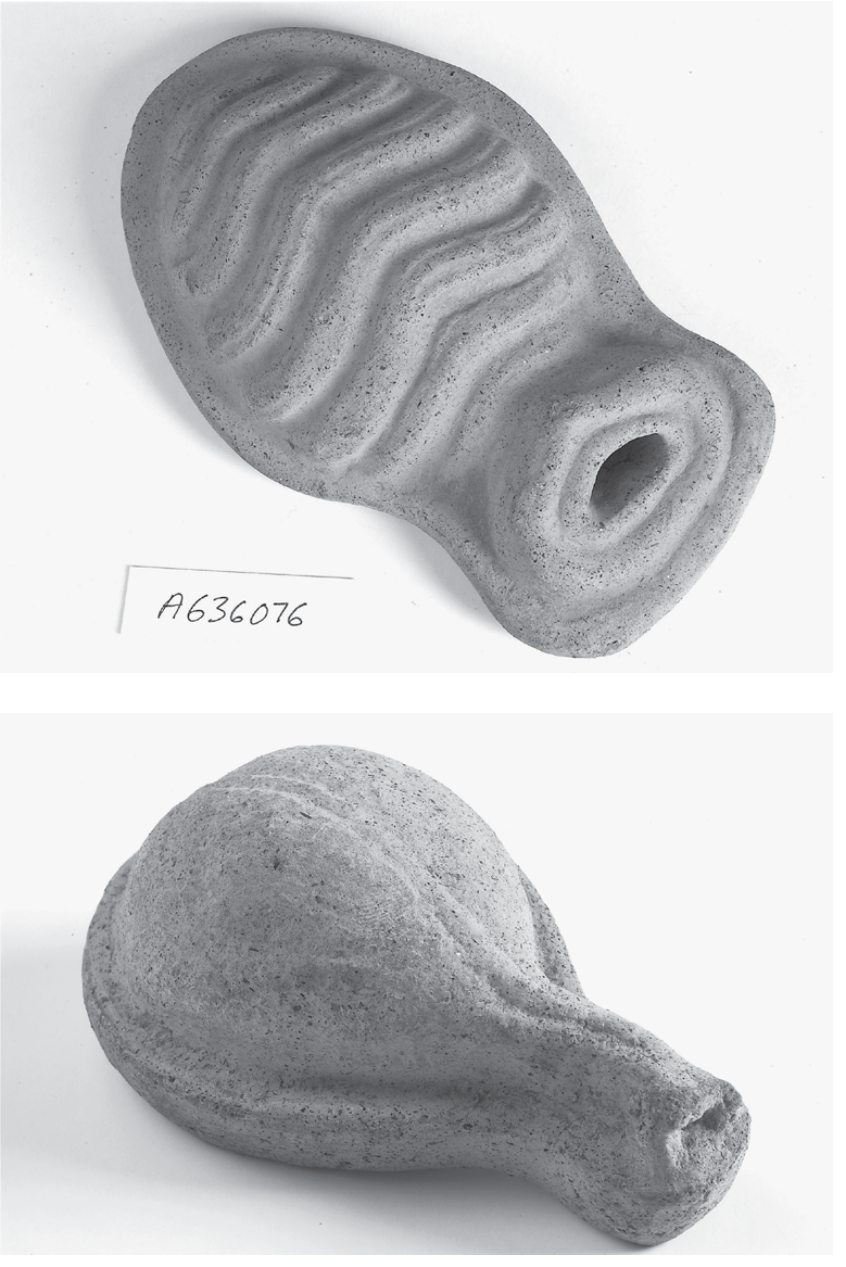

Figure 3.2a–d Etrusco-Italic votives in the Wellcome Collection. Anti-clockwise from top left: uterus, bladder (?), teeth, portion of a face.

Figure 3.2a–d (*cont.*)

Figure 3.3 Display of votives from the sanctuary of Nemi, including a hand, foot, two uteri, a bust, three heads, a portion of a face and a 'dissected' figurine.

The discussion here will begin by introducing the evidence for the Etrusco-Italic votives, using the sites of Gravisca and Tessennano as scene-setting examples. I will then discuss how the Etrusco-Italic terracottas relate to older votive traditions in both Italy and Greece. The chapter makes the following general claim: focusing on the 'new' votives that get introduced in a particular place can lead us to a better understanding of the tradition as a whole, by forcing us to notice and question the presence of these new objects in one context *and* their corresponding absence in another. Specifically, in this case the presence of internal organs in Italy highlights the relatively limited range of votives in Greece, prompting us to consider (a) why Greek artists did *not* make votive models of internal organs, and (b) why Etrusco-Italic artists *did* do so. In the first instance, I suggest that the absence of inner organs in Greek deposits can be connected to a constellation of interlinked cultural factors, including constraints operating within the sphere of visual representation, religious regulations about the pure and 'bounded' body, and the dominance of medical views in which the organs played a relatively limited role. In Italy, meanwhile, the presence of internal organs is explained primarily in reference to the strong local traditions of animal sacrifice and extispicy, as well as a particular 'taste' for visual representations showing the deconstructed body,

and a relatively relaxed approach to the boundaries between humans and animals. In this last respect, I will also suggest that these internal organ votives form part of a wider aesthetic of human-animal hybridity, evident in other objects in the Etrusco-Italic assemblage, as well as in the sanctuaries' framing architecture. The final section of this chapter will explore the close conceptual relationship between hybridity and metamorphosis, demonstrating the relevance of these concepts for dedicants and viewers of the anatomical votives.

Introducing the Votive Evidence

Terracotta body parts have been found at more than 130 sanctuary sites throughout west–central Italy, primarily within the regions of southern Etruria, Latium and Campania.[3] These sanctuaries range from small rural sites to large urban ones, and they 'belong' to a diverse collection of gods and goddesses, most of whom are not normally considered to be archetypal healing deities.[4] This broad spread suggests that virtually any deity could be approached with requests for healing, with worshippers often dedicating votives at their local sanctuaries rather than going on long pilgrimages to specialised 'medical' venues.

The anatomical votives' main period of use seems to stretch from the fourth to the early first century BC, although terracotta heads were already being used as dedications in the fifth century BC, and in some sanctuaries votive body parts continued to be displayed well into the Imperial era.[5] It is difficult to reconstruct a more precise chronology for the anatomical votives, partly because, unlike the marble reliefs from Greece, they very rarely have written inscriptions which might aid dating on epigraphic grounds. Only a handful of the Italian terracotta body parts have inscriptions: a leg model from Tarquinia engraved with the words *alce:vel:tiples* ('Vel Tiples dedicated'); two uterus models from the territory of Vulci incised with *vei* ('to [the Etruscan goddess] Vea'); a heart from Lavinium inscribed *SEN[-]IA*.

[3] List of sites at Fenelli (1975b), 206–52; Steingräber (1981), 216–53; Comella (1981), 717–803. Reports on excavations published after these studies include Comella (1982), (1986), (2001); Ricciardi (1988–9); Coarelli (1986); Maioli and Mastrocinque (1992); Pautasso (1994); Costantini (1995); Bartoloni and Benedettini (2011); De Lucia Brolli and Tabolli (2015).

[4] Sanctuaries where the deities have been identified include Minerva at Punta della Vipera (Comella 2001); Aphrodite-Turan, Demeter-Vei and Hera-Uni at Gravisca (Comella 1978); Aesculapius at Fregellae (Coarelli 1986) and Minerva Medica on the Esquiline in Rome (Gatti lo Guzzo 1978). Schultz notes that 'the ubiquity of the anatomical votives is a reflection of the Roman belief that all gods were capable of healing worshippers'. Schultz (2006), 107.

[5] On the earlier dedication of clay heads see Mastrocinque (2005); on the continued display of votives in later periods, see Potter (1985), 38 on the anatomicals at Ponte di Nona, which were buried in the late imperial period, and Pautasso (1994) on the votive deposit at Vulci (Porta Nord), where the anatomical terracottas of the third–second century BC appear (from the evidence of related finds, including a Domitianic coin) to have been deposited in the early imperial period.

MENRVA/ME[-]ISA ('Dedicated to Minerva by Senenia'); and a fragmentary knee from Veii, which bears the traces of a word ending with … *fim*.[6] The vast majority of the anatomical models from this area were manufactured using moulds, and the ensuing stylistic uniformity of the body parts poses a further problem for dating, which is aggravated by the fact that the moulds themselves were used for long periods and were frequently cast from even older models.[7] Another factor which makes it difficult to construct a robust chronology is the mode of deposition: as in Corinth, it was often the case that objects that had accumulated over a long period were collected and buried together in a votive deposit (termed a *stips*, *bothros* or *favissa* in the modern scholarship), meaning that the position of finds within the archaeological stratigraphy does not necessarily reflect the order in which they were originally placed in the sanctuary.[8]

Publications of the extant anatomical votives from Italy have emerged slowly but steadily over the last half century, many of them as monographs in the series 'Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia'.[9] These reports on individual sites follow a standard format in which information about the excavation and history of the site is followed by a catalogue of finds arranged according to type, in which the anatomicals are further subdivided according to the body part represented. Other studies of the votives have taken a more panoramic view across different sites, such as the 1975 article by Maria Fenelli and the 1981 follow-up by Comella, both of which include maps indicating the geographical spread of the votives, as well as tables in which the anatomical votives are indexed by type.[10] These publications have brought to light the similarities between the contents of the various deposits across the regions of Etruria, Latium and Campania (often abbreviated to 'ELC' in the votives literature), which are shown to contain the same broad categories of offering, including the model body parts, heads and busts (often considered separately from other body parts in the literature), animal figurines and models of swaddled babies (Figure 3.4).[11]

[6] Turfa (2004a), 363 nos. 301–4. The leg from Tarquinia is *CIE* 10012; for the uteri see Colonna (1988); for the heart see Fenelli (1984); for the knee see Ambrosetti (1954), 5. See also the unprovenanced bronze leg in the collections of the British Museum inscribed *T.R.Caledi.* British Museum inv. no. 1772,0305.60.

[7] On fabrication from moulds and problems of dating, see Recke (2013), 1071–3.

[8] *OLD* (1982) *s.v. mundus*, *stips*, *favissa*; Hackens (1963).

[9] There are currently 21 volumes. Examples include Bartoloni and Benedettini (2011); Comella (2001), (1986); Costantini (1995); Pautasso (1994). Ginge (1993) reviews several volumes of the series.

[10] Fenelli (1975a), Comella (1981); see discussion at Schultz (2006), 116–18; her Table 1 on p. 117 compares the numbers of sites and votives identified by each of these earlier studies.

[11] On the heads see Mastrocinque (2005); Söderlind (2002); on the animal figurines see Söderlind (2004), which is a statistical study of the sites where human and animal votive

Figure 3.4 Model of a swaddled baby from an unidentified Etrusco-Italic deposit, now in the Wellcome Collection.

Of course, new discoveries have been made since Comella and Fenelli compiled their databases, and a more up-to-date account can be found in Jean Macintosh Turfa's entry in the *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*.[12] Here, Turfa helpfully lists the quantities of body parts found at a series of major sites, allowing a glimpse of the enormous variations in sample size (ranging from a handful of objects at some sites to many thousands at others), as well as the relative proportions of the different categories of body part. Despite having all this information at our fingertips, though, statistical study of the votives remains problematic: as Turfa has reminded us elsewhere, 'the only thing we can be sure of is that we do not have 100% of any given deposit/set of offerings of Late Etruscan/Latin cult'.[13]

Two assemblages from opposite ends of Etruria can be used to exemplify some of the similarities and differences between the various sites with votives. The site of Gravisca in south Etruria has already been singled out by several scholars working on votive offerings, in part because it is one of the few sites where votives seem to have been preserved *in situ* of their dedication.[14] Gravisca was a port sanctuary which belonged to the Etruscan town of Tarquinia, and from its earliest phases in the sixth century BC it was used by both Greek and Phoenician traders. Originally, the site was dedicated to Aphrodite, who was later joined by Hera and Demeter; by the fourth century these goddesses had been replaced by their local Etruscan versions, Turan, Uni and Vei respectively. The earliest small shrine was augmented over time, and by the end of the fifth century BC the sanctuary had developed into a large cult complex consisting of five different buildings, subdivided into rooms or spaces (Figure 3.5). It was during this phase of the sanctuary's life that worshippers began to dedicate anatomical votives.

images are found together; and Cazanove (2013). On the swaddled babies see Graham (2014) and Glinister (2017).

12 Turfa (2004a).

13 Turfa (2004b).

14 Turfa (2004a), 365, no. 316, with further bibliography; Haynes (2000), 172–4; Colonna (1985), 141–4, no. 7.2; Comella (1981), table no. 47; Comella (1978); Fenelli (1975a), 250, no. 66. The site has been discussed by Lesk (1999), 48–58 and Flemming (2017), who focuses on the votive uteri. Another site where votives seem to have been preserved *in situ* of their dedication is the sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium, where anatomical votives and terracotta figurines were found on top of the altars and on the platforms which separated them (these have been dated to the fourth and third centuries BC, using archaeological stratigraphy and stylistic analysis of the heads: see Fenelli (1975a), 214). On the Lavinium sanctuary see Fenelli (1975b); Lesk (1999), 70–7; Castagnoli (1975).

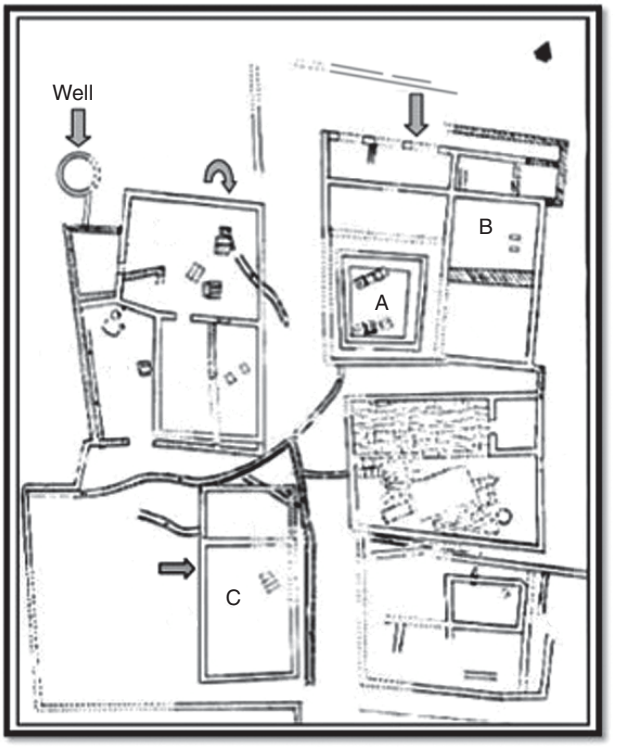

Figure 3.5 Plan of the sanctuary at Gravisca, after Comella (1978), plate 1.

At Gravisca 660 votives have been found, of which a large proportion are anatomicals.[15] These include 9 female heads, 2 ears, 19 arms/hands, 8 legs/feet, 5 breasts, 2 representations of female genitalia, and 297 uteri. The high number of female body parts – breasts, female heads, vulvas and uteri – is immediately striking, as is the corresponding absence of specifically male body parts such as phalli. In fact, Gravisca belongs to a relatively small group of twenty-one sanctuaries in which we find exclusively 'female' offerings: as Celia Schultz has pointed out, these sanctuaries provide some archaeological evidence to support the much greater volume of literary evidence for exclusively female cults in antiquity.[16] The high quantities of uteri

[15] Turfa (2004a), 365, no. 315, with further bibliography (she lists 17 swaddled babies, 13 statuettes, 9 female heads, 2 ears, 19 arms/hands, 8 legs/feet, 5 breasts, 2 female external genitalia, 297 uteri, 122 hearts); Schultz (2006), 192 n. 80.

[16] Schultz (2006), 116–19, using the statistics gathered in Fenelli (1975a) and Comella (1981). Gravisca has the largest numbers of gender-specific votives from Italy. Approximately a quarter of the deposits throughout Italy might be termed 'gender exclusive' – i.e. deposits in which the offerings are either exclusively female (containing breasts and uteri but no phalli), or exclusively male (containing phalli but no breasts or uteri). Another quarter contains types of both genders, while more than half of the deposits in Italy have no gender-specific votives.

are particularly noticeable, as is the iconographic variation between these models – sixty-three main types, according to the 1978 study by Annamaria Comella.[17] This variety in depictions of the womb has been discussed in a recent study by Rebecca Flemming, who notes that

> some shapes and styles do dominate Comella's uterine typology, with variations on the 'almond shaped' (*a mandorla*), 'furrowed' (*scanalature*), 'pear-shaped' (*a pera*), and 'egg-shaped' (*ovoide*) providing multiple examples which combine to make up around two-thirds of the assemblage. Still, the differences between, and to some extent within, these forms are striking: differences in respect to the overall shape of the main body of the womb, its decoration and structure – which include not just 'furrows' but also overlaid bands, cords, even 'straps', as well as buttons, crests and other protuberances – to the configuration of its mouth and neck, to size, and presentational style, that is the mode of display.[18]

The impressive variety of the womb models of Gravisca is mirrored at other sites in Etruria, and must somehow be connected to an uncertainty about what this normally hidden organ actually looked like.[19] The absence of a real, fleshy prototype for comparison and verification purposes meant that artists were free to innovate and experiment in their depictions, and to draw symbolic analogies with other types of bodies and objects. And we might assume that one consequence of the juxtaposition of all these different uterus types in the sanctuary at Gravisca was to reinforce the uncertainty and mystery surrounding the body interior, which was implicitly constructed as endlessly variable, and even volatile.

Besides the intrinsic interest of its gendered assemblage, Gravisca also gives a fleeting glimpse into dedicatory practices at Etrusco-Italic temples. The votives were not found in a deposition pit, as is the case with most other sanctuaries, but rather placed throughout the cult complex, clustering around altars or statue bases, and also inside a well. The space labelled 'A' on the plan at Figure 3.5 was a courtyard built on top of the older sanctuary of Aphrodite, and it contained two limestone structures which may have been altars or bases for statues. A large number of votives were found clustered around the southernmost of these structures, including models of swaddled babies,

[17] Comella (1978), 67–81, pls. XXXI–XXXVI.

[18] Flemming (2017), 117. Flemming explores how the various features of the wombs might reflect different medical beliefs about the body and argues convincingly that these objects might productively be compared with representations of the womb in Greek Hippocratic texts, which had a wide circulation in this period.

[19] Flemming (2017) discusses the neighbouring site of Fontanile di Legnisina, where 300 uteri have been sorted into 48 main types. See Ricciardi (1988–9), 171–89.

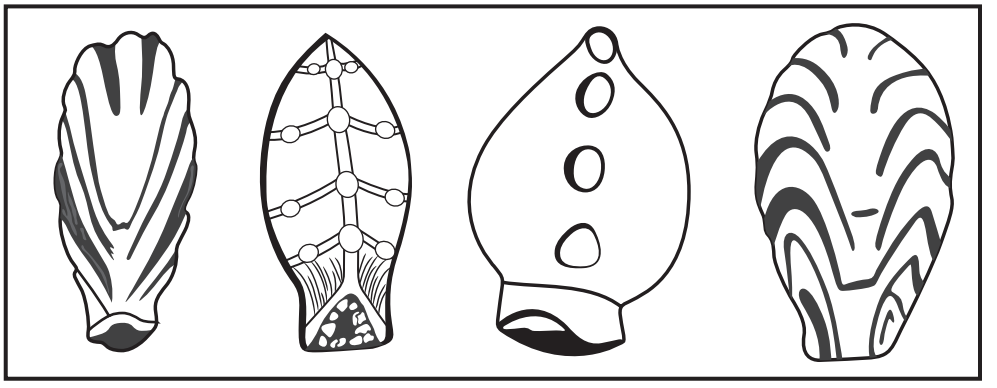

Figure 3.6 Drawings of some votive uteri from Gravisca, showing Comella's main types of (from left to right) 'furrowed' (*a scanalature*), 'almond shaped' (*a mandorla*), 'egg-shaped' (*ovoide*) and 'pear-shaped' (*a pera*). After Comella (1978).

statuettes of goddesses and mixed couples, *cipetti* ('boundary stones') and a wide selection of anatomical votives (two ears, arms, legs, breasts, vulvas, uteri and hearts). Room B in this building also contained two statue bases, and votives had accumulated around these too: here the types included swaddled babies, statuettes, the head of a silenus, arms, hands, vulvas, legs, breasts, many uteri, internal organs, and *cipetti*. In the room marked C in the neighbouring building, 222 uteri were found in the northern and central parts of the room, under a layer of fragmentary roof tiles. This room has been associated with Demeter, partly on account of a series of votive statuettes representing two draped females sitting in an *aedicula*, who have been identified as Demeter and Kore, and partly because the room also contained a circular thesmophoric altar of the type found in sanctuaries of Demeter in Greece. The large numbers of uteri found in this room suggest that Demeter had a particular connection to this body part, and, by extension, may have been associated with female reproductive health.

The 'clustering' of certain types of body part within the sanctuary at Gravisca echoes the situation at the Athens Asklepieion, where, as we have seen, the inventory inscriptions suggest a careful arrangement of votives according to type. At Gravisca, where three deities were worshipped, the evidence suggests that each of the goddesses attracted her own type of dedication – couples and *cipetti* for Aphrodite in Room A, uteri for Demeter in Room C, and perhaps swaddled babies for Hera in Room B. Whether or not the dedicatory practices at Gravisca were representative of other sites in the region is hard to know, since most other votive assemblages are not found *in situ* of their original places of deposition. This is the case with the

material from Tessennano near Canino, in the Etruscan territory of Vulci.[20] This rich deposit was found in 1956 in close connection to some ruined walls, which may have been part of a small rural sanctuary belonging to Mars, whose name is recorded in a Latin inscription on an architrave.[21] The contents of the deposit are now shared between collections in Italy and Sweden, and consist primarily of anatomical terracottas which can be dated stylistically to the third and second centuries BC. Recent iconographic and material analysis of the many heads found at Tessennano has suggested that they came from a local workshops in operation in Tuscania.[22] While the overall numbers are similar to those at Gravisca (approximately 569 terracotta objects, plus 14 small bronzes), the categories of body part depicted are different: 9 male half-heads, 108 adult male heads, 45 adult female heads, 8 'masks' (sections of the face representing the eyes and nose), 21 breasts, 10 limbs, 80 feet, 22 hands, 148 male genitals, 31 uteri, 5 vulvas, 12 'polyvisceral' terracottas (representations of multiple internal organs), 2 ears, and 5 representations of the horizontally segmented trunk (Figure 3.7).[23]

As this list shows, several types of body part (heads, ears, hands, breasts, female genitals and feet) are shared between the two sites of Gravisca and Tessennano, and both sites also had models of swaddled babies. Such overlap in votive types is typical of the deposits in the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian region, and has consequently been seen as evidence for a broader 'cultural *koine*' stretching across these regions of central Italy.[24] At the same time, each one of the ELC votive deposits has certain characteristics that make it different from those at other sites.[25] In the case of Tessennano, the deposit stands out partly on account of its distinctively 'male' character. We find at Tessennano more than twice the number of male as female heads, and a large proportion of images of male genitals, generally the non-erect penis plus scrotum. In this sense, the Tessennano deposit is very different to the more 'female' site of Gravisca. Moreover, at Tessennano we also find some typologically unusual objects, such as the segments of lower bodies, as well

[20] On Tessennano see Sarchioni (1959); Unge Sörling (1994); Costantini (1995); Söderlind (2002), and the review of this book by Turfa (2004b); Turfa (2004a), 365, no. 317.

[21] On the excavations see Costantini (1995), 145–6. For the inscribed architrave see Costantini (1995), 14–15; *CIL* XL, 2926.

[22] Söderlind (2004).

[23] See the lists at Unge Sörling (1994), 49 and Turfa (2004a), 365, no. 317.

[24] See Glinister (2006), 18; Schultz (2006), 97–102.

[25] To give one example, Rebecca Flemming has recently outlined how the diversity of womb models seen at Gravisca and neighbouring Etruscan sites like Fontanile di Legnisina is *not* evidenced at sites in the Latium region, where we find a much narrower range of designs. Flemming (2017).

Figure 3.7 Terracotta lower half-body from Tessennano.

as two intriguing polyvisceral representations in which the trachea has been modelled into the form of a snake (Figure 3.8 shows one example).[26] These latter objects have been interpreted by Sara Costantini as visual references to the god Asklepios, in whose cult the snake played a central role.[27] Other meanings are possible, though, and we cannot necessarily rule out the idea

[26] Lower half bodies: Costantini (1995), E51, pl. 33b, 1–4; E511. Söderlind (2004), table 22, no. 77. Polyvisceral models with snakes: Costantini (1995), 101, E[12]IIIA and E[12]IIIB; pl. 45, d and e.

[27] Costantini (1995), 77–8 and 152–3. For the iconography of Asklepios see *LIMC* II.I *s.v.* 'Asklepios', 863–901. Höllander (1912), 87–95 illustrates snakes in healing contexts. Some of the miracles described in the Epidaurian *iamata* feature a snake with healing power: see e.g. LiDonnici (1995), 97 [A17]; 111 [B13]; 113 [B19]; 115 [B22]; 119 [C2]. Later sources recounting Asklepios' arrival in Rome in 293 BC mention that his snake slithered from the boat and onto the Tiber Island, as if to signal the god's preference for that spot as a location for his new temple. See Valerius Maximus 1.8.2; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.620ff.; Livy 10.47 and 29.11; Strabo 12.5.3; Suetonius *Claudius* 25.

Figure 3.8 Terracotta polyvisceral model from Tessennano.

that this was a literal representation rather than a symbolic analogy – that is, that the snake may have expressed fears about *real* animals living inside the human body.[28] But again, regardless of the precise significance they held for their dedicants, these objects betray an understanding of a dynamic, animated interior, which could, to some extent, act independently of its 'owner'.

The 'snakey' polyvisceral models are not the only votives from Tessennano that represent animal bodies – we also find more conventional animal figurines, most of them representing bovines, as well as some lifesize depictions of animal body parts, which have been interpreted as offerings relating to the health of animals on which the livelihood of the dedicants rested.[29] At Tessennano, as at other sites where such objects have been found, these 'animal anatomicals' depict the lower limbs and hooves, perhaps reflecting – as Martin Söderlind has suggested – the vulnerability of these parts of the animal body (Figure 3.9). Crucially, the dedication of animal body parts in the Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries demonstrates that a similar approach was taken to human and animal bodies – both in terms of illness and healing, *and* in the way in which the body is visually disassembled into its constituent pieces. We will return to discuss this point in more detail later on in this chapter.

The Origins of the Anatomical Votives in Italy

This discussion of the assemblages of Gravisca and Tessennano has given us some insight into the nature of the Italian votive assemblages, and has indicated

[28] Ancient sources confirm that patients did sometimes see themselves as occupied by animals, although most of these sources come from Greek contexts. See e.g. Hippocrates *Epidemics* 5.86 and the Epidaurian *iamata* at LiDonnici (1995), 95, [A13] and 103 [B3]. Pliny comments that snakes could breed in a man's bone marrow (*Natural History* 10.188; cf. Plutarch *Cleomenes* 39; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.389). Another passage of Pliny suggests a further possible interpretation of these objects. 'There is a record,' he writes in *Natural History* 11.97, 'that when a person at Volterra named Caecina was performing a sacrifice, some snakes darted out from the internal organs of the victim – a joyful portent.' It is not entirely implausible that this votive object might be connected in some way to the narrative preserved in Pliny's later text, e.g. by deliberately invoking the story in an attempt to harness its positive valence. Alternatively, the story could have been invented in response to this or similar votive objects – which may have intrigued and perplexed ancient viewers as much as modern ones.

[29] Söderlind (2004), 293, no. 77 ('39 animal figurines including 1 hoof of a cow, cows, 1 bull, 1 pig and 1 bird'). Söderlind's study reveals that cows are the most common species represented in figurine form, followed by pigs and then horses. On the partial animal representations see Söderlind (2004), 278; Recke (2013), 1081 n. 9; Pesetti (1994), 96–100 (for the finds from Capua); Pensabene (2001), 373, no. 350 (a bovine hoof from Palestrina); Cazanove (2013). The hoof from Tessennano is hollow inside and preserves traces of white glaze and red paint. Costantini (1995), 70 [D31], pl. 29 c.

Figure 3.9 Bovine hoof from Pisaurum (Pesaro).

some of the similarities and differences between the various assemblages. In what follows, I take a step back and momentarily consider the Etrusco-Italic votives in their wider, pan-Mediterranean context – a broadening of scale which allows us to identify the differences between the Etrusco-Italic material and the Classical Greek votives considered in the previous chapter.

Where did the anatomical votive ritual in Republican central Italy come from? The tradition of dedicating images of body parts *is* attested in earlier periods at sites further up the Italian peninsula, in the Veneto and other regions of northern Italy (Figure 3.10). Small numbers of model body parts dating to between the seventh and fourth centuries BC have been found at Este and Villa di Villa in the Veneto, as well as at the sites of Adria,

Figure 3.10 Miniature metal votive plaques from the sanctuary of Reitia, Este. c.700–400 BC.

Marzabotto and Arezzo, which are situated to the north of the Po River in Etruria.[30] These early examples represent the parts of the body in miniature; they are made from metal, and vary widely in their appearance and technique of manufacture. In the deposit from Villa di Villa, we find votive body parts in the form of thin bronze plates, decorated with *repoussé* dots which form the outlines of faces, legs, arms, as well as lower body sections which appear to have been made by cutting miniature statuettes in half.[31] Images of a leg and a foot dating to the fifth century BC were found together with bronze figurines and clay vessels at the 'santuario delle acque' in Marzabotto, the site of a presumed healing cult centred on a well and basin containing healing waters.[32] Another deposit from Marzabotto yielded two arms and four legs, one of which was topped with the image of a bird (note that a similar object was found at the more northerly site of Adria).[33]

[30] See Turfa (2004a), 364, nos. 305–9, and the introduction in Maioli and Mastrocinque (1992), 13ff.

[31] Maiolo and Mastrocinque (1992), 115–16, D1–D4.2, *s.v.* 'Ex-voto anatomici'. The divided statuettes are catalogued with the 'bronzetti' at p. 77 (A 1.5 and A 1.6).

[32] Museo Etrusco di Marzabotto, nos. 446 and 447; Colonna (1985), 113–15, figs. 6–7.

[33] Turfa (2004a), 364, nos. 307 (Adria) and 308 (Marzabotto); (2006a), n. 33.

These older metal offerings are not entirely dissimilar from the Republican-era body parts considered in this chapter, and may, as Fay Glinister has already argued, form part of the terracottas' ancestry.[34] There are some apparent strands of continuity between the earlier and later offerings: in particular, we might note that the legs with bird finials show an early impulse towards human-animal hybridity, while the models showing sections of the lower body find larger terracotta counterparts in the deposit from Tessennano and elsewhere (cf. Figure 3.7).[35] At the same time, however, there are also many points of difference between the two data sets, besides their chronological and geographical distance. The miniature size and shiny metal appearance of the earlier metal votives would, for example, have distanced them from the reality inhabited by their users and viewers. Douglass Bailey has outlined some of the psychological effects that miniaturism can have on viewers and handlers of objects: these include empowerment, the creation of accessible alternative worlds and alternative world views, and an alteration in understanding and comprehension of the thing represented, which arises from the necessary reduction of detail in the miniature object.[36] The large, three-dimensional and often flesh-coloured terracotta offerings from Republican central Italy would have had a very different impact on their viewers, drawing them into a relationship predicated on identification rather than distance – on an intrusion *into* the dedicant's world, rather than an escape from it.[37]

As several other studies have already noted, the Etrusco-Italic terracottas find much closer parallels with the Greek votives from Corinth, which are also mould-made from terracotta, and which also represent the body at or near lifesize.[38] The vast majority of the human body parts represented in Corinth appear in the Etrusco-Italic deposits, too; moreover, Matthias Recke has noted that the animal parts in Italy find a counterpart in a goat's hoof from the Corinth Asklepieion.[39] Meanwhile, Alexandra Lesk has drawn

[34] Glinister (2006).

[35] Cf. the nine examples moulded in terracotta found at the Latin colony of Cales: Ciaghi (1993), 185–7.

[36] Bailey (2005), 26–44; cf. Stewart (1984), 37–69. For a discussion of miniature votives from the north-west provinces of the Roman Empire, see Kiernan (2009).

[37] On the coloured paint used to decorate the clay body parts see Recke (2013), 1073, where he reports that 'The repertoire of colors includes above all a strong reddish brown (for skin, but also for internal organs), and black (for hair or drawing of details), but also yellow and white.'

[38] The putative Corinthian origin of the Etrusco-Italic votives is discussed at Glinister (2006), 16–17; cf. Lesk (2002), 195–6.

[39] Recke (2013), 1081, n. 9. The goat's foot is illustrated at Roebuck (1951), pl. 56, no. 39 (no. 38 is a goat's leg too, but this object has 'a peg for insertion into the shoulder of the animal', as noted by Roebuck on p. 141 of his study).

attention to the fact that some of the votive breasts from Gravisca were mounted on plaques that were pierced for suspension, just like the votives from Corinth – even though these Italian votives appear to have rested on the ground near the cult statue.[40] Lesk sees this connection as evidence that 'the breast votives from Gravisca straddle the Greek and Italian traditions and illustrate the transition required to adapt the Corinthian type of anatomical votive to the type found in central Italy'.[41] Most scholars do accept that there was some relationship between the votives of Classical Greece and those of Italy, and many take the view that the tradition was imported to Italy via the cities of the south Italian seaboard, particularly those south Etruscan sites such as Gravisca, where other material and epigraphic evidence testify to frequent cultural contact with Greece.[42] This picture has replaced the older hypothesis that the anatomical votives were brought over to Rome together with the cult of Asklepios, which arrived on the Tiber Island in 293 BC following the command of the Sibylline prophecy.[43]

But again, despite the strong formal similarities between the Greek (and particularly the Corinthian) and Italian votives, there are also some major discrepancies between the two data sets. Most notably, while the Etrusco-Italic deposits include most of the body parts that are represented in Corinth (legs, arms, heads, breasts, male genitals, ears, eyes, hands and feet), they also include many representations of the inner body – both individual organs like the hearts and uteri, as well as 'polyvisceral' representations of the organs on a plaque or figurine. In contrast, as Bjorn Forsén has explained:

> inner organs only occur very seldom in Greece – the only known cases are a dubious stomach/uterus/bladder from Corinth, and two (possibly modern?) clay plaques from Kos depicting the lungs and the uterus/bladder. Additionally, the heart is mentioned five times and the bladder once in the Athenian inventories, and the uterus twice in the Delian.[44]

The 'dubious stomach' was identified by Roebuck, although in reality this fragmentary piece is very difficult to interpret.[45] Moreover, as Rebecca

[40] Pierced breast: Comella (1978), pl. 30, 154 (DIV 2). For the breast and 'the complexity of the Corinthian connection', see Lesk (2002).

[41] Lesk (2002), 200.

[42] Haynes (2000), 172–3, where she discusses some of the Archaic offerings made by Greeks at Gravisca, including a marble anchor bearing an inscription to Aeginetan Apollo by Sostratos (*SEG* XXVI.1137). For the Greek epigraphy from the site see Johnston and Pandolfini (2000).

[43] Comella (1982–3).

[44] Forsén (2004), 312. For the clay plaques from Cos see van Straten (1981), 129–32, no. 30; Turfa (1994), 232. Delos uteri: *ID* 1442, A, 55; van Straten (1981), 128, no. 35e. Athenian inventories: *IG* II^2 1532–9.

[45] Roebuck (1951), 128, no. 118, pl. 45.

Flemming has also noted, the two silver uteri mentioned in the Delian inscriptions date to 145/144 BC, after Italians (including Romans) had become regular visitors to, and settlers on, the island, and can thus be interpreted as evidence of Italian practices.[46] The hearts mentioned in the Athenian inventory inscriptions are thus unique amongst Classical Greek votives in acknowledging the interiority of the body.

When we turn to the Etrusco-Italic deposits, the situation is very different, for we find many internal organs amongst the body parts represented. The majority are uteri, which are attested in their 'hundreds (if not thousands)' according to the most recent study.[47] In addition to the Graviscan wombs that have already been discussed, we find models of larynxes, hearts and intestines represented in a variety of formats, including types which Jean Macintosh Turfa vividly describes as 'barrel-like coils' and 'amorphous piles of sausage'.[48] And as well as these single organs, we also find assemblages of internal body parts such as the trachea, lungs, heart, spleen, liver and intestines.[49] Like the uteri and the other single organs, these 'polyvisceral' representations are characterised by their great variety, which precludes our modern attempts at classification.[50] Some examples display a roughly symmetrical arrangement of organs on a teardrop-shaped plaque (Figure 3.11); others show the organs stacked up in a three-dimensional, irregular conical shape, often with the trachea folded over on top of other organs (Figure 3.12).[51] Perhaps the most striking models, at least for a modern audience, are those which show the organs in the context of a 'dissected' human body (Figures 3.13 and 3.14; cf. the female figurine shown in Figure 3.3).[52] These 'open torsos'

[46] Flemming (2017), 123.

[47] Flemming (2017), 113 notes that 'It is reported, for example, that c. 6,000 votive uteri and swaddled infants were found at the Italic Temple in Paestum.' See Greco (1988), 79.

[48] Turfa (1994), 226. For the 'barrel-like coils' of intestines found at Saturnia see Höllander (1912), Minto (1925). A flat plaque with single coils, possibly from Veii, is illustrated at Bartoloni (1970) 266, no. 24, pl. XXII and Höllander (1912), 197, fig. 104. The 'amorphous piles of sausage' can be seen at Decouflé (1964) pl. 10, fig. 13. Turfa notes that 'Heart models are found at Tarquinia and Gravisca, Rome (Tiber Island, Minerva Medica), Veii, Ghiaccio Forte, Falerii and several other sites (Gabii, Ponte di Nona, Palestrina).' See Turfa (1994), 226 with references. For heart models see Pensabene et al. (1980), pl. 113, nos. 1207, 1208, 1209 and 1212.

[49] Approximately 40 polyvisceral representations, according to Recke (2013), 1081. On the polyvisceral votive models see Rouquette (1911); Tabanelli (1962); Decouflé (1964); Turfa (1994); Recke (2013); and Haumesser (2017).

[50] Cf. the different classifications offered by Rouquette (1911), 506; Turfa (1994); and Recke (2013), 1078.

[51] Recke (2013), 1077 on symmetry.

[52] These images are surprisingly unfamiliar to medical historians. Textbooks and encyclopedia entries on anatomical art often cite European manuscripts of the twelfth century as the earliest examples of opened body images – see e.g. Roberts (1996), 840, where it is claimed that 'Anatomy was being practised at Alexandria *c.* 300 BC, but no images remain from the Classical world.'

Figure 3.11 'Polyvisceral plaque' in terracotta, now in the Wellcome Collection.

depict both male and female bodies, which can appear both clothed and naked.[53] Some of the models give 'X-ray' views of the intestines through their skin or clothing; others suggest a more literal process of corporeal disassembly – in one case, the representation of the viscera is flanked by the (broken) ribs, while another example shows signs of suturing on the skin around the hole.[54] Many of these models are headless, but others have frontal portrait heads attached: in these examples, the eyes are open and staring ahead, the faces showing no apparent signs of unease at the gaping holes in their abdomens.

Making and Viewing Viscera

For modern viewers, perhaps the first question that arises when looking at the single and composite internal organs concerns their manufacture. Were they, like anatomical images from later periods in history, made by looking at

[53] As Jean Turfa has noted, 'the tear-drop shaped incision is not in the correct area, but generally over the waistline or higher, although abdominal organs are shown, almost in a telescoped view'. Turfa (1994), 225.

[54] For the votive with exposed ribs, see Tabanelli (1962), 37–8, pl. 4 (from the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome). For the torso with suturing see Recke (2013), figs. 59.15 and 59.16.

Figure 3.12 Terracotta 'stack' of organs fom Tessennano.

Figure 3.13 Terracotta figurine depicting a 'dissected' male torso, reputedly from the Isola Farnese, Rome.

Figure 3.14 Votive torso with internal organs.

dissected bodies, or are they simply imaginative artistic constructions? The scholarly consensus is that the Etrusco-Italic images do *not* normally reflect a real-life tradition of human dissection in Italy, but were instead based on 'opportune' sightings of animal and human bodies in situations such as sacrifice, battles, accidents and – in the case of the uterus – prolapse or even post-mortem Caesarean section.[55] Of these, animal butchery and sacrifice, together with the associated rituals of extispicy (the examination of the entrails) and haruspicy (the examination of the liver) must have provided particularly frequent opportunities to examine the internal body.[56] Indeed, some medical historians have identified the shapes of animal organs within the polyvisceral models, giving support to the hypothesis that these objects were made in reference to animal bodies.[57] The 'transplanting' of animal organs inside votive models that were apparently meant to represent the human body constitutes another sort of hybrid representation to place alongside the model with the snake (Figure 3.8). It may also indicate that the insides of animal and human bodies were seen as commensurate, or at least similar enough for knowledge about one category to be applied to the other.

Of course, in practical terms, we do not need to imagine that the votives' makers were physically present at animal sacrifices, since the organs of these beasts were commonly represented in the visual arts, and these representations may themselves have provided inspiration for the human votive models. Particularly close parallels are found in three-dimensional models like

[55] For further discussion of this issue see Turfa (1994) and Flemming (2017). The hypothesis of Caesarean section is that of Turfa (1994), 227–30. Her argument centres on the fact that these models contain details that do not appear in most animal species (e.g. a single 'neck', which differs from the bicornuate uteri of pigs, cows, dogs and horses), and that may therefore have been made in reference to human organs; she also notes that some model uteri have anomalous features such as rounded knobs, which she proposes may be schematic representations of fibroid tumours, two cervices, or extra appendages, the latter perhaps representing a congenital malformation. The evidence for post-mortem Caesarean section is, however, quite late: it comes from the *lex regia de mortuo inferendo*, which – although attributed to the regal period of Rome's history – was recorded in Justinian's *Corpis Iuris Civilis* in the sixth century AD (*Digesta* 11.8.2 Marcellus 28 *dig.*). Moreover, we need to consider the possibility that these representations may have been deliberately unrealistic and stylised, and may have been shaped by the desire to create symbolic links to other, non-biological objects. In this regard, Veronique Dasen and Sandrine Ducaté-Paarmann have pointed out that the shape of many of the votive uteri echoes that of a vase or jar, perhaps signalling a possible overlap with Greek medical texts which conceptualise the uterus as a vessel (Dasen and Ducaté-Paarmann (2006), 248; for the uterus as a vessel see King (1998), 26, 34–5). This raises the possibility that the representation of the uterus with a single rather than double neck might be intended to underline and enhance an intentional analogy, rather than to reflect anatomical reality. For a theoretical discussion of visual analogy see Stafford (1999).

[56] By the time of the late Republic, Cicero could claim that 'nearly everyone uses entrails in divination'. *De divinatione* 1.10. On Etruscan divination, see Maggiani (2005).

[57] Tabanelli (1960); see also Régnault (1926), 140; Cazanove (2013), 27.

Figure 3.15 Terracotta liver from Falerii Veteres, c.300 BC.

the famous first-century BC bronze liver from Piacenza, and a terracotta model from Falerii, which dates to the third century BC, and which is therefore roughly contemporary with the anatomical votives discovered at that site (Figure 3.15).[58] Other animal organs appeared in narrative scenes which showed them being consulted by a *haruspex* for the purposes of prophecy. One late fourth-century BC mirror from Vulci – another place rich in anatomical votives – shows the Greek seer Calchas represented in the guise of an Etruscan *haruspex*, examining the detached liver, lungs and trachea of the sacrificial animal (Figure 3.16).[59] This scene is typical of Etruscan representations of haruspicy and extispicy insofar as it depicts the organs as detached from the animal's body, in contrast to later Roman practice in which the organs were examined *exta adhaerentia* – that is, still attached to the animal's body.[60]

These images of extispicy, then, provide possible prototypes for the anatomical votive models; they also help us to understand why

[58] For the terracotta liver from Falerii see Meyer (1985), 107; Van der Meer (1987), 153, with a picture on p. 154 (no. 71). Anatomical votives from Falerii: Comella (1986).

[59] On the mirror see Briquel (1990), 331–3; Collins (2008), 325–6. For votives from Vulci see Pautasso (1994); the site of Tessennano is also in the territory of Vulci.

[60] Collins (2008), 326. A Roman depiction of extispicy can be found at Beard, North and Price (1998), II, 179, fig. 7.4d.

Figure 3.16 Etruscan cast bronze mirror depicting Calchas examining a liver. From Vulci.

human internal organs featured in the Etrusco-Italic votive repertoire in the first place. At a very basic level, objects like the Vulci mirror attest to the centrality of the inner body in Etruscan divine–mortal relations. According to the logic of extispicy, the will of the gods manifested itself materially on the animal interior, which by extension was perceived as a dynamic and volatile microcosm. The animal organs were targeted by the gods, and needed special ritual attention by mortals: in this sense, it is unsurprising that the inner organs also featured heavily in contemporary understandings of the *human* body, where they appear to have played a central role in models of illness. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the rituals of extispicy depended on the *variety* of the internal organs, and on identifying the ways in which any one example differed from a normative model. This gives some useful context for the great variation between the uteri, and between other votive internal organs, in the sense that the votive models were both made and

viewed by people who *expected* anomalies and variations in the innards, and who saw these features as central to divine–mortal communications. From the surviving votive evidence it is hard to say much more than this, but again, drawing attention to the prominence of variation in Etrusco-Italic ritual perhaps makes it less surprising that the votive models of internal organs were iconographically so diverse, and might help us to understand why craftsmen apparently did not prioritise conformity or accuracy when they were making the internal votives – unlike artists producing anatomical illustrations in later, medical contexts.

The polyvisceral images also relate closely to the theme of fragmentation explored in the Introduction and Chapter 2 of this book. This is partly on account of their often-graphic depiction of corporeal disassembly, which is particularly emphatic in the case of the 'dissected' torsos – some of which, as already mentioned, depict the broken ribs and stitches in the skin around the opening. Moreover, the fact that these polyvisceral votives depict a multiplicity of organs rather than a focused portrait of a single body part challenges the dominant interpretation of anatomical votives, according to which the fragmentary form of these models is a visual device to pinpoint physical ailments.[61] These polyvisceral votives certainly drew attention to the general torso/intestinal area, but then so did the other 'unopened' stomach or torso representations that are also found in sanctuaries across these regions (Figure 3.17). The fact that the polyvisceral images depict several locations within the body forces us to accept that more is at stake here than the simple localisation of illness on the body. The historian Pierre Decouflé took the richness and (over)complexity of these images to indicate that they may have belonged to upper-class dedicants, or to members of an intellectual elite.[62] Even if this were true – and we have no way of verifying his hypothesis – I would argue that the visual complexity of the polyvisceral votives also enabled them to carry additional symbolic meaning, through analogy with other forms of bodily representation. Matthias Recke has already suggested that the opened torsos may have intimated an act of (mortal or divine) surgery through which the dedicant would have become well again.[63] The dissected torsos may also, I would suggest, have evoked the

[61] See Introduction, n. 7. Some scholars have interpreted the polyvisceral models as dedications by sufferers of malaria: see e.g. Fabbri (2004–5).

[62] Decouflé (1964).

[63] Recke (2013), 1078, on the Ingolstadt torso with suturing. Cf. the Epidaurus *iamata* discussed in the previous chapter, where Asklepios is sometimes envisaged as a surgeon; this interpretation of the polyvisceral votives thus highlights some communalities in the view of the healing process between Greece and Italy, despite the visual differences between the anatomical votives from these places.

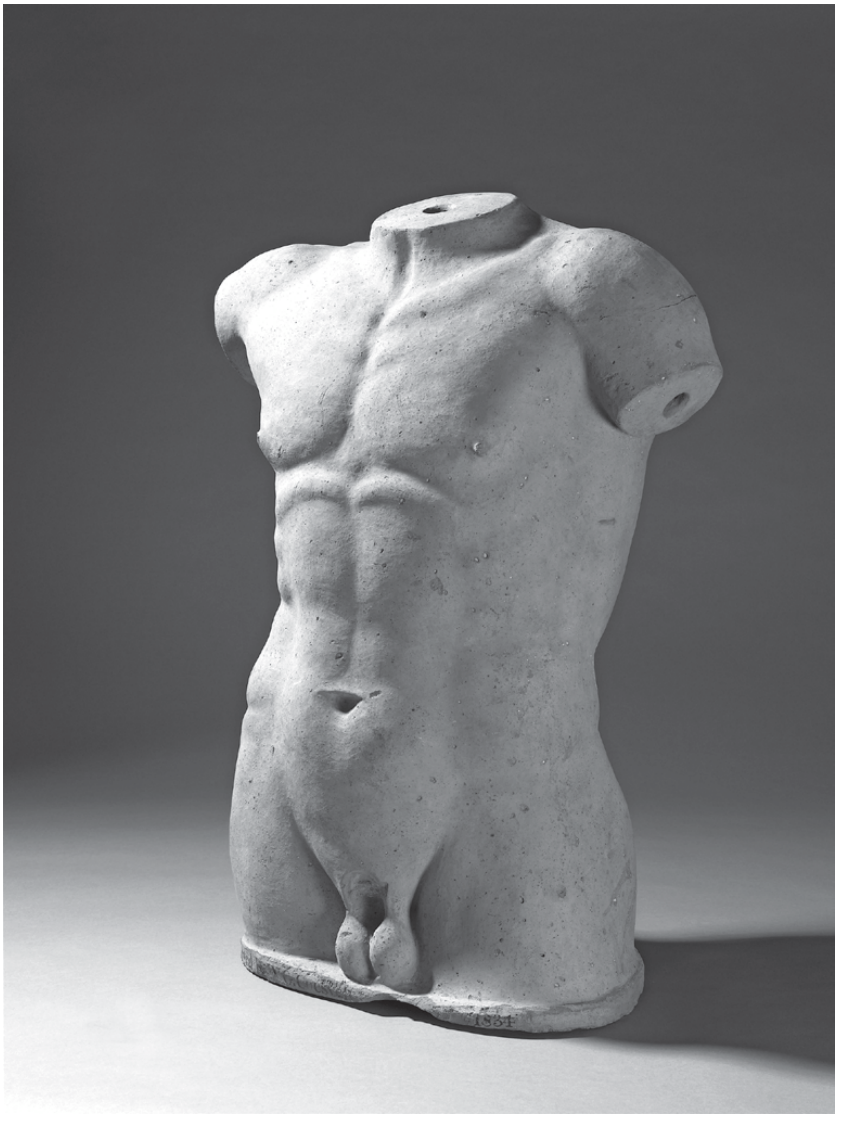

Figure 3.17 Male votive torso in clay, from unidentified provenance in Italy.

theme of divine punishment, which is the context for some other images of abdominal dissection found in Etruria, such as the well-known plate from Cerveteri in which an eagle attacks the chained Prometheus.[64] But perhaps the strongest resonance of the dissected votive torsos would have been the

[64] Vatican Museums inv. 16592. This Laconian cup, made around 550 BC and found at the Etruscan site of Cerveteri, depicts Prometheus having his insides pecked out by the eagle of Zeus (his punishment in most versions of the myth for having stolen the fires of heaven). This

stories of *human* sacrifice that saturated Etrusco-Italic culture.[65] This association would have been particularly strong at sites like the Temple of Diana at Nemi, where narratives of human sacrifice underpinned the early foundation of the sanctuary and formed an integral part of its identity in later periods.[66] At other sites, the votives seem to have been displayed together with sacrificial accoutrements (Volsinii), or placed on the altars which were also used for animal sacrifice (Lavinium).[67] Again, the full implications of these sacrificial resonances are lost to us now, but at the very least we might suppose that they further dramatised the vulnerability of the person depicted in the votive offering, who was entirely given up to the god's care, in the manner of a sacrificial animal.

Two Different Views of the Body: Comparing Greece and Italy

The discussion so far has suggested that, while both Greek and Italic votives fragment the body, they do so in rather different ways, which in turn points to some important differences between how the body was viewed and treated in these two cultures. Noting the presence of internal organ votives in Italy highlights the absence of such representations in Greece – an absence which becomes even more compelling when we consider that (a) Greek artists would presumably have had similar opportunities to observe the insides of animal bodies in the contexts of sacrifice and butchery, and (b) Greek

scene is supported by a column decorated with a vegetal wreath – an architectural reference that again serves to locate divine punishment within the physical space of the temple.

65 Whether or not human sacrifice was actually practised in pre-Roman Italy – and this is a question that has long divided scholars – it did play a central role in local mythical and aetiological narratives, and was also frequently represented in Etruscan art. For human sacrifice in Etruscan culture see Jannot (2005), 39–42; Torelli (1981); Bonfante (1984). For human sacrifice in Iron Age and Roman Europe see Green (2001); for Greek antiquity see Bremmer (2007), esp. 55–80.

66 The foundation narrative of the sanctuary of Nemi saw Diana's cult there as an offshoot of the cult of Tauric Artemis, who, in the words of James Frazer, 'could only be appeased with human blood'. Frazer (1922), 6. The Greek mythological siblings Orestes and Iphigenia provide the link between the two cults, with Orestes rescuing Iphigenia from her role as Artemis' priestess at Tauris (where she was expected to sacrifice humans), and fleeing with the cult statue of Artemis to Nemi. For sources see Green (2007), 201–7.

67 A large group of polyvisceral votives was found in the temple of Dea Fortuna in Volsinii (Bolsena, in Etruscan territory) together with statues of *haruspices* and several sacrificial implements, including knives, altars, and pincers for extracting viscera. Höllander (1912), 208–9; Tabanelli (1962), 45. The assemblage contained 21 polyvisceral models, now in the Archaeological Museum in Florence. For this deposit see Turfa (2004a), 364, no. 310. Votives were left on altars at the site of the Thirteen Altars at Lavinium; Fenelli (1975b).

writers show a profound awareness of the inner structures of the human body.[68] Medical writers give detailed accounts of the appearance and function of the internal organs, and the Epidaurian narratives also include internal as well as superficial problems. Texts in other genres also employ a rich vocabulary for describing the inside of the body, with tragedians in particular revelling in accounts of gushing blood and sticky entrails. As Ruth Padel has shown with her study of fifth-century ideas of bodily interiority, *splanchna* (innards) play a crucial role in Greek culture – they function as the site of consciousness, as well as of emotions like anxiety, fear, grief, and sometimes love and desire.[69]

One possible reason for the insistent exteriority of Greek votives has been suggested by Sandrine Ducaté-Paarmann in a 2007 book chapter on ancient images of the human embryo.[70] Ducaté-Paarmann attributes the absence of votive uteri in Greece to a general feeling of disgust which is documented in Greek literary accounts of the human interior. Aristotle famously complains that 'it is not in fact without great disgust that we see what composes the human species: blood, flesh, bones, veins and similar parts'.[71] Later Greek sources also contrast the beauty of the outside of the body with the ugliness of what is inside: examples here include Boethius' rhetorical question about the body of Alcibiades ('would not that body … so gloriously fair in outward seeming, appear altogether loathsome when all its inward parts lay open to the view?'), and Lucian's comment about colossal, 'ugly on the inside' cult statues of deities.[72] Ducaté-Paarmann also reminds us that images of violent deaths in Greek art only very rarely represent the actual permeation of the human body: most commonly, we find the 'pregnant moment' before the skin is ruptured (see the example at Figure 3.19, an Attic red-figure vase depicting the death of Actaeon).[73]

Other scholars have observed similar restraint in Classical Greek depictions of the *animal* body. In his book *Hiera Kala*, Folkert van Straten demonstrates how in their depictions of animal sacrifice, Greek artists show an

[68] On Greek rituals of hepatoscopy from animal organs, see Collins (2008). Plato on human livers: see *Timaeus* 71b1–d4.

[69] Padel (1992); see also Onians (1954).

[70] Ducaté-Paarmann (2007).

[71] Aristotle *On the Parts of Animals* 645a. For a discussion of this phrase in the context of the whole passage, see Carlino (1999), 156–7.

[72] Boethius *Consolation of Philosophy* 3.8; Lucian *The Dream or The Cock* 24, 26–37. On the Lucian passage see Grmek and Gourevitch (1998), 15.

[73] The exceptions mentioned by Ducaté-Paarmann (2007, 79) are the François vase (c.570 BC, Florence, Archaeological Museum 4209; *ABV* 76.1) with its images of Ankaios and his dog, and the representations of Pentheus' death discussed in Chapter 2 of this book (Figures 2.12 and 2.13).

overwhelming preference for 'pre-kill' moments, such as the procession to the altar and the wreathing of the animal, whose body at this point was still whole and bounded.[74] In comparison with these scenes, depictions of the actual sacrifical killing and butchery are noticeably under-represented. While 'post-kill' scenes were entirely absent from marble votive reliefs, a small number of vase-painters did depict butchery in the context of extispicy; however, Robin Osborne has since suggested that these vases were made with an Etruscan export market in mind, noting that all those with a recorded findspot come from Etruria (eight out of twenty-two Greek vases showing extispicy).[75] Meanwhile, in his study on Greek hepatoscopy, Derek Collins notes how 'curiously, no model livers have been found in Greece'.[76] Again, as we have seen, model livers *are* found in Etruria, and this has led scholars to assert that the knowledge of hepatoscopy passed from Babylon directly to Etruria, bypassing Greece entirely. (As a side point, if we consider that internal organs were apparently never depicted in Classical Greek art, we might be dissuaded from taking the absence of model livers in Classical Greece as hard evidence that Babylonian traditions were unknown there).

At any rate, the marked contrast in attitudes to the internal organs in ancient Greek visual and literary sources is quite striking, and dovetails with modern theories about the 'body multiple', according to which the body can exist in distinctive forms which are produced by, and inextricable from, their own particular contexts.[77] In this sense, another context that may have been particularly problematic (in terms of the representation of the inner body) was that of the Classical Greek sanctuary. Many of the religious regulations that survive from the Greek world concern the purity of worshippers, while the entrances of sanctuaries were frequently marked by *perirrhanteria* – water basins which were used by visitors for ritual purification prior to entering within the *temenos* (sacred precinct).[78] The following categories of body were considered impure, and were thus often excluded from the sanctuary: dead and decaying bodies, living bodies that had been in contact with corpses, bodies that had recently been sexually active, post-partum bodies, and the bodies of breast-feeding or menstruating woman. Although the logic of impurity is far from transparent, one factor that unites these different categories of excluded bodies is the notion of *unboundedness* – the threat of bringing internal fluids or substances like

[74] Van Straten (1995).
[75] Osborne (2001), 283.
[76] Collins (2008), 325; Burkert (1992), 46, with bibliography.
[77] Mol (2002).
[78] See Parker (1983); Cole (2004); Osborne (2011), 158–84.

semen, blood or milk out through the boundary of the skin into the outside world. A special ritual concern with policing the boundary between the inside and outside of the human body might, then, provide another context for the absence of votive models of internal organs in the Classical Greek sanctuary.

Yet another possibility is that the dominant view of the body in operation in the Greek healing sanctuaries did not give prominence to the internal organs. The Epidaurian narratives, for instance, represent the body not as an assemblage of solid organs contained within the skin – but rather as a vessel full of liquids.

> Erasippa from Kaphyiai [problem]. This woman had [pain?] in her stomach and was burning up with fever, and she couldn't keep anything down. Sleeping here, she saw a dream. It seemed to her that the god rubbed her stomach and kissed her, and after that gave her a phiale in which was a drug, and told her to drink it and then to throw up. When she had thrown up, her little robe was filled with it. When day came she saw the whole little robe full of horrible stuff which she had thrown up, and from this she became well.[79]

In the tale of Erasippa described here, Asklepios gives the patient a drug that makes her vomit copiously; in other *iamata* narratives, blood, mucus and pus are ejected from the body.[80] In some instances, the divine surgeon *adds* liquid to the body, for instance by pouring drugs in liquid form into the eye to restore a blind person's sight.[81] The *iamata* inscriptions thus testify to an understanding of the body interior that is dominated by liquids rather than organs, and in which the cure of the patient is linked to the regulation of liquids inside the body. A similar view is expressed in certain 'rational' medical writings, and perhaps most famously by those texts in the Hippocratic corpus which describe illness as an imbalance in the body's humours. Most famously, the author of *Nature of Man* describes how 'the body of man has in itself blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile; these make up the nature of his body, and through these he feels pain or enjoys health'; according to this view, the role of the Hippocratic physician – similar to that of Asklepios at Epidaurus – is to intervene to bring a

[79] After LiDonnici (1995), 115 [B 21].

[80] Blood: LiDonnici (1995), 107 [B7], where the floor of the *abaton* is covered in blood after a surgical operation; LiDonnici (1995), 115 [B23] where a man's feet bleed after having been bitten by the snake. Pus: LiDonnici (1995), 109 [B10], where Gorgias of Herakleia is said to have filled 67 bowls with pus from a wound prior to visiting the sanctuary; LiDonnici (1995), 123 [C5]. Cf. LiDonnici (1995), 101 [B1], the tale of Arata discussed in the previous chapter, where an unidentified fluid runs out of the body.

[81] LiDonnici (1995), 93 [A9]; 115 [B20].

sense of balance to the body's internal liquids.[82] Other Hippocratic texts do describe the internal organs (or 'structures'), but these texts often focus on the organs' capacity to provide temporary homes for the humours, or the roles that they play in moving the humours around the body. The author of *On Ancient Medicine*, for instance, divides the body's structures into two categories: the first type are shaped like cupping vessels, which allows them to 'attract, and be filled with, a liquid that is foreign to them', while the second type are spongy, which means they can 'drink up especially the juices around them, and become hardened and enlarged by the accession of juices'. The stomach is filled with a liquid that it evacuates every day, while the spleen 'drinks up and receives a fluid into itself'. The sacred and medical texts cited here suggest a Greek imagery of the body interior that was dominated by formless liquids rather than solid organs, thereby raising the possibility that Greek artists did not even consider internal organs as possible candidates for inclusion in the anatomical votive repertoire.

Permeable Boundaries

The discussion so far has focused on Classical Greece, and has explored how the more limited range of the votives represented there might tie into wider beliefs about bodies in that culture. In the case of the Etrusco-Italic votives, it is harder to perform this kind of analysis, given the absence of textual sources and written laws that might tell us more about local attitudes to the human body. It is, however, possible to comment on the *effects* that the addition of the internal organ votives would have had on the experience of visitors to the sanctuaries in which they appeared, and also how they might relate more obliquely to other visual images that viewers would have seen around them. I would argue in particular that the depiction of human interiority in the sanctuary (a) reorganised the lived experience of the body and (b) forced the viewer to recognise the fundamental similarities between human and animal bodies.

In the first instance, it is enough to imagine the experience of visitors to the Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries, who would have been confronted by votive

[82] Hippocrates, *Nature of Man* 4. King (2013) revisits the influential four-humour theory outlined in *Nature of Man*, reminding us that this was not the only view of the body in fifth- and fourth-century BC Greece. Cf. also Brock (2006), 355, where he notes that 'failures in the body's internal harmony are not always a matter of imbalance: sometimes Hippocratic writers conceive of illness as being caused by the separation of an element which, as it were, falls out of solution'.

images of the human body in pieces – not only the disconnected limbs and heads that would have been visible in Greece, but also the internal parts, lying around the surfaces and the altars and statue bases. These latter objects would have brought the interior of the body into the external world, making visible and tangible parts of the body that normally were concealed. This in turn would have resulted in a 'flattening out' of the structures of the human body, an effect which drastically altered the normal lived experience of the body, in which the internal organs were barely perceptible. To understand this better, we can turn to the modern 'sensory homunculus' images which attempt to represent the human somato-sensory system, or 'the body in the brain' (Figure 3.18).[83] These schematic diagrams represent the proportion of the cerebral cortex occupied by each bodily area (in other words, the neurons that fire when that particular body part is moved, touched, in pain, and so on). As the diagram demonstrates, most of the cerebral cortex is occupied by body parts that are externally visible, and particularly by the most sensitive areas such as the hands and the lips. Instead, the entire intra-abdominal area occupies a proportionally tiny area, tucked into the bottom left-hand corner of the diagram together with the pharynx. In practice, this means that we have a very limited ability to recognise and localise sensation inside the body, and that we are rarely aware of the internal body's presence – particularly when we are feeling healthy and functional. However, the proportions of this somato-sensory representation are turned upside down by the Etrusco-Italic votive assemblages, where the internal organs are numerous and salient. For sick viewers, the exhibition of internal organs in the sanctuary may have reflected a sudden consciousness of the inner body's existence, or a more general disruption of how the body normally felt and functioned.[84] And for all viewers, regardless of whether they were sick or healthy, the models of innards would have marked the sanctuary out as a distinctive space within the landscape – a space in which familiar ways of experiencing the body were disrupted and even inverted.

Secondly, the votive models of internal organs forced viewers to recognise and reconsider the relationship between human and animal bodies, in part by showing the striking similarity of their physical interiors. As already mentioned, the internal organs that appeared within the 'open torso' models were formally indistinguishable from the animal organs that were seen, held and represented in the context of sacrifice, often in very close phyical proximity to the anatomical votives. In the case of isolated organs such as

[83] Discussed at Schott (1993).

[84] See Leder (1990) for the 'dys-appearing' body in illness.

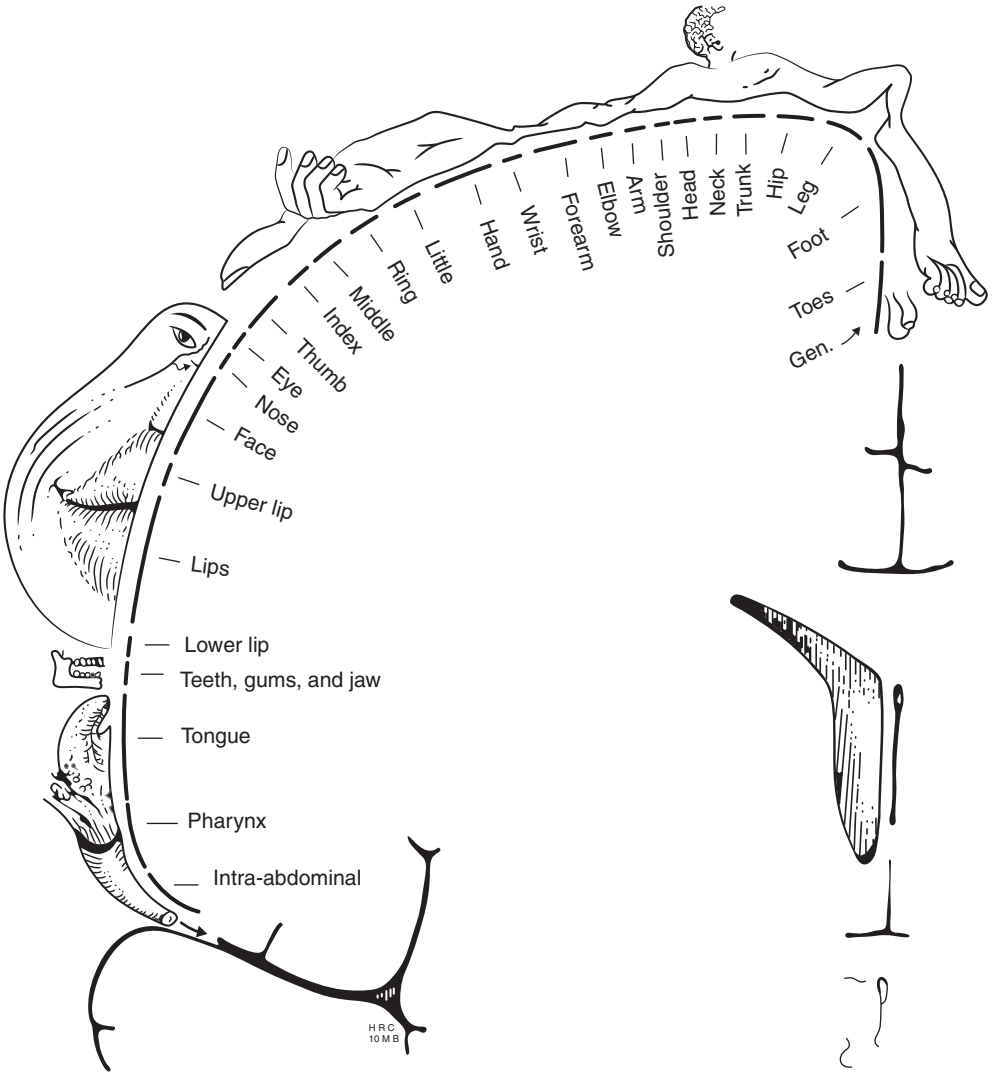

Figure 3.18 Diagram of the 'cortical homunculus'.

the hearts and intestines, the similarities were so strong that the two types of body risked becoming confused – as Jean Macintosh Turfa has already stated, 'a votary carrying his red-painted heart or multicoloured visceral plaque to the altar would have resembled the haruspex, about to perform his divination'.[85] In other words, visitors to the sanctuary would have been confronted by multiple representations of internal organs, and may not always have been certain whether these objects were intended to represent

[85] Turfa (2004a), 106.

human or animal bodies. This ambiguity would in turn have given a powerful message about the equivalence or even interchangeability of the two types of body, which in other parts of ancient life were kept at much greater conceptual distance.[86]

This ambiguous ontological status of the internal organ votives becomes particularly significant when we remember that other types of votive from the Etrusco-Italic deposits also challenged the boundaries between human and animal bodies. Earlier in this chapter we encountered the votive models of animal body parts, which appeared at Tessennano and at several other sites throughout the ELC area and beyond (Figure 3.9). As well as indicating a shared approach to the health of human and animal bodies, these objects created an infinite array of possible hybrid bodies through their juxtaposition with the human anatomical votives. Meanwhile, other votive objects appear to have intentionally represented hybrids. The clearest example is the pair of polyvisceral plaques from Tessennano in which the trachea (of a human, or perhaps another beast) was modelled into a snake's body and given pellet eyes, thereby fusing the bodies of two different species (see Figure 3.8). Other votive objects from different parts of the ELC region have also been interpreted in terms of hybridity: amongst the wombs from Gravisca, for instance, are examples decorated with undulating crests across their tops, which some scholars have seen as assimilating the bodies of fish or fantastic marine creatures.[87] And in addition to these possible human-animal hybrids, Britt-Marie Fridh-Haneson has noted that some

[86] See Hughes (2010) for further discussion of this point.

[87] Comella (1978), pl. 36, nos. 211 and 212. The analogy with a fish is made at Baggieri (1999), 27. Baggieri and colleagues note that aquatic symbolism is also evident in another series of wombs with a 'plaited' decoration akin to that of a bag or wineskin – they suggest that such symbolism may have its root in the fact that the gravid uterus is filled with amniotic fluid. At the same time, the specific analogy between the uterus and a fish could recall ideas found in the Greek medical writings, in which the womb was seen as an animate being that could move around the body. Plato's *Timaeus* expresses the idea that the womb was a wild creature (*agrion*), which moved around the female body causing diseases; this idea was repeated by authors of the Roman period, such as the second-century AD writer Areteus of Cappadocia, who called the womb 'a living thing [*zoon*] inside another living thing'. Plato *Timaeus* 91a–d; Aretaeus *On Acute Diseases* 2,11. The Hippocratic text *Diseases of Women* 1,7 attributes the movement of the womb to the shortage of moisture. See King (1998), 222–5. This visual connection between the womb and a moving creature raises the possibility that such objects may have been seen in relation to illness as well as fertility. In more general terms, each of these symbolic visual analogies also problematises our attempts to see the form of votive offerings as evidence for ancient anatomical knowledge, since they suggest that eccentric visual characteristics may result, *not* from mistaken ideas about human anatomy, but rather from the desire to make deliberate symbolic connections to other ideas, bodies and objects. On the use of Greek medical texts as tools for understanding the Italic votive material see Flemming (2017).

of the swaddled babies have peculiarly adult faces, and therefore present a form of hybrid body in which two stages of the human life-cycle are represented together.[88]

Each of the objects mentioned here relates in a slightly different way to the themes of animality and hybridity; collectively, they prompt us to consider the possible resonances of these themes in the religious context of the sanctuary. As a preface to this exploration, it should perhaps be said that it is important not to overstate the relevance of these themes, since the types of object drawn on here do not appear in every Etrusco-Italian votive deposit. On current counts (which are almost certainly incomplete) we know of forty polyvisceral images and nine sanctuaries with model animal body parts, while the snake models from Tessennano are completely unique to that deposit. All the same, it does seem that animality and hybridity were prominent themes at some sanctuaries, and that these themes could be perceived across more than one type of object. Again, we cannot know precisely how this imagery would have been interpreted and experienced by its original viewers, but one possibility has been raised by Vedia Izzet in relation to the hybrid creatures which often appeared on the antefixes of Etruscan sanctuaries, and which thus constituted part of the framing imagery for the votives discussed here. Izzet suggests that the vision of 'dual-natured' beasts like the Gorgon, satyrs, maenads and the bull-headed Acheloos functioned as metaphors or 'templates' for the encounters between mortal and divine spheres that took place within the sanctuary:

> All these creatures are, in some senses, between categories and transcend them, or, in the language of structural anthropology, they are all liminal … The gorgon is half woman, half beast; the satyr half man, half beast; Achéloos half man, half bull; and the maenad half mad, half sane. By virtue of belonging to neither and both categories simultaneously, these figures are ideal for mediating between one world and another, in this case religious and non-religious, and temple and non-temple.[89]

Another possible interpretation might draw on the capacity of hybrid images to invoke change and transformation, which, by extension, would have helped to construct the Etrusco-Italic sanctuary as a space in which the transformation of the dedicant's own body was possible. This interpretation draws on the strong conceptual overlap between hybridity and metamorphosis, and on the ambiguity between visual images of hybrid and metamorphic bodies.[90] Figures 3.19 and 3.20 offer simple visual illustrations

[88] Fridh-Haneson (1987).
[89] Izzet (2000), 45–6.
[90] Sharrock (1996).

Figure 3.19 Attic red-figure krater showing the death of Actaeon. Attributed to the Lykaon Painter, c.440 BC.

of this concept. Viewers familiar with the myth of Actaeon will recognise Figure 3.19 as a synchronic snapshot of a longer, diachronic process of metamorphosis; to viewers *un*familiar with the myth, however, this image could easily be 'mistaken' for the representation of a 'stable' human-animal hybrid being attacked by dogs and men. Meanwhile, Figure 3.20 shows a sequence of images from a 1999 artwork by the contemporary visual artist, Daniel Lee. Here, each image represents a stage of human evolution as imagined by Lee, starting with the fish form and moving through reptiles and simians to finish with a human body. In this work, a diachronic process of bodily transformation is broken down into a number of individual snapshots, each of which, when taken in isolation, might be seen as a stable hybrid creature. Although these ancient and contemporary images of metamorphosis belong to very different visual traditions, they each demonstrate

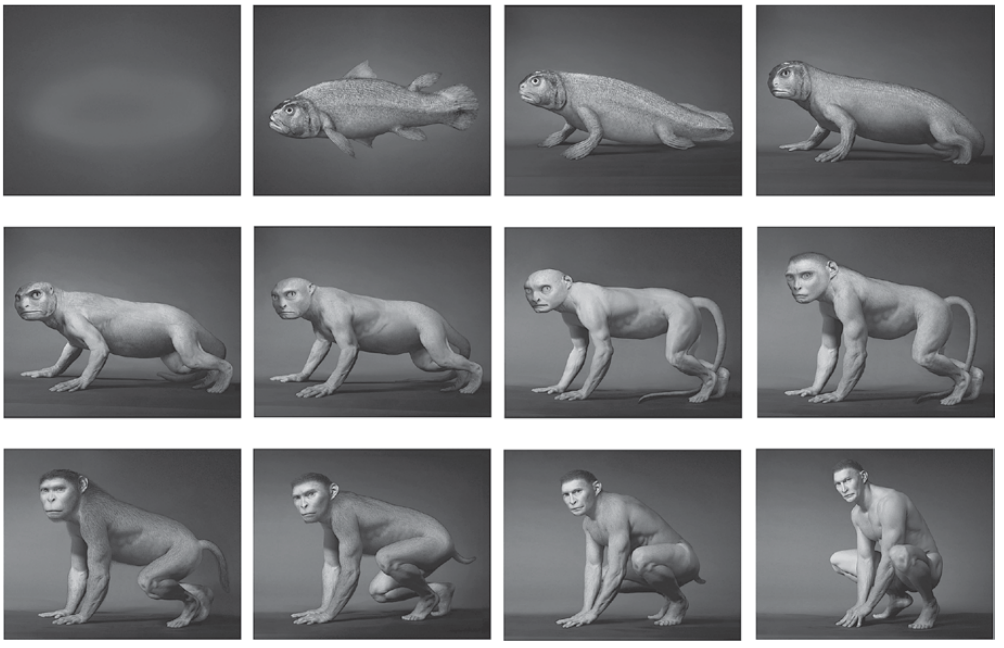

Figure 3.20 *Origin*, Daniel Lee (1999).

the fundamental ambiguity between images of hybridity and metamorphosis. This same ambiguity would have marked the hybrid imagery in the Etrusco-Italic votive deposit, and would even have been heightened by their lack of narrative context (i.e. they did not appear in the context of a well-known myth or illustrate a recognisable scientific hypothesis). The metamorphic, slippery quality of many of these objects might also have been underlined by their evocation of physical movement – that is, the slithering of the open-eyed snake, the swimming of the 'fishy' uterus, or the heavy plodding of the bovine lower limbs.

This interpretation of the Etrusco-Italic votives as embodying metamorphosis dovetails with some other recent discussions of the material which also bring out the themes of boundary-transgression, change and movement. Emma-Jayne Graham has pointed out that many of the votive models of swaddled infants show the feet as unbounded, a technique which is contrary to the advice about swaddling given by the medical writer Soranus.[91] She suggests a number of possible resonances of the image of the unbound feet that are specific to the sanctuary context, including parental hopes for the future physical mobility of a child, the association of bare feet with

[91] Graham (2014), 35.

religious piety and the more conceptual evocation of movement from one state to another. Meanwhile, in their discussion of some votive uteri which are shaped like vessels, Sandrine Ducaté-Paarmann and Veronique Dasen note that vessels in Etruscan iconography are frequently associated with birth, death and rebirth – all stages which involve the movement between ontological and social categories.[92] In this way, the 'hybrid' votives dedicated in the sanctuary may have continued the work performed by the sanctuary architecture (see Izzet's reading, cited above), through utilising the body to create a specially demarcated ritual space in which boundaries were transgressed, and in which it was possible for bodies and objects to move between one state and another.

The votives from central Italy are, as we have seen, unannotated and hermetic. We cannot know why they were dedicated, and in this way they help to create an exclusive, intimate relationship between the dedicant and deity who was being approached. At the same time, however, we *do* know that many of the situations in which votives were offered could be described in terms of change and transformation. Ancient textual sources confirm that votives were often dedicated in order to mark transitional moments in people's lives – 'rites of passage' like birth, puberty, sickness, marriage, retirement and death.[93] The widely accepted modern interpretations of the Etrusco-Italic terracottas also frequently associate them with moments of transition and transformation – most commonly the moment of bodily healing, but also conception and birth. In these latter instances, the transition commemorated by the uteri and swaddled babies might be understood as a move from non-life to life, or alternatively as the 'bringing into being' of a mother – a change in personal status and identity that involved a profound remapping of social and familial relations. The models of swaddled babies have been associated with other rites of passage too: Graham, again, has argued that they may have been 'associated with the successful negotiation

[92] Dasen and Ducaté-Paarmann (2006).

[93] The *Greek Anthology* contains many epigrams that describe or invent votives dedicated at times of transition, including adolescence (e.g. 6.309, on 'toys of boyhood' dedicated to Hermes Phocles), marriage (6.280, on a girl's toys and hairband dedicated to Artemis before her wedding), childbirth (6.271, on shoes and a gown dedicated to Artemis by a couple in thanks for her help with an easy labour), retirement (6.210, on a courtesan's dedication of her sandals and mirror to Cypris; 6.204, on a carpenter's dedication of his tools to Athena 'on ceasing from his calling') and death (6.254, Statyllius dedicating his clothes, false hair, shoes and flute to Priapus 'when Time was about to drag him down Hades' path'). On the relationship of epigrams to real votive objects, see Platt (2003) (on epigrams about the Knidian Aphrodite); Petsalis-Diomidis (2016). Cf. also the following example from the Roman world: 'boys were accustomed when they left their boyhood, to dedicate their *bulla* to the *di lares*, just as girls dedicated their dolls'. Ps. Acr. Ad Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.65.

of a distinct passage of life in which the body of an infant emerged from the period of swaddling in an appropriate state to become a member of wider society'.[94] The final section of the previous chapter suggested that the fragmented form of Classical Greek anatomical votives might have helped to mark or even enact this transformation in the dedicant's status. Here, I would suggest that for these ancient Italian dedicants who went to the sanctuary to ask for (or commmemorate) a transition in status or identity, the imagery of hybridity that confronted them there may have performed a similar function.

Conclusion

The Etrusco-Italic body parts studied in this chapter have provided us with a valuable opportunity to address the theme of change and continuity in the anatomical votive tradition, and to explore some of the symbolic resonances of the ancient votive imagery from this area. While these Italian votives have often been seen as the 'descendants' of the Classical Greek material considered in Chapter 2, here I have suggested that, even if the Etrusco-Italic votives *did* derive from earlier Greek prototypes, the communities of central Italy actively adapted the offerings, transforming them to reflect their own visual traditions, religious frameworks, and ideas about the human body. In particular, the new range of votive types reflected the salience of the internal body in Etrusco-Italic religion, and the central role that it played in the ongoing conversation between mortals and gods. Looking at these votive images of innards has in turn brought out the themes of sacrifice, hybridity and metamorphosis, and has indicated how the votives on display in the sanctuary continued to shape the experience of later visitors. The 'open torso' images have also provided some particularly graphic examples of fragmentation, giving further support to the hypothesis that the ancient anatomical votives not *only* served to localise physical illness, but also invoked and responded to other contemporary discourses about the broken and fragmented body.

This chapter has also demonstrated how looking at votives in a comparative framework has the potential to deepen our understanding of the whole anatomical tradition. Identifying the differences between the Greek and Etrusco-Italic assemblages led us to ask not only why internal organs were added in Italy, but also why they had been *absent* in Greece. In the

[94] Graham (2013), 226.

latter case, I have drawn attention to a number of possible reasons why innards were not dedicated in Greek sanctuaries, which include sacred regulations about purity, the limitations of what was perceived as 'representable' in the new Classical art, and medical views that were in operation in both 'rational' texts and the healing sanctuary. Of course, these factors are difficult to disentangle from one another, and it is likely that we are facing a constellation of interlinked beliefs rather than any one single obstacle. The point about the limitations of Classical art may seem convincing on its own, but the visual conventions of Greek figural art undoubtedly reflect more deep-seated cultural beliefs, which seem to have been particularly stringent in the religious context of the sanctuary. In this way, although it is hard to pinpoint any single reason for the addition or suppression of certain votive types, the discussion here indicates how the range of anatomical votives in any one context reflects much broader features of the society in which they were produced, further demonstrating the importance of these objects as historical sources.

By the first century BC, the use of votive body parts in Italy had all but died out, and healing vows were now commemorated in the form of written inscriptions. The reasons for the demise of the anatomical votive cult are still unclear: the spread of Greek medical knowledge throughout the Italian peninsula and the development of new medical technologies have been suggested as relevant factors, as have broader socio-economic changes in the populations of worshippers attending sanctuaries, and new ways of perceiving and representing personal identity.[95] But whatever the reasons for the demise of the votive cult in Italy, elsewhere in the Roman Empire it only grew in popularity. In the next chapter, we move away from the centre of the classical world to the provincial hinterland of Roman Gaul, where we encounter yet another dynamic remaking of the anatomical votive tradition.

[95] For votives being superseded by Greek medicine, see Blagg (1983), 46; Potter (1985), 40; Girardon (1993), 31; Söderlind (2002), 346–58 (we might note, however, that physicians and votives coexisted in Greece). On votives reflecting changes in social status see Arthur (1991), 46–7; Lesk (2002), 195. On votives and new forms of identity, with a particular focus on permeability and distributed personhood, see Graham (2017).

4 The Anxiety of Influence: Anatomical Votives in Roman Gaul, First Century BC–First Century AD

Our third case study takes us to Roman Gaul, and to the wooden, metal and stone votive models of body parts that were dedicated there from the mid-first century BC onwards. Of all the anatomical votives studied in this book, these Gallic objects are perhaps the most challenging to interpret – partly on account of the complexity of the cultural background from which they emerged.[1] Scholars generally agree that the practice of dedicating anatomical votives was introduced to Gaul by the Romans during or shortly after the conquest of the province in 58 to 51 BC, and that the Gallic votives were thus closely related to the Etrusco-Italic terracottas studied in the previous chapter of this book. However, many aspects of this process remain unclear, and anyone hoping to investigate this material is faced with some difficult questions about the identity of the votives' users, their reasons for adopting the cult and how these objects related to existing local practices of visually fragmenting the body, which happened primarily in spheres of conflict and aggression.

Despite these difficulties in interpretation, the Gallic votives offer us another extremely valuable opportunity to explore aspects of continuity and change in the anatomical votive tradition. This chapter begins with an introduction to the two earliest-known assemblages of anatomical votives in Gaul, which were found at the sanctuary of Dea Sequana at the source of the Seine in Burgundy, and the 'Source des Roches' at Chamalières in the Auvergne (see map at Figure 4.1). After this, I give a brief account of earlier Gallic practices involving the fragmented body, in order to illustrate how far the adoption of anatomical votives in Gaul constituted a shift in indigenous approaches to the parted body. The second half of the chapter looks in more detail at the transmission and

[1] It is worth noting here that the terms 'Roman' and 'Gallic' are retained for convenience, as a way into beginning to verbalise the complex relationship between material culture and identity at these sites. However, underlying my usage of these terms is the expectancy that the interpersonal and intergroup relationships that the votives helped to construct were more nuanced and varied than this simple binary opposition might suggest. As Greg Woolf has summarised, 'Gallic identities *were* opposed during an early – but brief – formative period; thereafter that opposition was supplanted by more familiar Roman contrasts, between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, military and civilian and so forth.' Woolf (1998), 206.

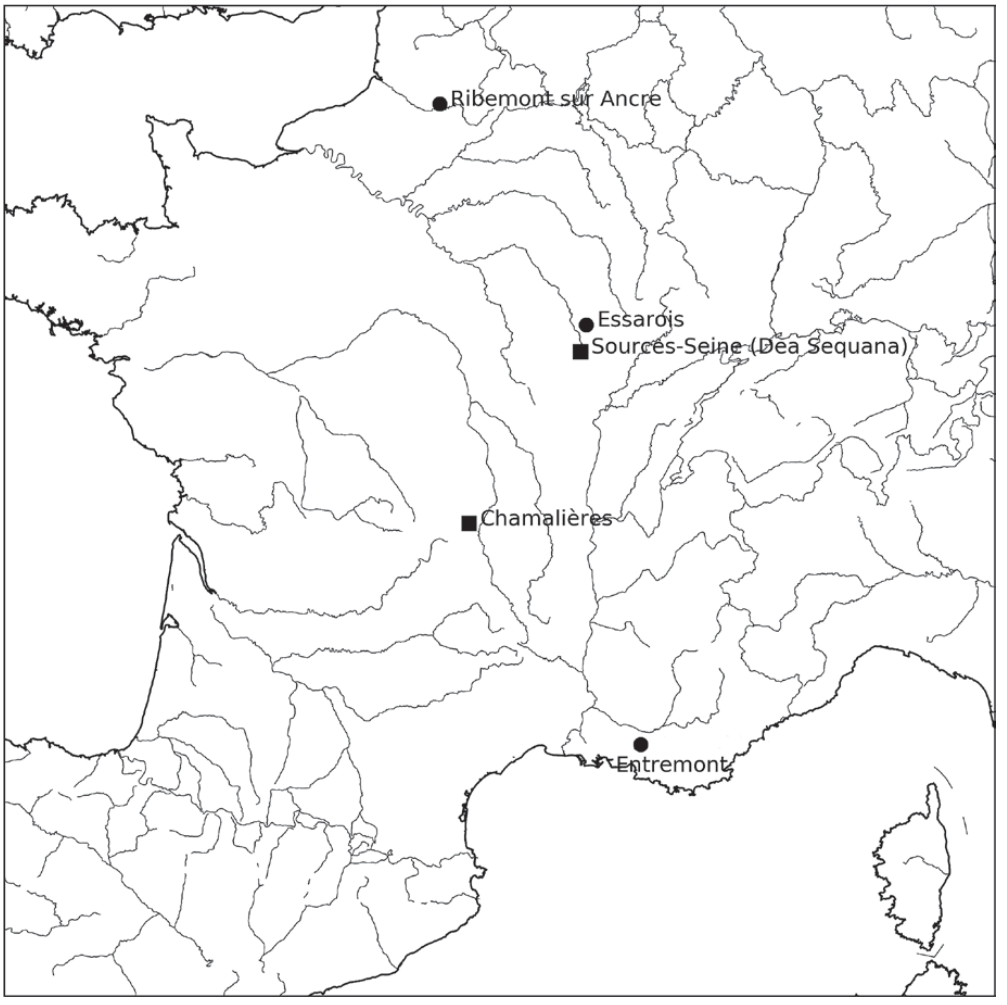

Figure 4.1 Map of Gaul showing the location of the sanctuary of Dea Sequana at the source of the Seine and the sanctuary at Chamalières.

reception of the votive cult: here, I aim to complicate the existing models that see the votives in Gaul as evidence of a one-sided process of 'religious Romanisation'. This entails acknowledging and exploring the chronological gap between the Etrusco-Italic and Gallic material, as well as drawing attention to how the votives from these two areas were visually different. My analysis of the 'new' features of the Gallic votives focuses on some of the model heads which are strikingly similar to older, pre-Roman representations discussed in the earlier part of the chapter. This final section engages with ongoing debates about the meanings of anatomical votives, suggesting that, in this instance, votives normally associated with healing

might have been appropriated by Gallic dedicants for purposes that were diametrically opposed to bodily healing.

The Sanctuary of Dea Sequana at the Source of the Seine

Anatomical votives have been found at many sites in Gaul, often in association with 'watery' contexts such as springs and rivers.[2] Miniature body parts made from sheet metal have been found at around eighty sites, most of which are located to the north of the Massif Central.[3] The few examples which have been dated come from the Flavian era (AD 69–96), and the majority represent pairs of eyes, although we also find images of breasts and female and male pelvises. Stone votives representing parts of the body cluster in the region of Burgundy in central-eastern France; notable findspots include the shrine of Essarois which grew around a small tributary of the Seine, the shrine of Sainte-Sabine on the banks of the River Ouche and the urban spring-sanctuary of Apollo Moritasgus at Alesia.[4] Wooden sculptures have also been found in a number of sanctuaries around Gaul, most commonly at sites where the presence of water has aided their preservation.[5]

Votives made from all three of these materials have been found at the sanctuary of Dea Sequana at the source of the Seine, which is located about thirty kilometres to the north-west of the modern city of Dijon.[6] The earliest building at the Seine sanctuary, the *fanum* temple, was constructed around the middle of the first century BC, and the sanctuary was progressively monumentalised until eventually it spread over four terraces (Figure 4.2).[7]

[2] On the role of water in Gallic religion see Bourgeois (1991) and (1992).

[3] On these metal votives see Cazanove and Joly (2011), 667; Fauduet and Rabeisen (1993); Fauduet (2010), 252–8; Joly and Lambert (2004). The dated votives are from Alésia (see Cazanove 2017) and Mirebeau-sur-Bèze (Joly and Lambert (2004)).

[4] Essarois: Bourgeois (1991), 149–50; Green (1999), 92–3. Sainte-Sabine: Green (1999), 93–5. Alesia: Bourgeois (1991), 154–5.

[5] Besides the Seine and Chamalières deposits discussed here, wooden sculptures have been found at Montlay-en-Auxois, where the period of use seems to have been the second half of the second century AD, at Montbuoy (Loiret), Essarois (Côte-d'Or), Coren (Cantal) and Saint-Honoré-les-Bains (Nièvre). Montlay-en-Auxois: Dupont and Bénard (1995); Essarois: Bourgeois (1991), 139; Cantal: Bourgeois (1991), 139; Saint-Honoré-les-Bains: Bourgeois (1991), 139–40. Deyts (1983) is a lengthy enquiry into the ancient European tradition of wooden sculptures, with particular reference to the wooden votives from the sanctuary at the source of the Seine.

[6] The principal publications of the material from the Dea Sequana sanctuary are Deyts (1983) and (1994). See also Deyts (1966a), (1966b), (1969), (1970) and (1985); Romeuf (1986); Green (1999), with further bibliography. Deyts (1985) summarises the history of the site and its excavations; see also Deyts (1994), 8–9 and Green (1999), 8–9.

[7] Deyts (1994), 8.

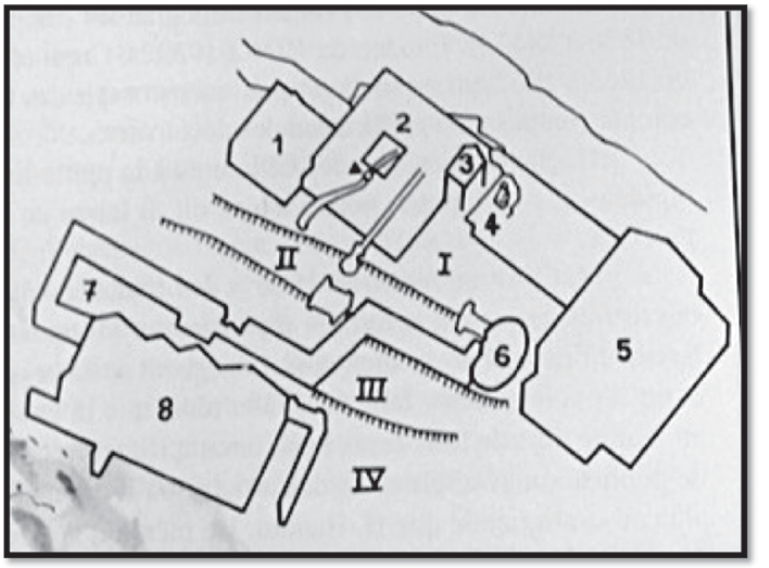

Figure 4.2 Plan of the Seine Sanctuary, after Deyts (1994), 7.

Terrace I: 1. fanum temple; 2. portico surrounding the main spring; 3. canopy sheltering the cult statue; 4 and 5. ancillary buildings, exact function unknown. Terrace II: 6. oval cistern containing water. Terrace III: processional way. Terrace IV: 7. walled area, exact function unknown; 8. buildings, possibly shops at the sanctuary entrance.

The archaeological stratigraphy of the site is unclear, and very few votive findspots are recorded in the secondary literature; however, we do know that 120 bronze votives representing eyes, pelvises and legs were discovered (together with 636 Roman coins dating between the first and fourth centuries AD) inside a large clay vase that was inscribed with the dedication *Deae Sequana(e) Rufus donavit* ('Rufus gave to the Goddess Sequana').[8]

The offerings from the Seine sanctuary have been studied in detail by Simone Deyts, and Table 4.1 reproduces her list of all the votive objects found.[9] The chart reveals some strong correlations between type and

[8] *CIL* XIII, 2865. Deyts (1994), 126, pl. 56, 1; Chauvot (1981). The jar is illustrated at Deyts (1994), 11, with pl. 56,1. The relationship between the vase and its contents is unclear, and it is possible that Rufus only dedicated the vase, which was later reused to collect together small votive offerings given by other people. For a discussion of findspots of votives in the Seine sanctuary see Deyts (1994), 8–11 and 14. She suggests that the statues of children holding dogs were arranged in front of building 4 (see Figure 4.2 here), while the stelai representing standing figures holding bags came from the stairs to the north of the oval basin (no. 6 on the map at Fig. 4.2). Deyts (1994), 126. See Chauvot (1981) for further discussion.

[9] Deyts (1983); Deyts (1994). See also Deyts (1966a) on the different styles of the wooden sculptures.

Table 4.1. Materials and types of votive found at the Seine sanctuary (after Deyts (1994), 15)

	Stone	Bronze	Terracotta	Wood
Standing male figures	31			41
Standing female figures	2			9
Swaddled babies	15–20			1
Male busts/heads	65		5	30
Female busts/heads	37			15
Busts/heads of indeterminate gender	23			18
Grouped heads	2			17
Male torsos/pelvises	17	91 (only pelvises)		5
Female torsos/pelvises	6 (+ 16 breasts)	20 (+ 9 breasts)		8
Internal organs		4		53
Legs and feet	100	4		45
Arms and hands	38 (+ 5 holding an object)			10 (+ 1 holding an object)
Hands in the shape of a 'stirrup'	8–10			
Eyes		119		
Animals	5	1 (lost)	3	25
Deities	8	4	4	
Inscriptions	13	3 (+ 1 in gold)	1	

material: for instance, most of the swaddled babies and all of the stirrup hands are made from stone; the male pelvises and the eyes are bronze, and internal organs and grouped heads are mainly in wood. These correlations could possibly be connected to changing fashions, and scholars have suggested that the wooden votives – which have been dated by dendrochronology to between 30 BC and AD 30 – may have been gradually replaced by stone.[10] Alternatively, it may be that certain materials were seen as particularly suitable for representing certain body parts, perhaps on account of their symbolic qualities. Miranda Green, for instance, comments on the

[10] Deyts (1969), 258; Cazanove 2017). On the problems of dating the votive material from this site see Deyts (1994), 9 and Green (1999), 9. Deyts (1966a), 211 notes that the ceramic evidence gives a *terminus ante quem* for the wooden sculptures of AD 100.

popular use of bronze for models of votive eyes across Gaul, suggesting that the shiny and reflective surfaces of these objects might have been seen to bear a mimetic resemblance to real eyes, as well as potentially symbolising aspects of human or divine vision.[11]

Detailed art-historical studies of the votive objects from the Seine can be found in the two monographs by Deyts, and my discussion here is limited to a brief commentary on Table 4.1. The stone figures are sculpted both in relief and in the round, and represent adults and children wearing traditional Gallic cloaks and mantles (Figure 4.3). Many of these stone figures are depicted carrying objects, including round 'talismans', bags, animals and fruit, which may all have represented offerings (or, in the case of animals, sacrifices) destined for the goddess.[12] As well as these adult and child figures, we also find stone models of swaddled babies (Figure 4.4).[13] The wooden figurines often show a simple, plank-like body surmounted by a much more detailed head (Figure 4.5).[14]

The most numerous body parts from the Seine sanctuary are the isolated models of heads, which number 193 examples.[15] The style of the heads varies from the highly realistic to the schematic; most of the wooden heads are represented at a scale somewhere between half- and full lifesize, and the majority of examples appear to have been roughly carved from logs, with the contours of the face following the natural shape of the wood, and with details such as the eyes, nose, mouth and hair carved using a chisel. As well as the single heads/busts, there are also seventeen examples of wooden 'stacked' heads – long pieces of wood into which a series of two, three or four heads have been carved in a vertical line (Figure 4.6).[16] Some examples consist simply of a cylindrical branch into which rough facial features have been incised, while in others the heads are moulded and separated by spindly necks. Claude Bourgeois has suggested that these plural head images may have been offerings made on behalf of group (perhaps a family), or alternatively that they may have been used to symbolise the intensity of the single dedicant's prayer through the device of multiplication. In this

[11] Green (1999), 85 and 93–4.

[12] The stone figures are listed and described in the 1994 catalogue by Deyts = Deyts (1994), 21–31. A selection of stone figures also appears together with illustrations and a commentary at Green (1999), 11–15, nos. 1–20. Deyts suggests that the dogs were destined for sacrifice, referencing ancient literary evidence for dog sacrifice: Deyts (1994), 10, where she makes reference to Pliny *NH* 29.58 and Ovid *Fasti* 4.907–15.

[13] Swaddled babies at Deyts (1994), 35–9; Green (1999), 16, nos. 21–7.

[14] Deyts (1983), 74–85. Measurements from Martin (1964), 302.

[15] Stone heads and busts: Deyts (1994), 41–71; Green (1999), 20–1. Wooden heads: Deyts (1983), 89–99, pls. XXIV–XL.

[16] Deyts (1983), 100–3, pls. XLI–XLV.

Figure 4.3 Stone 'pilgrim' statue from the Seine sanctuary.

latter case, the repetition of the body part might also reflect the intensity of illness – 'J'ai mal à la tête, j'ai très mal à la tête, j'ai très très mal à la tête …', as Bourgeois elegantly puts it.[17]

[17] 'I've got a head-ache, I've got a really bad headache, I've got a really, really bad headache!' Bourgeois (1991), 132. Roland Martin (1963) wondered whether these stacked heads are in fact unfinished votives that would eventually have been separated into individual head models.

Figure 4.4 Limestone statuette depicting a swaddled baby from the Seine sanctuary.

In addition to these single and multiple heads, there are also 'headless bodies', which represent the torsos and pelvises of both male and female bodies. The stone examples show the body from the neck down to the thighs, carved against a relief background, or in one case resting on a base (Figure 4.7).[18] Similar images are found in wood – these normally take the

[18] For the stone torsos see Deyts (1994), 73–81.

Figure 4.5 Wooden sculpture of female figure from the Seine sanctuary.

Figure 4.6 Wooden 'stacked' heads from the Seine sanctuary.

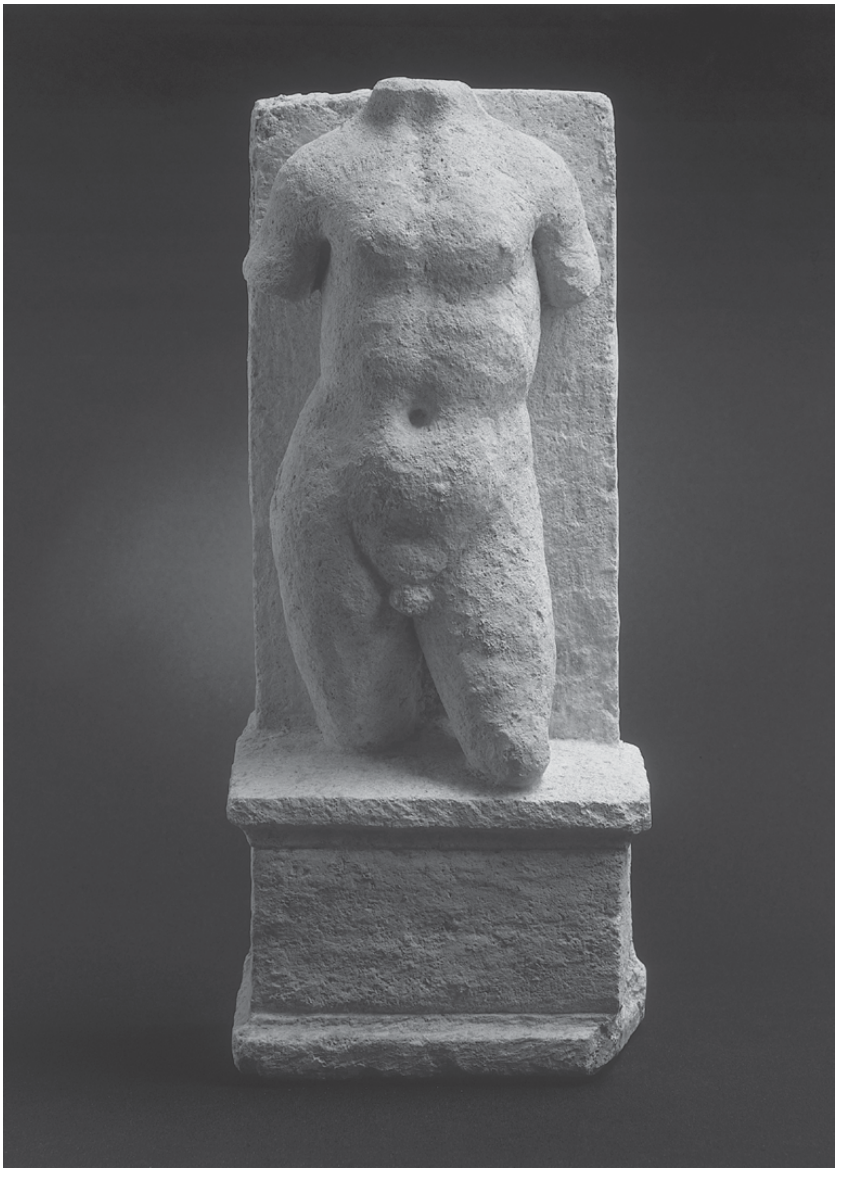

Figure 4.7 Limestone torso sculpture from the Seine sanctuary.

form of two schematic opposed triangles, sometimes separated by a belt – as well as in miniature bronze versions (Figure 4.8).[19] These latter objects are thin plaques which seem to have been worked in series: the male bodies represent the section from just above the belly-button to the testicles or upper thighs, while the female bodies show a longer section from the neck

[19] Wooden torsos: Deyts (1983), 88, pls. 20–3; Martin (1964), 303 and fig. 17.

Figure 4.8 Bronze plaque showing female trunk, from the Seine sanctuary.

to the thighs, and in two cases the face is also represented.[20] There are several examples of stone breasts represented singly, in pairs, and in one case in a group of three (Figure 4.9).[21] We also find 'polyvisceral' representations of the internal body – fifty-three examples in wood, and four in bronze. The wooden versions show a cylindrical central 'stem' (an oesophagus or

[20] See Deyts (1994), 73–81 and pls. 30–3; For the torsos with faces see Deyts (1994), 81, pl. 33a and b. For working in series: Deyts (1994), 81.

[21] Stone breasts: Deyts (1994), 81–5, pls. 34–5. The triple breast relief is at pl. 34, no. 8; Deyts suggests that the right-hand portion of the now-fragmentary relief may originally have shown a fourth breast.

Figure 4.9 Limestone relief with three breasts from the Seine sanctuary.

trachea) flanked by ribbed, circular or ovoid forms which are probably meant to represent the lungs and other internal organs (Figure 4.10).[22] The upper limbs appear in a variety of forms: as forearms or whole arms from the hands to the shoulder, or as single hands or pairs of hands holding a round object (Figure 4.11 – Deyts' 'stirrup' hands).[23] The legs appear singly and in pairs, and in one instance we find a stone relief depicting six legs in a row.[24] The smallest body parts found are the eyes, which are shown in pairs, stamped onto metal plaques.[25]

The inscriptions found on both anatomical and non-anatomical votives from the site give us some precious glimpses into the identity of the dedicators and, in some cases, their reasons for approaching the goddess. Marilynne Raybould has compiled a list of names attested in the inscriptions, which

[22] Internal organs: Deyts (1969), with line drawings of the wooden representations. Also Martin (1963), 12; Martin (1964), 303; Bourgeois (1991), 130–2, with figs. 49–52.

[23] Arms and hands: Deyts (1994), 85–97, pls. 36–40. For the 'stirrup' hands see Lebel (1936–9).

[24] Legs and feet: Deyts (1994), 99–119, pls. 41–51 (the relief with six legs is at pl. 43.2).

[25] Deyts (1994), 121, pls. 52–4.

Figure 4.10 Internal organ model from the Seine sanctuary.

Figure 4.11 Limestone model of joined hands holding an offering, from the Seine sanctuary.

reveals that nine dedicants have Gaulish names (or names associated with Celtic-speaking provinces), while seven dedicants have Roman names; she notes that 'dating the inscriptions cannot be done with any degree of precision but surviving examples could belong to the first and to the late second or early third centuries'.[26] Miranda Green further observes that of the ten complete or near-complete inscriptions, one is the dedication of a slave, and five were set up by women.[27] Four of the anatomicals are inscribed (two stone legs, a bronze pair of breasts and a bronze pair of eyes), along with a stone female bust and a swaddled baby. Both legs bear familiar Latin *VSLM* dedications, which include honorific mentions of Augustus: one was given by a grandmother, Flavia Flavilla, as a health-related vow (*pro salute*) on behalf of her grandson, Flavius Lunaris; the dedicant name on the other leg

[26] Raybould in Green (1999), 33. The Gaulish/Celtic names are Dagolitos, Luceo(s?), Lunaris, Maiumi{l)i?, Matta, Moni(…), Montiola, Nertecomatos/aros and Sienulla. The Roman names are Avitus, Flavilla, Hilaricius, Hilarianus, Martiola, Rufus and Vectius. Raybould's transcriptions and translations are used here.

[27] Green (1999), 34.

is no longer legible.[28] The inscription on the bronze breast-plaque records its status as a dedication to the goddess by 'Sienulla, daughter of Vectius', while the bronze eye plaque simply bears the name MATTA.[29] Unusually, the inscription on the female bust (a dedication to Sequana) appears under the base, where it would presumably be out of sight.[30] Finally, the swaddled baby's inscription reads *SC[E]VI[V]*, which Deyts suggests should be read from right to left as *VIVES* ('may you live') (Figure 4.4).[31] These inscriptions are very useful insofar as they indicate a mixed population of Roman and Gallic dedicants, and confirm that at least some of the anatomical votives were associated with bodily healing (the grandson's leg) and perhaps also survival (the little baby).

Chamalières

Another rich deposit of votives is the *source des Roches* in Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme), which has yielded more than 3,000 wooden ex-votos.[32] The finds from this site date from around the end of the first century BC until around AD 70; the early part of this period coincides with the refounding of nearby Nemessos (modern Clermont-Ferrand) as the Roman *oppidum* of Augustonemetum.[33] In antiquity, the site of Chamalières seems to have been simple and unadorned: no traces of

[28] Leg 1: *Aug(usto) sac(rum) deae Seq(uanae) Fl(avia) Flavil(la) pro sal(ute) Fl(avii) Luna(ris) nep(otis) sui ex voto v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (Sacred to Augustus. Flavia Flavilla paid her vow willingly and deservedly to the goddess Sequana, for the welfare of her grandson, Flavius Lunaris, in accordance with her vow). *CIL* XIII, 2862; Green (1999), 29, no. 4; Deyts (1994), 124, pl. 55.3. Leg 2: *Aug(usto) sac(rum) doa? <pro>Seq/cuan(a) bro C(…) M(…) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (Sacred to Augustus. To the Goddess Sequana <for>? C…M… paid his vow willingly and deservedly). *CIL* XIII, 2863; Green (1999), 29–30, no. 5; Deyts (1994), 126, pl. 41.1. Inscriptions which juxtapose the emperor with a deity (normally using the votive dative for both) are common in the Western Empire; Duncan Fishwick argues that they should probably be interpreted as honorific mentions of the emperor, rather than as evidence that the emperor and deity (in this case, Augustus and Sequana) were objects of joint cult. Fishwick (1992), 436.

[29] Breasts: *De(ae) Sequana(e) Sienulla Vectii f(ilia) votum s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* 'Sienulla, daughter of Vectius, paid her vow to the goddess Sequana willingly and deservedly.' Green (1999), 31, no. 8; Deyts (1994), 126, pl. 56.3. Eyes: *CIL* XIII, 2867; Green (1999), 32, no. 5; Deyts (1994), pl. 53.5A.

[30] *Au(gustae)? D(eae) Sequan(a)e de? / ex? moni(…)* 'To the goddess Sequana Augusta? DE/EX? Moni (…)' *CIL* XIII, 2858; Green (1999), 30, no. 6; Deyts (1994), 123, pl. 55.6.

[31] Deyts (1994), 35; Green (1999), 33 (iv), where Raybould wonders whether the word should be interpreted as 'a bungled spelling of *vivesc(at)*, perhaps in the sense of 'may he/she flourish'.

[32] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000); Vatin (1969), (1972).

[33] Deyts (1983), 194. Cf. Vatin (1972), 40.

permanent architectural structures have been found there beyond a simple ring of stones that may have marked out the sacred area. Scholars have wondered whether this lack of monumentalisation might reflect a deliberate choice to preserve the natural character of this sacred site – a choice that might also be reflected in the exclusive use of wood for the votives that were dedicated there.[34] Alternatively, the proximity of this site to the settlement of Augustonemetum may have made the construction of extra facilities such as accommodation or vendors' stalls unnecessary (the frequent use of the site by local people might also help to explain why such a large number of votives were dedicated over a relatively short period).

A comprehensive catalogue of the votive material from Chamalières has been published by Anne-Marie Romeuf and Monique Dumontet, and Table 4.2 summarises their data. Anatomical offerings make up the vast proportion of the finds: 1,790 legs and feet were found alongside 390 hands and arms, 140 heads and busts (three examples of which are of the 'stacked' type attested at the Dea Sequana sanctuary), 35 lower half-bodies, 18 polyvisceral plaques, 6 or 7 plaques with breasts, and a single pair of eyes in bronze attached to a wooden background.[35] These types of anatomical votive are all familiar from the Seine sanctuary discussed above, although the relative proportions of body parts represented at each site are rather different. While at the Seine the part most commonly represented was the head, the majority of the offerings from Chamalières are limbs; and while fifty-three polyvisceral representations were discovered at the sanctuary of Dea Sequana, only eighteen examples were found at Chamalières. Perhaps the most noticeable difference between the two sites, however, is the material in which the votives appear: in contrast to the wood, bronze and stone at the Seine, almost all the offerings at Chamalières are made from wood (the few exceptions include a single pair of bronze eyes, mounted on a wooden plaque, and a lead curse tablet).

The wooden sculptures from Chamalières have been categorised into three styles, which correlate closely with the type of wood used.[36] The objects carved in beech are the most numerous and stylistically homogeneous; these appear to have been carved in series, and the styles of body part vary comparatively little.[37] Oak seems to have been reserved for the finer and more 'classicising' pieces, while the small number of objects made from

[34] Romeuf (1986); Green (1999), 98–100.
[35] For in-depth discussion of finds see Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 62–96.
[36] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 114–17.
[37] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 114.

Table 4.2. Votive material from Chamalières (after Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 91, table 1)

Full-body figurines	220 (65% male, 35% female)
Heads and busts	140 (60% male, 40% female) Includes 3 examples of 'stacked' heads.
Lower half-bodies	35 (21 male, 10 female, 4 indeterminate gender)
Hands and arms	390
Legs and feet	1790
Polyvisceral plaques	18
Breasts	6 or 7
Animal figurines and lower limbs	15
Thin wooden tablets	950
Carved branches	15
Miscellaneous objects	10
Eyes	1 (in bronze, on wooden background)

other types of wood like poplar and laurel are often very roughly carved.[38] Most of the human figures are shown clothed and standing on bases.[39] Some of the statuettes have flat backs and bases, while others have pointed lower ends, indicating that they may have been pushed into the soil around the spring (Figure 4.12). Most of the men are dressed in a tunic or traditional cape, while most of the women wear a cloak draped over a long tunic.[40] One-third of the figures are shown carrying objects, which are probably to be interpreted as offerings – these include round or rectangular objects, corn, pinecones, purses, bunches of grapes, a bag and a bird.[41] In terms of gender, the full-length statues present a male–female ratio of 65–35, and the isolated heads reflect a similar distribution.[42] The heads sometimes depict the tops of the shoulders, or alternatively just the neck (Figure 4.13), and like the full-length figures they sport a range of hairstyles.[43] Three groups

[38] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 114.

[39] For the few exceptions (one horseman, two seated women and three swaddled figures) see Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 62 (cat. nos. 1, 2, 3 and 303–5). The full-length figures are discussed on pp. 62–8.

[40] For discussion of the costumes worn by the Chamalières figurines see Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 97–102.

[41] For discussion of the offerings held by the wooden figures at Chamalières see Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 107–10.

[42] Heads: Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 68–75, cat. nos. 319–462.

[43] For discussion of the hairstyles depicted on the figurines and heads from Chamalières see Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 102–3.

Figure 4.12 Wooden model of 'pilgrim' holding offering, from Chamalières.

Figure 4.13 Wooden head model from Chamalières.

of 'stacked' heads are attested, which vary in dimension and style (Figure 4.14).[44] Two of the stacks comprise just two heads while the third shows three heads; the length of the pole varies from 35 to 62 centimetres, and the manner of carving is also noticeably different. Of the models of lower bodies, most are shown wearing belts and tunics, but some are naked, and in four cases the genitals are shown – of these, one is male, and three are female (Figure 4.15).

The models of legs, which are always shown bare, are by far the most numerous objects in the deposit; most examples show the entire leg and foot from the top of the thigh down to the toes (Figure 4.16).[45] The arms are generally bare (84 per cent), although some examples are covered with a sleeve to the wrist (16 per cent) while 22.5 per cent hold a round offering (Figure 4.17).[46] The organs depicted on the polyvisceral plaques have been identified as the trachea, oesophagus, heart, stomach, lungs, diaphragm, intestines and kidneys (Figure 4.18).[47] Six or seven plaques represent female breasts, and, as mentioned above, one pair of bronze eyes was found, mounted on a wooden plaque.[48] Romeuf and Dumontet note that the paucity of eye models at Chamalières contrasts with the prevalence of this body part at other sites in Gaul and throughout the ancient world, and connect this imbalance to the fact that it is difficult to carve eyes in wood. Instead, they propose, images of eyes may have been painted on the flat wooden plaques found amongst the other, anthropomorphic offerings, which number more than a thousand.[49] Some of these plaques still bear traces of

[44] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 75; cat. nos. 459, 460, 461.
[45] Legs and feet: Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 80–5, cat. nos. 829–1551.
[46] Arms and hands: Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 78–9, cat. nos. 504–828.
[47] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 85. See cat. nos. 1552–69.
[48] Breasts: Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 86–7; cat. nos. 1570–6. Eyes: Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 85; cat. no. 1577.
[49] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 88–9.

Figure 4.14 Wooden 'stacked' heads from Chamalières.

Figure 4.15 Lower half of female body from Chamalières (back and front views, in wood).

Figure 4.15 (*cont.*)

Figure 4.16 Leg model in wood, from Chamalières.

Figure 4.17 Fragment of left arm holding round offering, wood, from Chamalières.

Figure 4.18 Polyvisceral representation in wood, from Chamalières.

Figure 4.19 Animal hoof in wood, from Chamalières.

paint – on one example we can even perceive the outline of a ghostly blue figure, its arm folded across its stomach.[50]

The non-wooden finds from Chamalières include coins, fruit stones and a lead tablet inscribed in the Gaulish language with a dedication to the Celtic god Maponus, who may have been the 'patron deity' of this spring sanctuary (Figure 4.20).[51] The text of the tablet still presents many problems of interpretation, but scholars are in agreement that it is closely related to the Greek and Latin *defixiones* – curses intended to incapacitate an enemy, which were also inscribed on lead tablets.[52] The English translation cited here is that of Patrick Henry, which is based with some modifications on the first, French translations of Lejeune and Marichal and Fleuriot.[53]

[50] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 120, cat. no. 1593, height 34.5 cm.

[51] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 40 (with further bibliography), fig. 20.

[52] For *defixiones* see Versnel (1998); Gager (1992).

[53] Henry (1984); Lejeune and Marichal (1976–7); Fleuriot (1976–7). The original text is transcribed as follows: andedion uediIumi diIiuion risun / artiu mapon aruerriIatin / lopites snIeððdic sos brixtia anderon / clucionfloronnigrinon adgarionaemilI / on paterin claudIon legitumon caelion / pelign claudío pelign marcion uictorin asiatI / con aððedillI etic secoui toncnaman / toncsiIontío meIon toncsesit bue / tid ollon reguccambion exsops / pissIiumItsoccaantI rissuis onson / bissIet lugedessummiIis luge / dessumíis lugedessumIIs luxe.

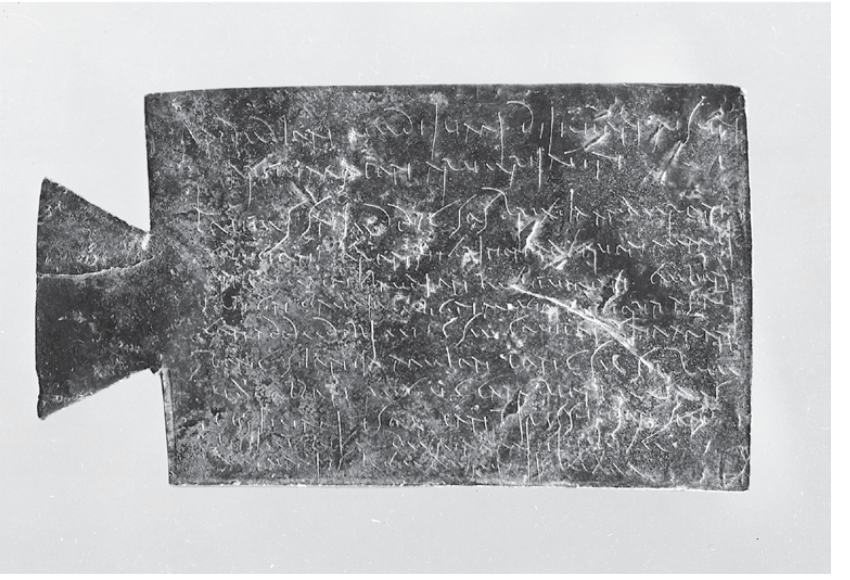

Figure 4.20 Inscribed lead tablet from Chamalières.

With this magical inscription I worship the godly, the divine Maponos Arvernatis. Through the incantation of women expedite us and these following: the invoker C. Lucios Floros Nigrinos, Aemilios Paterin(os), Claudios Legitumos, Caelios Pelign(os), Marcios Victorin(os), Asiatic(os), the son of Addedillos, and the Segovii, who will swear the oath. When he (viz. Maponos) has bound it (viz. the oath), what was small will become great. I straighten what is crooked. In time to come I shall see it so happen through this magical song inscription. I am preparing them for the oath (*thrice*). Swear!

Other translations differ in some details: for instance, while Henry's translation has the Latin names as referring to the people who collectively swore the oath to Maponus, an earlier French translation by Lambert sees these Latins as the *victims* of the curse, which is instead sworn by an anonymous author allied with the tribe of the Segovii.[54] Lambert thus interprets the tablet as a *defixio* written by Gauls against Romans, the main objective of which was to call Maponus back on to the side of the Gauls, after he had

[54] Lambert (1979), republished with a few modifications in Lambert and Lejeune (1994). His translation is as follows: 'Je soumets à la Bonne Force des Dieux et des *Ande-dii* Maponos Qui-Donne-Satisfaction, pour que ti dises, pour nous et pour eux, les formules magiques des enfers. Caius Lucius Florus Nigrinus, l'invocateur, Aemilius Peterinus, Claudius Legitumus, Caelius Pelignus Claudius Pelignus, Marcus Victorinus, Asiaticus, fils d'Aqqedillos, et tous ceux que les Secoui détestent, tous ceux-là ils les dévouent. Quiconque ma tablette a lié, que pour lui tout os droit devienne courbe. Celui que je lie avec cela, il deviendra aveugle par l'effet de cette Bonne Flèche. Consume ceux que j'ai dévoués (*ter*); consume-les bien.' The Secovii were one of the eighteen Alpine tribes defeated by Augustus between 27 and 29 BC.

been summoned away by the Romans using the ritual of *evocatio deorum*.[55] Lambert also argues that the phrase 'I straighten what was crooked' should instead be 'What was straight will become crooked'. This version becomes significant in the context of the healing sanctuary, because it essentially inverts the process of bodily reparation that is normally associated with anatomical offerings – a process in which 'crooked' (or more generally anomalous) body parts become 'straight' and mended.

From Pre-Roman to Roman Gaul: Changing Approaches to the Fragmented Body

Chamalières and the Seine are the earliest assemblages of anatomical votive offerings currently known in Gaul, and as such they offer us some crucial insight into how Gallic beliefs and practices changed over a *longue durée*. Olivier de Cazanove and Martine Joly have already discussed how the adoption of the anatomical votives forms part of a wider change in the nature of Gallic votive offerings during the period just after the Roman conquest, when weapons, animal bones and amphorae were gradually replaced by brooches, coins, inscribed altars and anatomical votive offerings.[56] However, as well as indicating new religious regimes, the anatomical votives also attest to changing understandings of the human body. Before we look in more detail at how and why these changes occured, this chapter will briefly review some of the evidence for pre-Roman treatments of the body in Gaul, focusing here on the theme of bodily fragmentation. Putting the anatomical votives in the context of these older representations and practices is worthwhile, not only because it can help us to reconstruct some of the resonances of the later anatomical votives, but also because it draws attention to how far the adoption of these offerings constituted a shift in Gallic ways of dividing the body into its constituent pieces.

When we look at the disarticulation of the human body in pre-Roman Gaul, we see a wide array of regional and chronological variation, which is nevertheless undercut by one recurrent theme – that is, the separation of

[55] On the ritual of *evocatio deorum* see Gustafsson (2000).

[56] Cazanove and Joly (2011), 666, with further bibliography for these different votive types. Cf. Aberson (2007). Indigenous Gallic practices focus on rituals of dedicating enemy weapons to the gods, as attested by passages from ancient authors (cf. Caesar *Gallic Wars* 6.17 and Tacitus *Annals* 13.57). Cazanove and Joly also note that some Greco-Gallic votive inscriptions from the second–first centuries BC found in the south of France include the word *bratoudekantem* ('for favours received'), but they acknowledge that these inscriptions might be seen as evidence of Romanisation. Cazanove and Joly (2011), 665.

the head from the rest of the body.[57] The dominant role of the human head in Iron Age culture has been the subject of several studies, and is attested in literary, artistic and archaeological evidence. Some of the most vivid images are found in the work of the Greek writers Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, who describe Gallic practices of head-hunting in the context of inter-group warfare.

> When their enemies fall [the Gauls] cut off their heads and fasten them about the necks of their horses; and turning over to their attendants the weapons of their opponents, all covered with blood, they carry [the heads] off as booty, singing a paean over them and striking up a song of victory, and these first-fruits of battle they fasten by nails upon their houses, just as men do, in certain kinds of hunting, with the heads of wild beasts they have mastered. The heads of their most distinguished enemies they embalm in cedar-oil and carefully preserve in a chest, and these they exhibit to strangers, gravely maintaining that in exchange for this head some one of their ancestors, or their father, or the man himself, refused the offer of a great sum of money. And some men among them, we are told, boast that they have not accepted an equal weight of gold for the head they show, displaying a barbarous sort of greatness of soul; for not to sell that which constitutes a witness and proof of one's valor is a noble thing.
>
> Diodorus Siculus 5.29.4–5[58]

> In addition to their folly, they have a barbarous and absurd custom, common however with many nations of the north, of suspending the heads of their enemies from their horses' necks on their return from battle, and when they have arrived nailing them as a spectacle to their gates. Posidonius says he witnessed this in many different places, and was at first shocked, but became familiar with it in time on account of its frequency. The heads of any illustrious persons they embalm with cedar, exhibit them to strangers, and would not sell them for their weight in gold. However, the Romans put a stop to these customs, as well as to their modes of sacrifice and divination, which were quite opposite to those sanctioned by our laws.
>
> Strabo 4.4.5[59]

These two descriptions have certain elements in common: for example, both writers associate the practice with conflict, stating that enemy heads were displayed around the neck of the warrior's horse immediately after

[57] The recent work of Ian Armit is fundamental here: see Armit (2006), (2010) and (2012). Older studies of the Gallic material are Reinach (1913); Lambrechts (1954). On heads in Celtic Britain see Ross (1969). One notable alternative form of bodily division is found at Ribemont-sur-Ancre, where human long bones were used to build the so-called 'ossuary' structure. See Armit (2012), 197–201; Cadoux (1984a) and (1984b); Brunaux (2004), and further discussion below. For a detailed study of decapitated burials in Roman Britain see Crerar (2012).

[58] Translation by C. H. Oldfather for the Loeb Classical Library.

[59] Translation by H. C. Hamilton for Bohn's Classical Library.

being cut off, and they each emphasise the care taken in the subsequent curation of the heads, the pride with which they were displayed to foreigners, the high value placed on the heads as 'relics' and their owners' point-blank refusals to part with them. In fact, both authors appear to have been drawing on a common source – the work of Greek writer Posidonius, who lived from c.135 to 51 BC, and who visited Gaul in the period just before the Roman conquest.[60] Posidonius appears in Strabo's text as an eyewitness who gradually became desensitised to viewing severed heads; Strabo himself dubs the practice 'barbarous and absurd', while Diodorus recognises parallels with the Greco-Roman custom of displaying animal heads as hunting trophies. In other texts, we find records of Romans coming into direct contact with head-hunting: Livy, for instance, recounts the decapitation of the Roman general Postumius by the North Italian Gaulish tribe of the Boii in 216 BC, and the siege of Clusium in Etruria in 295 BC, after which the victorious Gauls 'came into sight, with heads hanging at their horse's breasts or fixed on their lances, and singing their customary songs of triumph'.[61]

The extent to which we can take these texts as documentary descriptions is limited: not only are they written by foreign observers rather than local practitioners, they are also inevitably shaped by the broader literary context in which they appear.[62] However, there is also a wealth of material evidence – both iconographical representations and osteological remains – which can help us understand the range of ways in which human heads were treated in the context of Iron Age warfare. The image of a male warrior juxtaposed with human heads is found at several sites throughout France, on a wide variety of objects including coins, sculpted reliefs and pottery. One ceramic fragment found in a late Iron Age grave at Aulnat in the Auvergne – very close to the sanctuary at Chamalières – demonstrates how this evidence can nuance the picture painted by the classical texts.[63] The fragment shows a mounted warrior with a severed human head tied around the neck of the horse – at first sight, a seductively close visual illustration of

[60] On Posidonius and the extent of his travels, see Kidd (1999). Cf. also Nash (1976).

[61] Clusium: Livy 10.26. Postumius: Livy 23.24.

[62] The barbarian head-hunt was an established literary topos in antiquity: cf. Herodotus' description of Scythian head-hunting at *Histories* 4.63–6. Francois Hartog has convincingly shown how Herodotus constructed this description in such a way as to prioritise the depiction of Scythian Otherness. For example, Scythian head-hunting is presented by Herodotus as a highly individualistic pursuit; this contrasts strongly with Classical Greek warfare, which is characterised in the same text by a respect for the fighting order of the *phalanx*, and the relatively 'democratic' division of the weapons amongst all those who helped win the battle – regardless of how many warriors they had killed individually. Hartog (1988), 157–62.

[63] Périchon (1987); see also Green (2001), fig. 37 a and b; Armit (2010), fig. 9.3.

the descriptions of head-hunting in the ancient literary sources. However, archaeologists have reconstructed the large ovoid vessel to which this fragment belongs, enabling us to put this horseman back into a bigger picture. This reveals that the armed rider was pursuing, not human enemies, as the literary descriptions might lead us to expect, but a group of wild and domestic animals. Thus, while the 'life-cycle' of severed heads according to Strabo and Diodorus has them being tied immediately to the horses, then taken home and nailed to posts before being embalmed and displayed, this pot implies that the dead heads may in fact have been mobile and in action for much longer.

Isolated heads also appear in monumental sculpture, often in juxtaposition with images of huntsmen or warriors. Some of the earliest representations – dated as early as 800 BC according to some scholars – come from Saint-Michel-de-Valbonne near the modern town of Hyères in Provence, from a hill that was later the site of an Iron Age sanctuary.[64] Two freestanding sandstone pillars are carved with schematic outlines of human heads: one of the pillars shows five isolated heads arranged so as to surround the schematic outline of a horse and rider, while the other shows a line of three heads in a vertical row.[65] Other images of mounted warriors and isolated heads have been identified at the sites of Glanon and Mouriès, while two more stone pillars showing groups of heads come from the *oppidum* of Entremont near the Greek colony of Marseille.[66] One of these Entremont pillars was found reused in a building of the mid-second century BC, but has been dated from much earlier – possibly as early as 500 BC (Figure 4.21).[67] Measuring just over 2.5 m in height, it depicts on one of its four sides an arrangement of twelve near-lifesize heads, the lowest of which is turned upside down. The second block from Entremont has two of its sides decorated with two columns of heads, and a third side decorated with two incised ears of wheat.[68] The meaning of these Entremont pillars is more ambiguous than other representations where severed heads are juxtaposed with warriors, and some scholars have seen the pillars as evidence of an ancestor cult, or as linked to human and agricultural fertility as opposed

[64] Brun (1999). Patricia Arcelin (2004), 71, argues for a date between 800 and 650 BC.

[65] Brun (1999); Arcelin (2004), 71; Armit (2012), 84–7, with fig. 4.4.

[66] Mouriès: Coignard et al. (1998); Armit (2012), 87, fig. 4.6 (b); Glanon: Paillet and Tréziny (2000), 190, Armit (2012), 87, fig. 4.6 (a). On Entremont, see Arcelin (2006); Armit (2012), 173–95 with further references.

[67] For the pillar see Salviat (1993), 211, no. 29; Arcelin and Rapin (2003), 188; Armit (2010), 93–4, fig. 9.5.

[68] For the 'bloc aux épis' see Armit (2012), 89–94, figs. 4.9 and 4.10; Arcelin and Rapin (2003), figs. 4b and 4c.

Figure 4.21 Drawing showing the decorated side of stone head pillar from Entremont.

to conflict.[69] However, a later group of limestone statues from Entremont *does* show severed heads in the possession of warriors, who sit cross-legged and wear elaborate armour.[70] Ian Armit has contrasted the highly individualised faces of these warriors and their severed heads with the anonymity and schematism of the early Entremont pillars, linking this shift towards individuality to the emergence of the local Saluvian elite, who may have used the cult to create and consolidate their political power.[71]

The use of real human heads to symbolise relations of dominance also seems to be attested at Entremont by a later timber-framed public building onto which at least fifteen adult or adolescent crania marked by injuries from bladed weapons were attached with enormous nails.[72] Elsewhere in Provence, human heads were displayed at the fourth-century sanctuary at Roquepertuse a few miles to the west of Entremont, where they were housed in a brightly painted portico.[73] The alcoves in which these heads were displayed are each of a different size and shape, suggesting that the heads were all at different stages of decomposition when they were displayed, giving the impression of a carefully curated collection that had been assembled over years, even generations. Outside Provence, there is a wealth of osteological evidence from other regions: cranial fragments frequently appear in settlement sites in Languedoc, west of the Rhône, while skulls and cervical vertebrae found at the sanctuary site of Gournay in northern France show clear signs of decapitation and subsequent display.[74]

Even the small selection of examples discussed here clearly demonstrates that the head-cult in Gaul was not a monolithic phenomenon, but was instead subject to many regional and chronological variations. Despite this heterogeneity, however, these pre-Roman practices share certain features, which differentiate them collectively from the anatomical votive cult which followed them. Perhaps most obviously, the anatomical votive cult represents a shift in focus away from the head and onto other parts of the body. As the data from the Seine and Chamalières have indicated, the head *did* feature in these later assemblages, but here it appeared in the context of

[69] On ancestor cult, see Benoît (1975); Arcelin and Rapin (2003), 190–1, Armit (2012), 99. On fertility, see Armit (2012), 101–6.

[70] Armit (2012), 175–81; Salviat (1993), nos. 3.8.22 and 23; Arcelin and Rapin (2003).

[71] Armit (2012), 188–9. Armit's work emphasises that, even within the broad context of inter-group conflict and aggression, the severed human head could be treated in subtly different ways, each of which helped to shape its function and meaning.

[72] Armit (2012), 191–2.

[73] See Armit (2012), chapter 5, for discussion and references.

[74] For the Languedocien material see the catalogue by Dedet and Schwaller (1990). For the display of remains at Gournay see Armit (2012), 197 and Brunaux and Malagoli (2003), 25–6.

other limbs and body parts, which in the case of Chamalières were far more numerous than the heads. In this way, while in pre-Roman Gaul the head functioned as the priviliged *pars pro toto* symbol of the person, the anatomical votives entailed a more comprehensive dismemberment of the body into several different parts – not only the head, but the arms, legs, genitals and internal parts too.

Other differences between the pre- and post-Roman views of the body concern the question of 'whose body', and the context in which the body was divided. Despite some subtle differences in interpretation, the scholarly consensus is that the earlier Iron Age images represent heads taken from dead bodies – whether these be of an 'in-group' (ancestors) or 'out-group' (enemies). In contrast, although the visually fragmented form of the anatomical votive always allows space for ambiguity, these objects are normally assumed to relate to the *living* bodies of their dedicants, which they symbolise by a complex strategy of metonymy. And while most of the earlier Gallic head images seem to relate to the spheres of aggression and warfare, most of the anatomical votives are to be connected to the diametrically opposed sphere of bodily healing. Further subtle differences relate to the places and modes of display, and the identities of the objects' intended audiences. The anatomical votives were explicitly addressed to the gods, while in most cases it seems that the aggressive displays of human heads may have had the primary function of structuring and reinforcing human social relations. However, this distinction is not entirely clear-cut: many of the older head pillars and warrior images may have had a religious function too, while the later anatomical votives would also have been contemplated by mortal viewers, playing – so the rest of this chapter will argue – a central role in constructing human relationships and identities.

From Italy to Gaul: Colonising the Body?

How can we explain these shifts in the modes and contexts for bodily division? The introduction of anatomical votives in Gaul has traditionally been seen in relation to the Roman conquest, and the importation of older Etrusco-Italic traditions.[75] Indeed, one of the most striking features of these Gallic deposits in the context of this book's investigation is the reappearance of types from the Etrusco-Italic deposits studied in the previous chapter of

[75] See e.g. Deyts (1994), 5; Cazanove (2009); Cazanove (2013), 24–5.

this book. Heads and busts, eyes, breasts, arms and legs, hands and feet, and internal and genital organs – all of the human body parts that appear in Gaul are, as we have seen, attested in earlier Italian assemblages. It is particularly noteworthy that models of internal organs and swaddled babies appear in Gaul, since these types are otherwise unique to Etrusco-Italic contexts; the Gallic material also includes models of animal limbs (Figure 4.19), as well as depictions of the human lower body which, as Romeuf and Dumontet have noted, are similar to those seen at ELC sites like Tarquinia, Paestum and Tessennano (Figure 3.7).[76]

The formal similarities between the Italic and Gallic votives, then, coupled with the historical scenarios of Latin colonisation and Roman conquest, have led most scholars to conclude that the practice of dedicating anatomical votives was brought over to Gaul from Italy. As Greg Woolf has commented in relation to the material from Dea Sequana and Chamalières, 'the fact that the ex-votos were of wood and their watery contexts have certainly encouraged the search for iron age origins, but at neither site has any indication been found that cult preceded the reign of Augustus, and the rites involved are perfectly comprehensible in terms of Roman ritual traditions'.[77] William Van Andringa has described the adoption of votives as a 'decisive phase of acculturation … a Romanisation of cults', while Veronique Rey-Vodoz sees them 'as clear signs of the Gauls' openness to the new religious practices that formed part of conceptual baggage of the new [Roman] power'.[78] In this way, the votives have been seen as part of the more general influence of Rome on Gallic customs and beliefs – evidence of a process of 'Religious Romanisation', similar to that proposed by some scholars for the diffusion of terracotta votives in central Italy.[79]

[76] Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 75, with n. 51; cf. Comella (1981), 729, 733 and 757; Comella (1982), 113 and pl. 76a. Romeuf and Dumontet also note parallels with lower female bodies from Petsofa and Mount Juktas: Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 93, n. 50. The animal limbs (horse and bovine) from Chamalières are at Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 127–8, nos. 1587–91. For a bovine limb from Halatte see Cazanove (2013), 25.

[77] Woolf (1998), 218. For wooden sculpture in earlier periods of Gallic history, see Lucan's description of the sacred forest of the Ligurians near Marseille, *Pharsalia* 3.412–13: *simulacraque maestra deorum | arte carent caesisque extant informia truncis*. On this passage see Jullian (1924). Bourgeois proposes that these objects are in fact votive offerings: Bourgeois (1991), 126.

[78] 'Comme des signes clairs de l'ouverture de populations gauloises à des pratiques religieuses nouvelles venues dans les bagages conceptuels du nouveau pouvoir' (my translation). Rey-Vodoz (2006), 234. Cf. Cazanove and Joly (2011): 'L'apparition d'ex-voto anatomiques dans les sanctuaires de Gaule est un marqueur non équivoque de romanité (comme il avait été, trois siècles avant, un indicateur fiable de la romanisation de l'Italie passant dans l'orbite de Rome).'

[79] Torelli (1973), 138–9; Cazanove (1991), (2000). For an opposition to this view see Glinister (2006). On religious Romanisation in Gaul see Woolf (1998), ch. 8. esp. 229, where he explains

In this particular version of events, the human body might be seen to function, as it has done in more recent periods, as a potent site for the construction of colonial power.[80] And indeed, other sources from the Roman period reveal far more explicit forms of Roman intervention in Gallic bodily practices. One example is found in the work of the Roman poet Lucan, who records that Julius Caesar ordered the destruction of a shrine at Marseille where the trees were sprinkled with the blood of human sacrifices.[81] Similarly, talking about the Gallic tradition of collecting enemy heads, Strabo comments that 'the Romans put a stop to these customs, as well as to their modes of sacrifice and divination, which were quite opposite to those sanctioned by our laws'.[82] Pliny claims that Tiberius rid Gaul of human sacrifice as well as 'their druids and all kinds of bards and healers'; he adds that 'it is impossible to imagine how much is owed to the Romans for suppressing these atrocities, according to which the most religious rite was to kill a man, and the healthiest practice was to devour him'.[83] The archaeological record may also preserve traces of Roman interventions in body-centred religious practices, as at the Iron Age sanctuary of Ribemont-sur-Ancre in the Somme, which had been set up in the early part of the third century BC.[84] At this site, more than eighty headless corpses had been hung around the walls, while the dismembered remains of around 200 individuals (mostly young men) were placed in a central enclosure along with weapons. This structure, and its display of what has been interpreted as a series of battle trophies constituted of the mortal remains of enemies offered to the gods, appears to have been dismantled at the time of the Roman conquest and replaced with a Roman-style temple. Meanwhile, the Entremont warrior statues were deliberately and comprehensively destroyed in the late second century BC, probably by the Roman army.[85] These examples suggest that the Roman intrusion into Gaul involved the active suppression of bodily practices which had a long history in that area, and which may have

that 'recognizably Roman forms of religious activity were widely adopted in precisely the same period as an older ritual tradition was being in part abandoned, as sanctuaries were taking on a markedly new physical form, and as the gods were being given new names and, for the first time, faces. The inevitable conclusion is that Roman religion had an attraction for Gauls that was also based on the primary function of religion, to make sense of the world and of human experience of it. Whether or not the term conversion is used to describe it, a revolution in practice and belief had occurred in Gaul.'

80 See for instance Bernault (2006).

81 Lucan *Pharsalia* 3.372–417.

82 Strabo *Geography* 4.4.5.

83 Pliny *Natural History* 30.4.

84 Armit (2012), 197–201; Cadoux (1984a) and (1984b); Brunaux (2004).

85 Armit (2012), 190–2.

been central to the construction of power relations *within* Gallic society. Conceptually, then, the importation of the Etrusco-Italic anatomical votive cult to Gaul might be placed alongside more aggressive forms of Roman intervention in earlier Gallic concepts of the body.

There is, however, more than one problem with this apparently straightforward scenario. The first problem is chronological, for there is a hiatus between the demise of the anatomical votive cult in Italy and the appearance of the cult in Gaul. In Italy, the widespread use of anatomical votives appears to decline in the later second century BC before ceasing altogether in the first century BC.[86] Meanwhile, according to current data, the earliest Gallic votives – those from Chamalières and the Seine – have been dated to the first half of the first century AD. Of course, it may well be the case that future archaeological discoveries will fill in this gap by bringing to light later examples of votives in Italy or earlier examples in Gaul. Another possible solution has been suggested by Olivier de Cazanove, who points out that while the *production* of anatomical terracottas ceased in Italy during the first century BC, at certain sanctuaries the votives may have been *visible* until much later.[87] As noted in the previous chapter, votives in Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries were normally cleared from display at periodic intervals, but this may not always have been the case, particularly once the numbers of visitors and new dedications had begun to dwindle. At the Porta Nord sanctuary at Vulci, for instance, the votives date to the third and second centuries BC but were found in association with a Domitianic coin and lamps of the second century AD, which indicates that they had been buried at some point during the Imperial period; meanwhile at Ponte di Nona near Rome it appears that the Republican period votives may have been buried as late as the fifth century AD.[88]

The evidence presented by de Cazanove raises the possibility that the Gallic votives were descended from an Etrusco-Italic votive cult that was still *visible* at the time that the Gallic votives began to be made – but that was no longer *practised*. This is an intriguing scenario, for there is a significant difference between the idea that the Romans came into Gaul and carried on with their traditional practices which were then emulated by Gallic people and the idea that the Romans in Gaul deliberately 'resurrected' what was essentially an outmoded, fossilised ritual.[89] In this latter case, we can

[86] See conclusion of Chapter 3 above, with references.

[87] Cazanove (2008) and (2017).

[88] As noted by Glinister (2006), 20. For Ponte di Nona see Potter and Wells (1985), 38. For Porta Nord, see Pautasso (1994).

[89] Again, Woolf discusses how Rome provided models for Gallic cult 'by accident or design': 'But perhaps it is more likely that to begin with the creation of new cults in the communities of

only wonder about the motivations for such a revival. One possibility is that the votives were being used by Romans to reaffirm their own religious and cultural identity in the destabilising context of the colonial encounter.[90] Alternatively, it may be that the incoming Romans viewed anatomical votives as a more acceptable alternative to older Gallic practices involving real human body parts, such as the aggressive display of enemy heads already discussed in this chapter. Such suggestions can only ever be hypothetical, but it is nevertheless important to acknowledge that the archaeological material raises such conundrums, which force us to think through possible ways that the evidence might relate to a historical reality.

From Italy to Gaul: Reception and Transformation

Apart from this chronological hiatus between the Roman and Gallic offerings, we also need to acknowledge how far the votive cult was transformed in the process of its reception by Gallic craftsmen. The full-length portraits of dedicants are the clearest examples of this, since they are represented wearing local Gallic styles of costume and hairstyle. Simone Deyts has already discussed the extreme schematicism of some of the wooden sculptures from the Seine, and their stylistic relationship with earlier Celtic models. She compares the wooden statues from the Seine with Central European stone statues like the 'warrior' from Holzerlingen, showing how both sets of images are characterised by rectilinear facial features and arms shown in shallow relief against a columnar body.[91] It might also be argued that the stone and wooden votive statuettes from Gaul recall older visual traditions of separating the head from the body. Earlier in this chapter, I argued that the votive body parts represent a fundamental move away from this 'binary' form of division; at the same time, some of the full-length statuettes from Chamalières and the Seine seem to have retained elements of this earlier *exaltation de la tête*, particulary those examples which contrast a simple, plank-like body with a far more detailed, almost portrait-like head (e.g. Figure 4.5).[92]

Roman Gaul was more haphazard, by simple imitation of the cults practised by the Romans in their midst or in neighbouring *coloniae* and at the altar, and in the light of the advice and reactions of Roman officials and residents.' Woolf (1998), 222–3.

90 As Chris Gosden has written, 'colonial cultures were created by all who participated in them, so that all had agency and social effect, with colonizer and colonized alike being radically changed by the experience.' Gosden (2004), 25.

91 Deyts (1966a), 199.

92 Some of the anthropomorphic stelai found at Chamalières show a distinct separation of the head and the body. Cf. Vatin (1972), 42, who notes of statues reproduced at his pls. 4(a) and (e): 'The head is proportionally tiny, worked with great care at the end of a long and slender bar of wood.'

Besides the full-body statuary, the models of body parts from Italy and Gaul also indicate subtly different understandings of how the human body was to be divided into its constituent pieces. The range of body parts represented in the Gallic deposits is narrower than in Italy, and does not include the 'smaller' body parts such as noses, tongues, ears, hearts, fingers, teeth, penises and wombs that appear in such large quantities on the Italian peninsula.[93] In Gaul, with the exception of the eye models, smaller body parts are kept within the more globalising representations of larger bodily regions. Internal organs, for instance, are found in the context of polyvisceral representations, while male and female genitals appear either on full-length or half-body statues. Furthermore, even those body parts that are attested in both Italy and Gaul are often iconographically quite different. Arms are always represented singly in Italy, while at the Seine sanctuary we find pairs of arms shown together, holding out a round offering (Figure 4.11). Like some of the single arms which also hold out offerings (Figure 4.17), these are 'self-reflexive' representations, 'offerings depicting offerings', which deflect attention away from the arm itself, and onto the act of dedication. Rather than simply presenting a disembodied, decontextualised body part, these objects instead inscribe the body part into a broader ritual context, while also retaining a sense of how the body part belongs to, and functions within, the wider context of the human body.

Another distinctive feature of the Gallic material is the frequent representation of the same body part in multiple forms.[94] One stone relief from the Seine represents three breasts in a row (Figure 4.9); another polyvisceral representation from this site appears to show the same anatomical motif repeated three times, while a similar polyvisceral relief from Chamalières shows a double anatomical motif.[95] A stone relief from the Seine depicts a row of six legs, while another shows twin heads, placed side-by-side, and one of the bronze plaques is decorated with four eyes.[96] Meanwhile, the

[93] As noted by Deyts (1994), 5.

[94] Deyts (1994), 83 notes that 'Ce phénomène de repetition … se rencontre fréquemment dans les sanctuaires de sources'; this claim is echoed at Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 86. 'Plural' dedications of more than one body part model are also attested in the Athenian Asklepieion inventories, which record the dedication of four ears by a certain Boidias (1534, 108), of a *typos* with three bodies by a man named Thallos (1534, 244), and the dedication of a body and two hearts by woman called Mammia (1534, 248). See van Straten (1981), 112 (where he suggests 'Perhaps they are best understood as having been offered for the sake of (ὑπέρ) another person or persons as well').

[95] 'Triple' polyvisceral representation from the Seine: Deyts (1983), 106, no. 72 pl. XLIX. 'Double' polyvisceral representation from Chamalières: Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 86, cat. no. 1552.

[96] Six legs: Deyts (1994), pl. 43.1. Twin heads in stone: Green (1999), 20, no. 56, fig. 23. Four eyes: Deyts (1966b), no. 101.

wooden models of stacked heads from Sequana and Chamalières show two, three or even four heads in a column, one on top of another (Figures 4.6 and 4.14). These multiple representations constitute a further way in which the Gallic votives differ from those found in Etrusco-Italic deposits, where the only 'repeated' body parts are pairs of eyes, breasts and testicles – all of which can still be seen as belonging to one individual. Instead, the Gallic multiples complicate the usual association between the anatomical votive and the body of the person who dedicated it, and force the viewer to consider exactly how these objects relate to the body or bodies of the real dedicant/s. Might they be dedications made by groups of people? Were they intended to be separated eventually, as Roland Martin has wondered in relation to the stacked wooden heads?[97] Do they signal the heightened intensity of pain, or hope, or an attempt to maximise the efficacy of the vow, as Claude Bourgeois has suggested?[98] These are some of the possible meanings proposed in the scholarship, all of which recognise and try to rationalise the dissonance between these plural objects and other, *single* body part votives.

In fact, these multiple images find echoes in earlier Iron Age art, signalling yet another way in which the incoming tradition of dedicating anatomical votives may have mapped onto existing techniques of visualising the body. Miranda Green has already noted that multiplication was a common feature of earlier Celtic art, and she suggests that these older images may have been attributed with a 'magical' function, which the makers of the later votives then attempted to harness.[99] Meanwhile, the stacked wooden heads find very specific visual prototypes in earlier Iron Age art where, as we have seen already, the representation of groups of heads was a common phenomenon. Particularly close parallels are found in the carved stone pillars from Var and Entremont which, like the later votives, represent a group of stylised heads arranged in a vertical line, carved in a rough, schematic style, with eyes represented by simple dots or horizontal lines, noses by vertical lines, and mouths that are barely indicated (e.g. Figure 4.21). Noting this visual continuity between the Roman-era anatomicals and older Gallic imagery helps to balance the picture of abrupt change in Gallic attitudes to the body presented earlier on in this chapter; it also further nuances our

[97] Martin (1963). Bourgeois (1991), 132 opposes this suggestion, on the grounds that it is more difficult to sculpt several motifs on the same background than sculpt motifs individually; furthermore, he points out that one of the anatomical plaques was sculpted on both sides, making it hard to imagine how these representations might eventually be separated. Cf. discussion at Romeuf and Dumontet (2000), 69, with n. 45.

[98] Bourgeois (1991), 132.

[99] Green (1999), 59.

understanding of the transmission of votives from Italy to Gaul, by showing how Etrusco-Italic forms were modified in ways that brought them closer to existing local forms. Furthermore, it also takes us back to the debate about the meaning of these objects, raising the possibility that the stacked wooden heads may have been used to express similar meanings to the earlier images that they assimilated so closely. For instance, the stacked-head votives might have been used to evoke the same ideas of fertility that seem to be embodied in the objects like the Entremont *bloc aux épis* (the pillar which juxtaposes a series of heads with ears of corn); alternatively, these same head votives may have embodied general notions of individual or group success, by harnessing older imagery associated with masculinity and success in battle. One further possibility is that the votive heads had a more literal relationship to the theme of conflict, and that the aim of the dedicant was to hurt an adversary or group of adversaries, rather than to heal his or her own body. This last suggestion would see the heads as serving an 'incapacitating' function, and would bring them conceptually closer to the anatomical curse tablets mentioned in Chapter 2, which obsessively list (and thereby systematically dismantle) the parts of the human body.

This idea that the head votives might have been used to serve nefarious agendas is worth pressing, even though it goes against normal expectations of what anatomical votives were used for.[100] The violent overtones of head imagery would have been hard for contemporary viewers to ignore, particularly given the fact that practices of aggressive head-hunting seem to have increased and intensified during the first century BC, and were thus more than simply a faded memory.[101] Severed enemy heads continued to be represented across different media: for instance, a coin of Dubnoreix (an Aeduan leader killed by the Roman army in 54 BC) depicts a man, perhaps Dubnoreix himself, holding a carnyx decorated with a boar's head in one hand, and a severed human head in another (Figure 4.22).[102] *Têtes coupées* may also appear on the relief sculpture of the Arch of Orange, which was erected by the Romans in the early first century AD.[103] Alongside these new

[100] Or perhaps *because* it goes against these expectations – for as Jas Elsner has commented (in relation to visual images of religious resistance in the Eastern Roman Empire) 'It is important that … images offer a potential reading as "culturally resistant" rather than an unambiguous one, since one of the problems of opposing a dominant state perfectly capable of religious persecution was that one always needed an alibi to avoid conviction if actually accused of opposition.' Elsner (2006), 258. The context here is Dura Europos in the second and third centuries AD.

[101] Armit (2012), 173.

[102] Lambrechts (1954), 51, fig. 11.

[103] Amy et al. (1962), pl. 43, I–Ivb (labelled as 'têtes coupées'; but see comments on p. 85 about the difficulties of interpreting these battered reliefs).

Figure 4.22 Drawing of silver coin showing an Aeduan warrior (probably Dubnoreix) carrying a boar-headed carnyx and a severed head, AD 50s.

images, which show head-hunting in the context of Romano-Gallic conflict, many of the older representations of head-hunting seem to have remained on view, such as the pillars from Glanon and Mouriès and the Entremont pillar (Figure 4.21), all of which were reused in buildings of the second century BC.[104] Moreover, the lead *defixio* found amongst the anatomical votives at Chamalières reminds us that the ancient sanctuary was a place in which all sorts of vow could be made and commemorated, and where objects with a negative valency could be dedicated alongside requests for bodily healing. Ultimately, whether we see this object as a private dedication against an unnamed individual, or (as Lambert would have it) a collective act of resistance by the Segovii against the incoming Romans, this *defixio* provides some clear evidence that the divine patron of the spring was to be approached for purposes of bodily harm as well as bodily healing. Might we, then, allow for the possibility that the votive heads – both multiple and

[104] See in particular Armit's comments on the Entremont pillar reproduced here at Figure 4.21: he concludes that 'clearly, the builders of the hypostyle made a deliberate choice, not just to use this already ancient stone as a threshold rather than simply as one of the many similarly shaped blocks [at the] front of the building, but also to ensure that the single decorated face remained visible.' Armit (2012), 90. The Glanon stele (see n. 66) came from a monumental gateway of the second century BC: Paillet and Tréziny (2000), 190; Armit (2012), 87. The Mouriès example (see n. 66) was found in the rubble of a second-century BC rampart: Marcadal (2000), 193; Armit (2012), 87. The Saint-Michel pillars were also found amongst later architectural fragments: Brun (1999); Armit (2012), 84.

single – were not *all* always linked to healing, but that some of them may have allowed Gauls a usefully ambiguous way of continuing past practices that were no longer acceptable in a new and changing world?

Conclusion

This chapter, like the previous one, has used anatomical votives to grapple with broader questions of influence, tradition and meaning. It has offered another example of how the votive cult was dynamically remodelled as it passed around the ancient world, and has argued that the existing narratives of transmission and influence fail to capture the complexity of the encounter between the Etrusco-Italic and Gallic imagery. We have seen that the Gallic votives indicate a shift in local ideas about when, why and how the human body should be divided into its constitutent pieces; at the same time, it is certainly not the case that Gauls were passive recipients of the Etrusco-Italic anatomical votive ritual. Instead, they remodelled the iconography of the votives to bring them in line with earlier representations of the body, and used the votives in ways that were consistent with familiar practices – whether this meant depositing them in the sacred springs and water sources that were so central in the Gallic sacred landscape, or perhaps even appropriating them as expressions of interpersonal or internecine conflicts. Insofar as they drew on and reconfigured both Roman and pre-Roman traditions, then, the votive material studied in this chapter might best be described in terms of a process of 'hybridisation' – a process in which (at least) two representational traditions collide to produce a new and highly distinctive way of making the human body visible.

The Gallic votives provide a clear example of how anatomical offerings might be used – not only to construct 'vertical' relationships between mortals and gods – but also to shape 'horizontal' relationships between mortals.[105] In this sense, the interpretations offered in this chapter have been influenced by the fact that the votives were introduced against the background of the colonial encounter. Possible scenarios outlined here include the use of the votives by Romans to reaffirm and stabilise their cultural identity, and the adoption of votives by Gauls as symbols of conflict, or even of resistance. These particular suggestions start out from what is perhaps an overly stable, binary distinction between Romans and Gauls, and clearly

[105] This interpretation draws on comments made by Richard Gordon: Gordon (2004a), 196, n. 16.

cannot reflect the complex constellation of relationships that would have been formed within the changing socio-cultural background of Roman Gaul: nevertheless, they indicate how votives might be drawn into the service of personal, political and ideological agendas, as well as strictly religious ones – a topic that will be explored further in the next chapter.

Finally, the material in this chapter has also extended this book's discussion of the theme of fragmentation, by drawing attention to the visual and conceptual overlaps between the votives and existing Gallic practices of violent decapitation. As I have argued in earlier chapters, all anatomical votives have an intrinsically fragmentary quality – while one minute they might be seen as non-violent, autonomous symbols of an absent person, the slightest shift in perspective can transform them into startling images of bodily breakdown and mutilation. Such shifts often depend on the surrounding context of a body part: for instance, we are more likely to to recognise the fragmentary nature of an anatomical votive if it is juxtaposed with other body parts (e.g. Figure 2.11), or if – as seems to have been the case in some Italian sanctuaries – it is displayed next to the implements of sacrificial butchery.[106] Here, I would argue that the wider cultural context of a body part can also affect the fluidity and ease with which it shifts between a violent and non-violent meaning. Just as we might expect anatomical votives to take on more sinister qualities during periods of violent warfare, it also seems likely that viewers of the Gallic votives would have been primed to see the votive heads as references to a real or symbolic decapitation, given the ubiquity of these practices (or at least, representations of these practices) in Gallic culture. Their recognition of the anatomical votive's fragmentary aspect would subsequently have mobilised that object to symbolise ideas such as conflict, aggression, sacrifice and pain – ideas which could exist independently from, *or* intertwined with, ideas of bodily sickness and healing.

[106] As at Bolsena: see Chapter 3, n. 67.

5 Punishing Bodies: The Lydian and Phrygian 'Propitiatory' Stelai, Second–Third Centuries AD

The fourth and final case-study examined in this book is a distinctive group of stone stelai from the rural sanctuaries of Roman Lydia and Phrygia, most of which were erected during the second and third centuries AD. These stelai are inscribed with Greek texts of varying lengths which speak openly of transgression, punishment and expiation; often they also bear figurative images, which show mortals and gods, as well as parts of the human body. The generic name given to these stelai has been the focus of some debate: 'confession inscriptions', 'reconciliation inscriptions' and 'propitiatory inscriptions' are all terms that are regularly used, each of which emphasises a slightly different aspect of the stelai's function.[1] Here I have chosen to use the term 'propitiatory stelai' (rather than 'inscriptions'), which suits my interest in the materiality of these objects, and in their non-textual as well as their textual elements.[2] In fact, one aim of this chapter is to shed some light on the relationship between the written texts of the stelai and the images that accompany them, focusing particularly on those examples which represent parts of the human body. Most of the anatomical votives that we have met so far in this book have been *un*inscribed, and thus give more limited insight into the specific ritual context for their dedication. The depictions of body parts studied in this chapter are instead attached to long personal narratives, offering an unparalleled opportunity to investigate the various meanings that the imagery of the parted body held in one part of the ancient world.

[1] On the terminology used by different authors, see de Hoz (2009), 358, n. 1. The inscriptions have generated a large bibliography, including Steinleitner (1913), Pettazzoni (1936), 54–115; Varinlioğlu (1983); Petzl (1994); Brixhe (2001); de Hoz (2006) and (2009); Chaniotis (1995), (2004) and (2009); Ricl (1991), (1992), (1995) and (1997); Rostad (2002), (2006a) and (2006b); Schnabel (2003); Gordon (2004a) and (2004b); Arnold (2005); Mitchell (1993), 191–5; Potts (2017). Further bibliographic references can be found at Chaniotis (2004), 4, n. 10. The stelai are referred to here by their numbering in Petzl's 1994 corpus where possible: for a *comparitio numerorum* for Petzl (1994) and the usual epigraphic corpora see *SEG* 44.951.

[2] Although, as noted by Potts (2017), 21, two propitiatory inscriptions appear on objects which are not stelai: Petzl 96 (a tablet) and Petzl 67 (a statue of the god Men). On the relationship of the propitiatory stelai to other anatomical stelai in this area, see Potts (2017); Chaniotis (1995), 327. Van Straten (1981), 135–40 includes the propitiatory stelai in his study of anatomical votives from Lydia and Phrygia.

The first section of this chapter gives an introduction to the texts of the propitiatory stelai. I then move on to look at the images that appeared on the stelai, focusing in particular on the group of 'anatomical' representations. The early part of this discussion looks at individual stelai, and examines how each of the body parts relates to the inscription it accompanies. Most scholars who discuss these images assume that they reference the sick body of the dedicant, and in the majority of cases this does seem to be true, although occasionally the inscriptions suggest a link with the part of the body involved in a transgression. After considering the individual narratives, I then step back to consider the propitiatory stelai as a whole group, arguing that the images of body parts can also be seen to connect with three broader themes that run through the written inscriptions, including the watchfulness of the gods, the permeability of the human body and the inextricable relationship that was understood to exist between the individual and the larger social group. In particular, I explore the notion that the body parts might sometimes have been seen as *pars pro toto* images of their dedicants – who were consequently envisaged as single fragments of a larger social or familial body. As such, the material introduced in this chapter adds another strand to our exploration of fragmentation, indicating some further symbolic – and in this case deeply ideological – resonances of the votive body parts from classical antiquity.

Introducing the Propitiatory Stelai

The corpus of propitiatory inscriptions compiled by Georg Petzl in 1994 lists and describes 124 examples, and at least twenty more have been found since the publication of Petzl's book.[3] The majority of these objects come from the area of the Katakekaumene in north-east Lydia. In Phrygia, stelai have been found in Akmonia and in the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos at Hierapolis; meanwhile, a few texts are known from Tiberiopolis in Maionia, and there is also a small group from north-east of Pergamon, on the borders of Mysia.[4] The stelai were often erected around the rural or small-town temples that were dedicated to local divinities such as Anaïtis ('the Mother'), Men, Apollo and Zeus Sabazios, although their original display context can rarely be determined.[5] For the most part, the dedicants

[3] Chaniotis (2004), 3 records 142 published texts, noting that several more await publication.

[4] On the geographical distribution of the stelai see Chaniotis (2004), 3–4; Gordon (2004a), 179–81 with maps at figs. 1 and 2; Varinlioğlu (1983), 83.

[5] As Mitchell notes, the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos/Lermenos is the only sanctuary with propitiatory stelai to have been excavated or even identified. Mitchell (1993), I, 193. Thirty-six

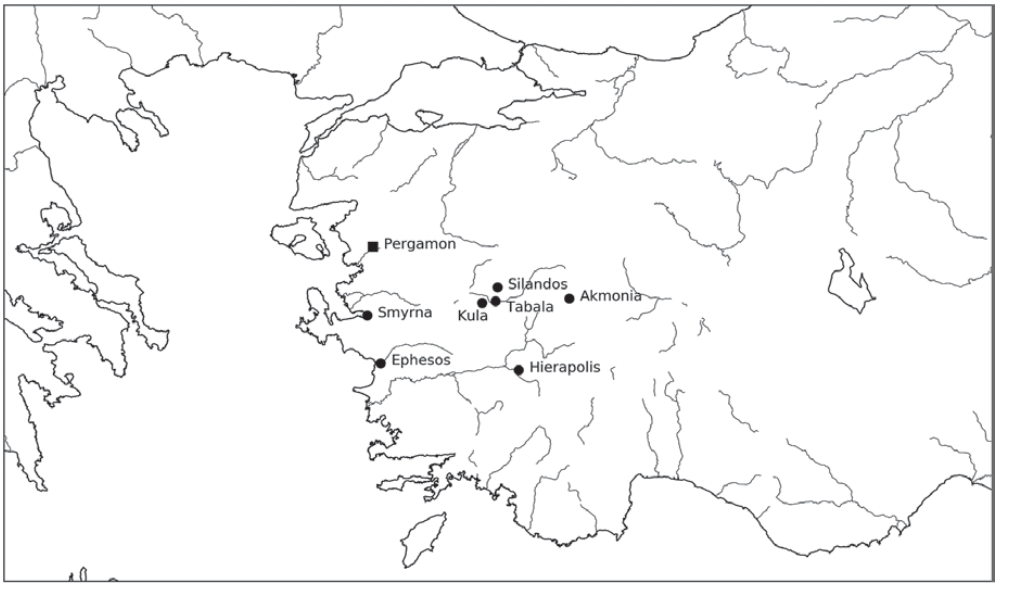

Figure 5.1 Map of Asia Minor showing sites mentioned in the text.

seem to have belonged to small agrarian communities in the *chorai* (rural territories) of several small cities, including Saittai, Silandos and Tabala. A variety of social identities is attested on the stelai. Men, women and children all appear as dedicants, while some individuals are identified as *threptai* (adoptive children) and others as *hierodouloi* ('sacred slaves').[6] Most of the names are Greek, but some are Roman, and a handful of dedicants may even have been Roman citizens.[7] Although the Greek of the stelai is shaky and often ungrammatical, Maria Paz de Hoz has used the inscriptions to argue that the inhabitants of this rural area of Asia Minor had achieved at least a basic degree of literacy, which allowed them to read – and in some cases even to write – the texts on the propitiatory stelai.[8]

stelai could be attributed to this site when Mitchell wrote his study. Other stelai were discovered away from their original sanctuary context, sometimes reused as architectural spolia (see for instance Petzl 110, which was found on the wall of a house in Badinlar, in the area of the Katakekaumene), or found on sale (see for instance Figure 5.7 here, which was seen in a shop in Kula, as recorded at *SEG* 29.1174).

6 On *hierodouloi* see Mitchell (1993), 193. An example of a stele dedicated by a *hierodoulos* is Petzl 5; *SEG* 38.1237 (here Figure 5.9).

7 E.g. C. Antonius Apellas (Petzl 108); Aurelius Stratoneikos (Petzl 76); Aur. Soter(i)chos (Petzl 110); Aur. Trophimos (Petzl 97); C. Lollius (Petzl 119). Gordon has suggested that these dedicants may have been *peregrini* – tenants on estates that were controlled remotely by city elites from the Hermos-Kogamos valley. Gordon (2004b), 194.

8 de Hoz (2006); cf. Brixhe (2001), who instead supposes that the dedicants were uneducated and that the authors of the texts were the engravers and shrine staff. On literacy in rural Asia Minor see Mitchell (1993), I, 174. The mistakes on the propitiatory stelai include 'numerous spelling mistakes, hypercorrections, changes of subject without any indication, co-ordination

The stelai date from between c.AD 50–250, with 150–250 being the period of greatest frequency.[9] Most of the stelai are carved from white marble, although limestone is also used on occasions. They range from 50 cm to 1 m in height, and most examples are cut down at the bottom so as to be slotted into a supporting stone base, while the top is often formed into a triangular gable adorned with palmette acroteria. These gables sometimes contain symbols of local divinities like the crescent moon and a rose, but at other times they are left empty. Each one of the propitiatory stelai bears a Greek inscription of between three and twenty-six lines in length, containing one or more of the following elements: (1) an invocation of the god (2) an account of a transgression committed by the dedicant of the stele, or someone close to him/her; (3) details of the punishment subsequently sent by a deity, which is often physical or mental sickness, and sometimes even death; (4) reference to the expiation of the transgression, for instance a sacrifice; and (5) a testimony to the greatness of the gods, and sometimes a warning to others who might be tempted to commit similar offences.

One representative example of an inscription appears on a stele that was erected in the area of Mons Toma in the territory of Saittai in 194–5 (Figure 5.2).[10] The extant part of the white marble stele is 82 cm tall, and its upper portion bears the (now fragmentary) images of two frontal figures. The figure on the right probably represents the dedicant, Stratoneikos, that on the left a priestess holding a sceptre. The inscription translates as follows:

> Great is Zeus of the Twin Oaks. Stratoneikos son of Euangelos because of ignorance cut down one of the oaks belonging to Zeus Didymeites. And the god mobilized his own power because he (i.e. Stratoneikos) did not believe in him, and placed him [–] in a deathlike condition. He was saved from great danger and raised the stele in gratitude. I declare that no one shall ever show contempt for his powers and cut down an oak. In the year 279, on the 18th of the month Panemos.

Like many of the propitatory inscriptions, this one begins with a statement of the power of the god (Zeus Didymeites) and then introduces the dedicant (Stratoneikos). We hear that Stratoneikos cut down a tree belonging to the god – presumably one that stood in the sanctuary or sacred grove – and

with καί of different functional elements, erroneous infinitive-constructions, and unfinished sentences': de Hoz (2006), 140.

[9] On the chronological distribution see Petzl (1994), vii and 145 (AD 57–264); Chaniotis (1995), 4, n. 10, where he summarises 'a precise date is known for fifty-six texts; most of them (thirty-seven texts) are dated to the period of the Antonines; only three texts can be safely dated to the first century'.

[10] Petzl 10; *SEG* 28.914. Pergamon Museum inv. 4207. Translation from Rostad (2006a), 288–9. See also Gordon (2004a), 191.

Figure 5.2 Marble stele of Stratoneikos, from Saittai, AD 194–5.

also failed to believe in the god's power. As his punishment, the god placed him in a 'death-like condition' (*isothanatous*). The story ends with a powerful invocation to the viewer, and while the details of the narrative had been recounted in the third person, with 'I declare' (*parangelo*) Stratoneikos takes over to directly warn the viewer not make the same mistakes as he had – an explicit example of the 'regulatory' function of the stelai, which worked not only to expiate the past transgressions of those who erected them, but also to modify the future behaviour of those who looked at them.[11]

Other propitiatory inscriptions are equally vivid and spontaneous in their storytelling, and bring these rural village communities back to life for modern readers. Most of the transgressions recorded in the inscriptions are of an explicitly religious nature, such as ritual impurity, perjury against the god, or – as in the case of Stratoneikos above – physical mistreatment of the sanctuary or its contents.[12] We hear, for instance, about the accidental breakage of another votive stele by a child, the unlawful catching of sacred doves, the illegal herding of cattle on holy ground and the cutting of another sacred tree.[13] Other ritual faults include the failure to fulfil a vow, the eating of meat that had not been sacrificed, washing outside the prescribed ritual period and, conversely, the wearing of dirty garments inside the sacred area.[14] However, we also find 'secular' transgressions attested in the inscriptions, such as the failure to pay a loan, the theft of clothes and other property, and lack of respect for one's mother-in-law.[15] The inclusion of these 'unneighbourly acts', as Richard Gordon has dubbed them, indicates that the stelai worked to construct 'horizontal' relations between mortals as well as 'vertical' relations between men and gods, and suggests that one aspect of their function was to restore harmony at the level of the community.[16]

[11] Cf. *SEG* 59.1497 – a stele on which the dedicant declares 'I was punished on my buttock. I declare that nobody should disregard [the god], because he will find my stele as a (warning) example.' Translation from Akıncı Öztürk and Tanrıver (2009), 87–8, no. 2. On the propitiatory stelai as 'aretological propaganda', see de Hoz (2006).

[12] Chaniotis classifies the transgressions as follows: ritual impurity, damage to sanctuaries and their possessions, the failure to fulfil a vow, refusal to offer services to a god or to attend the mysteries, perjury, unjustified curses and religious offences. Chaniotis (1995), 326–7. A summary of the transgressions in the stelai can be found at Rostad (2006a), 183–4.

[13] Broken stele: Petzl 78. Sacred doves: Petzl 50. Herding of cattle: Petzl 7. Cutting sacred trees: Petzl 10 and 76.

[14] Unfulfilled vows: see e.g. Petzl 61, 62, 65. Unauthorised washing: Petzl 72. Eating unsacrificed meat: Petzl 1 and 123. The wearing of dirty garments: Petzl 43 and 55

[15] Theft of garment from the baths: Petzl 3. Theft of possessions belong to orphans: Petzl 35. Theft of pigs: Petzl 68. Failure to respect mother-in-law: Petzl 21.

[16] Gordon (2004a), 196, n. 16. Cf. the comments made in the conclusion of Chapter 4 here.

One noteworthy feature of the 'confessions' recorded on the stelai is that several of the dedicants claimed that they were *agnoein* – 'unknowing' – at the moment in which the transgression was committed. Stratoneikos cut down the oaks because he was unaware of the fact that they were divine property, and similar claims are made in a number of the other stelai.[17] Such insistence on the dedicant's ignorance raises questions about the mechanics of guilt and confession – for if the dedicants did not know that they were sinning at the time of the transgression, when and how did they find out? It may be that the sudden appearance of an illness prompted the dedicant to reflect on their past actions and identify a transgression in retrospect, perhaps with the help of oracles, prophets or dreams.[18] The human body might thus be conceived as playing a divinatory or 'mantic' role, functioning – like the body of the sacrificial animal – as a medium through which the gods might express their displeasure. In this way, the propitiatory stelai echo aspects of the Etrusco-Italic polyvisceral votives discussed in Chapter 3 of this book, as well as other traditions of body divination recorded in ancient literature and iconography, such as the interpretation of birthmarks, moles and warts and their patterns of distribution on the body.[19] Another contemporary literary source from Anatolia also indicates the mantic potential of the human body. In the fifth book of Aelius Aristides' *Hieroi Logoi*, a dead girl is explicitly compared to an animal opened for the purposes of extispicy:

> But the sum was that all of Philumene's trouble had been inscribed on her very body and on her insides, as it were on the entrails of sacrificial animals. There also appeared rather a lot of the intestine, and somehow at the same time I saw it. The upper parts were healthy and in good condition, but what was diseased was on the extreme lower end, and it was all exhibited by one who stood by, whoever he was. …[20]

Returning to the texts of the propitiatory stelai, we find that the punishments administered by the deities are often indicated very generally with words like *kolazein* or *nemesein*; at other times the illness is mentioned but

[17] Later elements of the story that do attribute blame to Stratoneikos; he 'did not believe' in the god, and showed 'contempt for his powers'. Petzl 76 is another case of cutting sacred wood – this time in the grove of Zeus Sabazios and Artemis Anaïtis – in which the dedicant again states that he did not know the trees were the property of the god. Another woman claims she was unaware that she was impure when she entered the sacred area (Petzl 115; cf. Petzl 11 and 34).

[18] Oracles and dreams in propitiatory inscriptions: Sima (1999); Chaniotis (1995), 332. On prophets in rural Asia Minor see Mitchell (1993), 195.

[19] See Dasen (2008).

[20] Aelius Aristides *Hieroi Logoi* 5.25.23. On this passage see Pearcy (1988), 386–90.

no specific information is given (so we find *polla pathontas apokates[e] se [to em] o somati)*.[21] Sometimes, however, the inscriptions do specify the nature or location of the disease. One example of this is the stele of Stratonike.

> Stratonike the daughter of Mousaios took a loan from Eutychis, one modinos of the holy corn belonging to Axiottenos; however, she delayed paying it until today. After she had been punished by the god in her right breast, she repaid the collected (sum) with all the interest and she praises Axiottenos.[22]

Angelos Chaniotis has studied the diseases attested on the stelai, incorporating into his analysis both the inscriptions and the visual images of human body parts.[23] The body parts that are mentioned *or* depicted in the stelai analysed by Chaniotis are the eyes (fourteen stelai), breasts (four stelai), legs (four stelai), buttocks (two stelai), arm (one stele) and male genitals (one stele). In addition to these localised physical complaints, three dedicants recount their affliction with mental illnesses. Trophime daughter of Artemidorus, for instance, 'had been asked by the god to fulfil a service and come quickly, the god punished her and made her insane'.[24] Nor is death itself an uncommon punishment – amongst those who died for their sins were a man who failed to give back a neighbour's pigs, and a woman who had been accused of poisoning her son-in-law.[25] In this sense, Stratoneikos the 'cutter of sacred wood' was quite lucky: both he and another dedicant Eumenes (who had been caught herding cattle in a sacred grove) were simply put into a 'death-like state' from which they were eventually released.[26]

Chaniotis' study makes a number of keen observations about the types of illnesses attested, as well as their treatment. For instance, he comments on the high proportion of eye disorders mentioned in the propitiatory stelai – a situation which is paralleled at other ancient healing sites such as Athens and Epidauros. Chaniotis' interpretation of this prevalence of ocular disorders is convincing: he suggests that healing sanctuaries naturally attracted patients who were suffering from diseases with no obvious external causes

[21] For *polla pathontas* see *TAM* V.1.179; for *apokatestese* see Steinleitner (1913), 59–60, no. 2. For other examples see Chaniotis (1995), 324, n. 3.

[22] *SEG* 39.1277 (Varinlioğlu (1989), 44–5, no. 3).

[23] Chaniotis (1995).

[24] Chaniotis (1995), 332; Petzl 57.

[25] Failure to return pigs: Petzl 70. Poisoning of son-in-law: Petzl 69, from the temple of Anaïtis and Men near Kula. Pettazzoni (1936), 72 notes that the 'real' transgression in the last instance is the false swearing of an oath: the guilty mother-in-law (Tatias) raises a sceptre and deposits curses in order to clear herself, an action that results in turning the god's wrath onto herself and her son.

[26] Eumenes: Petzl 7.

(such as the loss of sight or mental disorders), since these 'inexplicable' illnesses might more easily be attributed to divine intervention. Moreover, 'in contrast with other diseases which could be treated by physicians, or at least led to a quick death and thus relieved a person from his sufferings and the relatives from a burdensome care, in the case of blindness only a god could help'.[27] Chaniotis also suggests that the primary aim of the expiatory rites recorded in the stelai was to relieve an individual of their transgression, rather than to cure their illness (although, as Justine Potts has rightly noted, the two outcomes must have been inextricably linked in the minds of the dedicants).[28] Certainly, the intricate expiatory rituals that we read about in some of the inscriptions often seem at first sight to have 'nothing to do with healing, neither with practical medicine nor with popular healing methods', but focus instead on animal sacrifice and food offerings.[29] In this way, the approach to illness on the propitiatory stelai is rather different from the earlier Epidaurian *iamata* discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this book, where the intervention of the god often *does* resemble contemporary, 'rational' medical procedures.

Viewing the Images

While the texts of the propitiatory stelai have been the focus of intensive study over the last few decades, the visual images carved into the stone have been relatively neglected. One significant exception is Richard Gordon's work, which has addressed several aspects of the relationship between the stelai's images and text.[30] Gordon focuses primarily on those examples showing images of 'whole' gods or dedicants rather than on the stelai representing parts of the body; all the same, his study represents an important point of departure for the interpretations of the 'anatomical' stelai that are offered here. Another new study by Justine Potts (2017) gives some useful background for the propitiatory stelai showing body parts, by placing them alongside other, more conventional anatomical votives from the area and time period.

The figurative images that were carved into the propitiatory stelai often represent actors and events mentioned in the written inscriptions, most

[27] Chaniotis (1995), 328.
[28] Chaniotis (1995), 335; Potts (2017), 35. Some stelai do speak explicitly of a cure, e.g. Petzl 43.
[29] Chaniotis (1995), 335. For examples of expiation via animal sacrifice and food offerings see Petzl 5 and 6 (both discussed further below).
[30] Gordon (2004a) and (2004b).

commonly the god (or gods) hailed at the beginning or end of the text, and/or the mortal transgressor. In the first instance, one example shows the god Apollo Bozenos riding across the frame on a horse; the attribute of the double-axe serves to identify him, but also – as Gordon notes – links him with the idea of violent bodily punishment (Figure 5.3).[31] This stele was erected by a woman named Antonia who had entered the sacred precinct wearing a dirty garment. A number of stelai bear a frontal image of the god Men, who dons a Phrygian cap and holds a sceptre.[32] Other stelai represent the gods in the form of symbols, such as the double-axe for Apollo, or the crescent moon for Men.

Many other stelai depict the mortal whose offence is being propitiated (and who in most cases is also the person responsible for erecting the stele). These figures frequently face out of the stele, raising their right hand in a ritualised gesture which 'connotes both the act of praising the god and recognition of his or her majesty' – as well as working to arrest and greet the viewer.[33] Occasionally, stelai depict the transgression itself, as is the case with the stele dedicated to Theos Tarsios on behalf of Severus by two members of his household (*threptai* – see Figure 5.4).[34] Severus had offended the god by obstructing the cutting of branches – perhaps from trees on his land – for the making of sacred crowns. In the image we see a tree in the centre of the relief, flanked by two male figures: Severus is to our right – he raises his hand to stop the figure on the left, who is shown striking the tree's trunk with an axe. Another stele was dedicated by a woman named Ammias in expiation of some unnamed transgression committed by her young daughter, Dionysias (Figure 5.5).[35] Ammias is shown kneeling, while the small Dionysias raises her right hand in the familiar gesture of greeting and adoration. The figures occupy a deep relief ledge, and are placed slightly off-centre. The space to the left of Ammias might be seen as a subtle referent to the divine body – a body that remains invisible to us, although perhaps not to Ammias and her daughter.

The examples discussed so far indicate how the propitiatory stelai populated the sanctuary with an ever-present crowd of gods and worshippers.

[31] Berlin Antikensammlung, Sk 680; Petzl 43; Gordon (2004a), 185.

[32] Frontal images of Men: Petzl 51, 52 and 61.

[33] Gordon (2004a), 185. The sceptre appears in mortal hands too, as 'a ritual sign of ceding a matter to a god, who is thus deemed to have become a party to it'. Gordon (2004a), 185–6. See also van Straten (1981), 135–40.

[34] Petzl 4; *SEG* 38.1229. See further discussions at Rostad (2006a), 210 and Gordon (2004a), 187, where he notes that the image 'shows Severus objecting to a rural labourer or farmer, identified as such by his broad belt, cutting branches from a generic tree for garlands and swags'.

[35] Petzl 38; *SEG* 41.1039. On kneeling before the gods, see van Straten (1974).

Figure 5.3 Marble stele of Antonia, depicting Apollo Bozenos, from Kula.

Figure 5.4 Marble stele of Severus, from north-eastern Lydia, AD 200/201.

Figure 5.5 Marble stele of Ammias and Dionysias, third century AD.

But alongside these whole divine and mortal bodies there were also stelai that showed the body in pieces. Approximately seventeen of the published propitiatory stelai represent single or multiple parts of the human body (Figures 5.7–5.9 and 5.11 here show some of the best-preserved examples).[36] The most commonly depicted parts are legs (9 stelai) and eyes (6), but we also find buttocks (1), breasts (3), an arm and a penis. There is some diversity in how the body parts have been represented: they can appear above or below the text, or embedded in the middle of the inscription. In some examples the body part occupies a sunken niche, while in others it protrudes from the marble surface. The technique used for representing the image also varies: most of the body parts are carved in relief, just like the images of (whole) gods and dedicants, while others are engraved into the surface of the stone in the same manner as the written text. There is a strong correlation between subject and style – every one of the eyes is engraved, while virtually all of the other body parts are represented in relief.[37] This special treatment of the eyes presumably arises from the fact that it is relatively difficult to carve this body part in relief – engraving on a flat marble surface was perhaps the obvious choice of technique for a sculptor who wanted to differentiate between the pupil, iris and eyelid. At the same time, this special stylistic treatment of the eyes would have meant that they were visually distinctive amongst the other images on the stelai, perhaps highlighting to viewers the themes of scrutiny and divine omniscience that – as we shall see – lay at the heart of many of the propitiatory *inscriptions*.

The 'anatomical' propitiatory stelai bear many similarities with the marble reliefs found at sanctuary sites on the Greek mainland in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as well as those from other parts of the Roman Empire.[38] They also had parallels closer to home, in the sanctuaries of Asia Minor. Some of the earliest anatomical offerings known from the Greco-Roman world come from the Archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesos, which was built towards the end of the eighth century BC (Figure 5.6). Amongst

[36] Petzl 5 (eyes); Petzl 16 (eyes); Petzl 48 (leg); Petzl 50 (eyes); Petzl 70 (two breasts, leg and eyes); Petzl 75 (leg/buttock); Petzl 78 (arm); Petzl 83 (leg); Petzl 90 (eye); Petzl 95 (breast); Petzl 99 (eyes); Petzl 102 (leg); Petzl 110 (two legs, penis). Anatomical stelai discovered since the publication of Petzl's corpus: Malay (1999), 176, no. 217 (breasts); *SEG* 54.1225 = Malay and Sayar (2004) (leg); *SEG* 57.1182 = Herrmann and Malay (2007), no. 66 (leg); *SEG* 59.1497 = Akıncı Öztürk and Tanrıver (2009), no. 2 (leg).

[37] The exception is the stele of Aurelios Soteros (Petzl 110) with its engraved legs and penis, but this example is unusual in other ways too, for example in its use of limestone rather than marble, and its association of a single dedicant with more than one part of the body.

[38] See for instance Forsén (1996), 51, no. 7.2, Abb. 51 (marble relief of leg from sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates in Athens, second century AD).

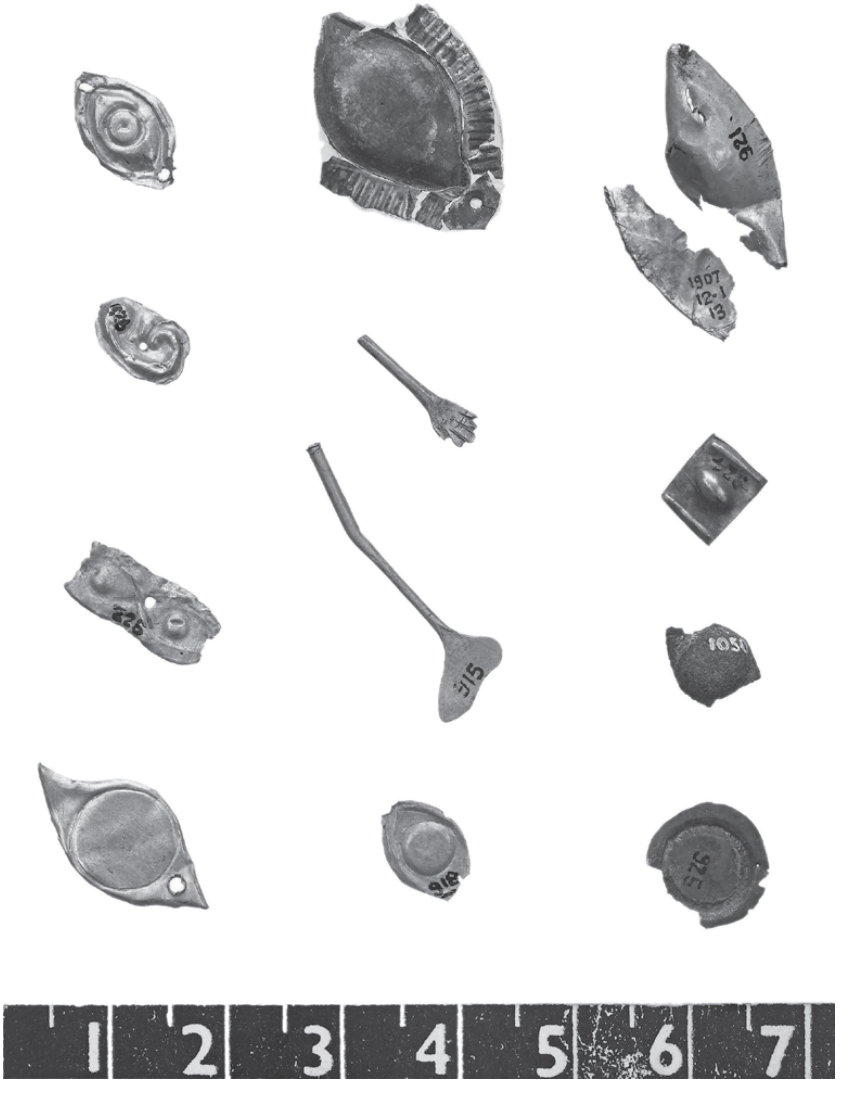

Figure 5.6 Bronze body parts from the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, c.700 BC.

the gifts brought to the goddess by the temple's first visitors were tiny anatomical models made from ivory, gold and pale electum, including double and single eyes cut from thin gold foil, a leg and foot whose toes are indicated by scratches, a tong-shaped object ending in human hands, and a beautifully moulded ivory foot, incised on the top with a cross.[39] Besides these archaic finds, terracotta models of eyes dating from the third century

[39] Hogarth (1908), 107, pl. vii. See also van Straten (1981), 134–5, nos. 38.1-33.

BC have been found at the sanctuary of Demeter in Pergamon, while this city's Asklepieion has also yielded a number of bronze body parts dating from the second and third centuries AD.[40] However, the propitiatory stelai have their closest parallels in other marble stelai found in the same regions and sometimes even in the same sanctuaries, which juxtaposed body parts with simple votive formulae. One recently discovered Hellenistic relief from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos or Lermenos – a site with several propitiatory stelai – shows a female breast: the fragmentary inscription translates as 'Having made a vow, […] dedicates this to Apollo Lermenos'.[41] Another relief from the shrine of Artemis Anaïtis and Men Tiamou is decorated with the image of two legs, and the inscription 'Meltine raised this sign of gratitude to Artemis Anaïtis and Men Tiamou because of the complete healing of her feet', while a further relief from the same sanctuary, which shows a pair of breasts, proclaims that 'Alexandra raised this sign of gratitude to Artemis Anaïtis and Men Tiamou because of her breasts'.[42] Several other examples can be found in the catalogue compiled by Drew-Bear and colleagues of the marble votive reliefs and inscriptions dedicated to Zeus Alsenos and to Zeus Petarenos in a sanctuary near the ancient town of Phyteia in central Phrygia.[43] Here, stelai bearing images of body parts – primarily eyes, hands and legs – appear alongside other votive stelai representing divinities and (whole-bodied) dedicants, who are shown both individually and in family groupings.[44] Some of these votive

[40] On the Demeter sanctuary see Bohtz (1981). On the votive finds from this sanctuary see Petridou (2017); van Straten (1981), 134, no. 36; Töpperwein (1976), 139–40 and 241, nos. 588–90. On the votive finds from the Asklepieion see Van Straten (1981), 134, nos. 35.1–6, and Petsalis-Diomidis (2005), figs. 12 and 13.

[41] *SEG* 59.1494; Akıncı Öztürk and Tanrıver (2009), 87, no. 1.

[42] Legs: *TAM* V.1.323; trans. Rostad (2006a), 161. Breasts: *TAM* V.1.324; trans. Rostad (2006a), 161–2.

[43] Drew-Bear et al. (1999); cf. *SEG* 47.1706–23.

[44] The catalogue includes 19 stelai with eyes (nos. 11–28, 573), all of which are pairs except one single eye (no. 26; meanwhile, no. 11 shows a pair of eyes over a male torso, while no. 14 depicts eyes and a male head and shoulders). There are 11 examples of stelai showing hands (nos. 29–39) either singly (6 examples) or in pairs (5 examples). One stele (no. 38) shows the hand next to a draped female figure, while another (no. 39) shows a leg bent at the knee flanked by two pairs of open hands. Legs number 33 (nos. 39–69, 550, 574), again appearing both singly (27 examples) and in pairs (6 examples). The rest of the finds from this sanctuary are classified as follows: 'gods and goddesses, including Zeus, Nike and Men' (nos. 1–10); 'caped individuals' (nos. 70–123), 'groups of caped individuals' (nos. 124–96), 'women' (nos. 197–241), 'women and children' (nos. 242–9), 'other male figures' (nos. 250–80), 'groups of men and women' (nos. 281–96), 'animals' (nos. 297–335), 'steles without reliefs' (nos. 336–60), 'large reliefs' (nos. 361–5), 'statuettes' (nos. 366–83) and 'altars' (384–7). The remainder of the catalogue contains the votive reliefs and inscriptions dedicated to Zeus Ampeleites and Zeus Thallos in sanctuaries in the territory of Appia in northern Phrygia: these include smaller numbers of limbs, amongst them hands (nos. 493, 494, 526, 527), eyes (no. 528) and legs (nos. 529, 530, 531).

body parts are anepigraphic, but most contain a simple Greek votive formula, with the word *euchen* appearing at the end of most inscriptions. One representative example depicts a pair of eyes over a proportionately much smaller male torso, accompanied by the words *Me[ne]non theo euchen* (Menenon [dedicated] this to the god).[45]

The nature of the relationship between these simpler *euche* anatomical votives and the propitiatory stelai with body parts has recently been explored by Justine Potts, who demonstrates that these objects need to be seen as 'different religious expressions of a common intellectual world'.[46] Potts draws attention to the formal and iconographic similarities between these two genres of stelai, noting that they represent the same range of body parts – breasts, legs, eyes, male genitals, and so forth – in very similar ways. She also points out that some of the propitiatory inscriptions 'self-identify' as *euche* vows, and argues that the people who dedicated propitiatory stelai were often the same people who offered the simple vows (this hypothesis is given support by the reappearance of certain names across the two genres of stelai).[47] The two types of anatomical image were thus closely related, and Potts suggests that many of the themes attested in the propitiatory stelai – the understanding of illness as a punishment, for example – are potentially also applicable to the more conventional anatomical votives which were dedicated in these Lydian-Phrygian sanctuaries. This observation will become important later on in this chapter, when I turn to identifying meta-narrative themes emerging from the propitiatory stelai as a group, insofar as these themes might be seen as equally relevant to the other anatomical votives which were dedicated alongside the propitiatory stelai.

Before turning to these meta-narrative elements, however, we can look at the individual examples, to see how the various body parts relate to the personal stories that accompany them. Most previous commentators on the propitiatory stelai have assumed that the body parts represent the illness of the person whose transgression is being propitiated through the dedication.[48] And indeed, the texts of several stelai do point explicitly towards this

[45] *SEG* 47.1706.

[46] Potts (2017), 33.

[47] Potts (2017). 28. Propitiatory stelai using εὐχή: Petzl 122, 66, 42, 84, 90, 91. Potts also reminds us that an earlier palaeographic analysis by Diakonoff (1979) suggests that the same sculptor may have been responsible for both propitiatory and *euche* inscriptions. Diakonoff (1979), no. 33. Potts (2017), 31.

[48] E.g. Chaniotis (1995) automatically counts each body part image into his statistical survey of local illnesses, while Gordon (2004a), 184 says of the stele from Kula which shows two breasts, a right leg and a pair of eyes (Figure 5.11 here) 'the text of which makes no reference to the physical disorders denoted by images of body parts'; on p. 189 he continues 'The stele is dedicated, as part of the hieropoiema, a reconcilation with the divinities by ritual means, by two groups of siblings some of whose children must have been so afflicted.'

Figure 5.7 Marble stele showing a leg and buttock, dedicated by Glykia, daughter of Agrios.

reading.[49] The inscription on a stele dedicated by a man called Diokles, for instance, states: 'Because I caught the birds belonging to the divinities, I was punished in the eyes, and I inscribed on the stele the miraculous power of the gods.'[50] 'Inscribed' (*graphein*) in this context is normally translated as 'wrote', but it could equally refer to the inscription of figurative images – indeed, here the image of the punished body part is a striking visual testament to the god's power over mortals. Another stele dedicated by Glykia on which a leg and buttock is represented has the inscription 'Glykia, daughter of Agrios, has been punished by Anaïtis from Metro (with a disease) in her buttock; subsequently she sought out the goddess and asked her (what to do) and she dedicated this stone' (Figure 5.7).[51]

The inscriptions of Diokles and Glykia make it relatively clear that in these cases the body part depicted on the stele belongs to the ailing body of the person whose transgression is being propitiated. By showing the sick body in the form of a fragment, these stelai indicate an element of continuity with the Classical Greek material discussed in Chapter 2, where fragmentation and dismemberment were used in literary texts and visual images alike to represent certain dimensions of the experience of illness. We also find the same connections being made in another source that is much closer to the propitiatory inscriptions in time and space. Again, the text in question is the *Hieroi Logoi* of Aelius Aristides, where Asklepios appears as 'Saviour of the Whole' (*soter ton holon*).[52] In one revealing passage, Aristides conceptualises the act of divine healing in the following way:

> But also limbs of the body, some declare – I mean men and women alike – have been restored to them through the god's providence after they had been destroyed by nature, and they enumerate, one this, the other that, some of them expressing it by word of mouth, others by their votive offerings. Now for us, he has put together and fastened not part of the body, but the whole frame, and has given it to us as a present, just as of old Prometheus is said to have fashioned man.[53]

At the Asklepieion in second-century AD Pergamon, the healing of 'limbless' suppliants literally involved making the body whole – in fact, the description here suggests the miraculous regrowth of missing arms and legs. Aristides' own body, on the other hand, was never literally in pieces, but he nevertheless still conceives of his cure as a 'fastening together' of his

[49] Anatomical stelai specifying that the illness has been sent as punishment: Petzl 5; Petzl 16; Petzl 50.

[50] Petzl 50; *TAM* V.1.264; Buckler (1914–16).

[51] Petzl 75; *SEG* 29.1174; Chaniotis (1995), 328–9, table 1.22. Trans. Chaniotis.

[52] Aristides *Hieroi Logoi* 42.4.

[53] Aristides *Hieroi Logoi* 42.7.

(symbolically) fragmented body. As man was originally moulded from clay by Prometheus, so through the agency of Asklepios has Aristides been 're-made'. Crucially, this passage represents the bodies of the dedicants as ill and broken, and the process of health as a process of reintegration. And by showing the ailing body in pieces, the propitiatory stelai implicitly make the same connections between illness and fragmentation, and between health and wholeness.

However, while some of propitiatory stelai do seem to represent the sick body, a close reading of the inscriptions indicates that this may not always be the case. One third-century limestone stele was dedicated by Aurelius Soterichos from the city of Motella.[54] At the bottom of the stele, etched into the surface of the marble, we see a representation of a pair of legs portrayed as if walking to the viewer's right, and – to the right of these legs – a proportionally much larger penis and testicles. The inscription translates as follows:

> I, Aurelius Soter(i)chos from Motella, son of Demostratos, was punished by the god. I proclaim to all that no one may enter the (holy) area in an impure state, commit perjury or have sexual intercourse/masturbate. I had sexual intercourse with Gaia inside the (holy) area.[55]

Aurelius mentions three transgressions in this inscription: entering the holy boundary of the sanctuary in an unholy state (*anagon anabet' epi to chorion*); perjury (*epiorkesi* – a common transgression in the propitiatory inscriptions, which may refer to the breaking of an oath) and the performance of impure acts.[56] While these confessions are expressed 'indirectly' in the form of general rules, the final line turns the attention back onto Aurelius with his first-person statement 'I had sex with Gaia in the sanctuary'. As the original editors of this inscription have suggested, then, the body parts represented on the stele seem to correspond to parts of the written narrative: that is, the legs could refer to the trespassing into the holy area, while the penis might refer to the sexual act.[57] Of course, the same body part could be both the agent of the transgression *and* the location of the illness sent in punishment, and in this respect it is worth noting that the targeted punishment of an offending body part is attested in other ancient sources. One version of the myth of Teiresias, for example, tells

[54] Petzl 110; *SEG* 6.251. Cf. Hogarth (1887), 387, n. 16.
[55] Translation based on that of Rostad (2006a), 297.
[56] On purity rules and sexual abstinence see Parker (1983), 74–5.
[57] Comments at *MAMA* 4.283; see also Miller (1985), 62.

Figure 5.8 Fragmentary white marble stele showing an arm, from Sandal (Maeonia), set up by Metrodoros, AD 118–19.

us that he was blinded because he had spied on the goddess Aphrodite as she bathed.[58] In this case, the offending body part was the eyes, and so the eyes were the locus of the punishment. Raffaele Pettazzoni has offered a similar interpretation of another fragmentary propitiatory stele which shows a bent arm in a recessed panel above the text (Figure 5.8).[59] Here, the transgression recorded in the text is the breaking of a small stele belonging to the goddess. The dedicant Metrodoros, Pettazzoni suggests, was punished in the arm, because this was the body part that had been used break the stele.

These last two examples already problematise the assumption that the anatomical stelai always represent the ailing part of the dedicant's body. In other cases, it seems that the body part is capable of supporting multiple meanings. One stele from the territory of Silandos was dedicated by a *hierodoulos* named Theodoros (Figure 5.9).[60] On this upper portion of

[58] Apollodorus 3.6–7.

[59] Petzl 78 (= *TAM* V.1.596); Pettazzoni (1936), 69.

[60] Petzl 5 (= *SEG* 38.1237); Chaniotis (1995), 332–3; Ricl (1995); Rostad (2006a), 284–5; Varinlioğlu (1989), 48–9; Chaniotis (2004), 27–8 (with further bibliography).

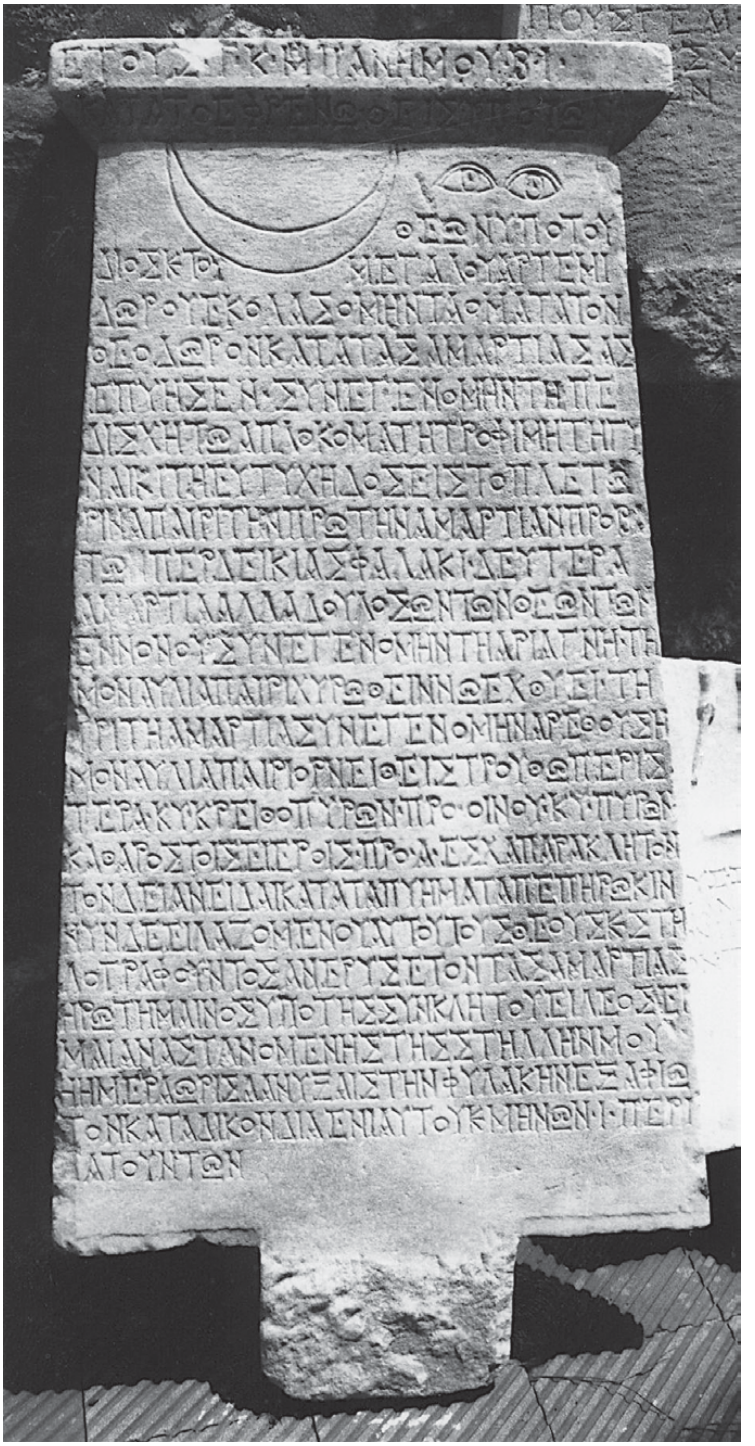

Figure 5.9 Marble stele with eyes and crescent, dedicated by Theodoros, from the territory of Silandos, AD 235–6.

this stele we see, on the left, a crescent moon (the symbol of Men) and, on the right, a pair of eyes. The text translates as follows:

> In the year 320, on the 12th of the month Panemos. In accordance with the fact that I was instructed by the gods, by Zeus and the great Men Artemidoros: 'I have punished Theodoros on his eyes according to the transgressions he committed'. I had intercourse with Trophime, the slave of Haplokomas, wife of Eutykhes, in the praetorium. He removed the first transgression with a sheep, a partridge and a mole. The second transgression: Even though I was a slave of the gods in Nonu, I had intercourse with Ariagne, who was unmarried. He removed the transgression with a piglet and a tuna. At the third transgression I had intercourse with Arethusa, who was unmarried. He removed the transgression with a hen (or cock), a sparrow and a pigeon; with a kypros of a blend of wheat and barley and one prokhos of wine. Being pure he gave a kypros of wheat to the priests and one prokhos. As intercessor, I took Zeus. (He said): Behold! I hurt his sight because of his deeds, but now he has reconciled the gods and written down (the events) on a stele and paid for his transgressions. Asked by the council (the god proclaimed): I will be merciful, because my stele is raised on the day I appointed. You can open the prison; I will release the convict when one year and ten months has passed.[61]

This is one of the longest and most unusual of the confession narratives, and its confusing sequence of events and mysterious allusions to councils and prisons have already been the focus of much discussion.[62] For our purposes it is enough to note that Theodoros' transgressions were intercourse with three different women (he was a sacred slave, and therefore perhaps subject to rules of sexual abstinence), one of whom was married; that his punishment was directed 'on his eyes'; and that the story ended relatively well after he propitiated his transgression by offering sacrifices to the gods and raising the stele. In this context, the identification of the engraved pair of eyes as belonging to Theodoros seems fairly secure. However, even though Theodoros' eyes are mentioned in the inscription, certain aspects of the stele's design introduce ambiguity.

First of all, the stele comprises two actors, both of whom speak in the first person. One is the dedicant, Theodoros, who begins by stating that he has been 'instructed' by the gods (presumably to erect the stele). Immediately afterwards – and with no break in the syntax – we hear another voice, which is not introduced, but which we can deduce is that of one of the gods, baldly stating that he has punished Theodoros 'on his eyes' for the transgressions he has committed. The presence of a second

[61] Translation from Rostad (2006a), 285.

[62] See e.g. the commentaries at Petzl (1994), 155–66, and Varinlioğlu (1989), 37–40.

speaker on the stele, then, already potentially raises a question mark over whose body is being represented, and this ambiguity only increases when we look at the visual arrangement of image and text on the stele. The eyes are juxtaposed with the crescent – a familiar divine symbol – and they are placed directly over the first word of the inscription: *theon* ('of the gods'). At the moment the text begins, then, the image of the eyes is connected to the gods rather than Theodoros, who does not appear until the sixth line of the inscription.[63] The engraved style of the eyes may have strengthened the connection to the divine sphere, since on all 'non-anatomical' stelai engraving is reserved for divine motifs such as crescent moons, rosettes and hammers.[64] Then as the viewer read on further and discovered that Theodoros' punishment affected his eyes, he or she may have revised the original interpretation of the engraved eyes as belonging to a god: now, in retrospect, the juxtaposition of the eyes with the word *theōn* could instead serve to underline the direct agency of the gods in Theodoros' mortal suffering.

This reading of Theodoros' stele suggests that the meaning of single body parts might shift as the viewers read through the accompanying textual narratives. In this case, the image of the eyes oscillated between a divine and mortal ontological status, with this small physical area of the stele thereby becoming a particularly charged zone of encounter and communication between the deities and their mortal worshippers. The association of the eyes with the divine is particularly appropriate in Theodoros' case, since it underwrites the theme of divine omniscience that underpins his narrative as a whole. In other words, while Theodoros presumably did not have sex with Trophime, Ariagne and Arethusa in full view of the community, his transgressions were nonetheless noticed and punished by Zeus and Men. This point can be extended to incorporate the other propitiatory stelai with eyes, which might also be seen to embody the theme of divine omniscience. Any visitor to the sanctuaries where these stelai were displayed might catch themselves being observed by pairs of unblinking stone eyes as they moved

[63] On the divine body and the question of 'how difficult Greeks found it to imagine a role for a god who did not relate to humankind by being in human form' see Osborne (2011), 185–215. Other instances of divine body parts represented in sanctuaries are discussed at Petridou (2009) (divine feet and footprints), and Bruneau (1979) (on ears with the epithet *epekoos* – 'who hears prayers', here from ancient Delos; for more examples of divine ears see van Straten (1981), 83 and Petsalis-Diomidis (2016).

[64] See for instance Petzl 18, where the figure of a women, carved in relief, is shown reclining on a couch under an engraved crescent moon, and Petzl 57, where a woman carved in relief stands in a niche, with an engraved crescent and double-axe above her.

through the sanctuary space; as such, the eyes on the propitiatory stelai can be seen to materialise the divine *panopticon* at the heart of the written inscriptions.

Permeable Boundaries and Imagined Communities

This discussion of the eyes on Theodoros' stele has indicated how the images of body parts might extend beyond their individual narratives to resonate with other themes of the propitiatory stelai as a whole group – in this case, the theme of divine omniscience. This next section will identify another way in which the anatomical representations (here not only the eyes, but all the other body parts too) might be seen as dramatising two other closely related beliefs attested in the stelai's written texts: the 'permeability' of the individual body, and the tight interconnections that existed between individuals and their wider social and familial groups. Both these themes are central to one group of inscriptions which emphasise the inherited nature of guilt and punishment. The stele of Apollonios provides one good example (Figure 5.10). It shows three frontal figures – two adult men, and between them a young girl – each with their right hand raised, who are annotated with the following story.

> Great (are) Meis Labanos and Meis Patraeites. Whereas Apollonios, resident in the God's house, seeing that he had been given a command by the God – when he disobeyed, (the God) caused his son Ioulios and his grand-daughter Markia to die and he has made known the manifestations of the gods' powers by erecting a stele – and from henceforth I offer my praises to you.[65]

Apollonios (who is probably the older, bearded figure represented on the left of the stele) may have been one of the custodians or 'residents' who took it in turns to guard the local temple. We are told that he disobeyed the god's command, although the exact nature of his transgression is left unspecified. The word *eulogo* ('I praise') occupies a visually prominent place in a line of its own, right at the bottom of the inscription. However, this emphasis on Apollonios' agency in propitiating his transgression belies the much wider implications of his action. Apollonios may have been the agent of the transgression, but rather than being punished himself, his son and grandaughter were 'caused to die' as a result of his disobedience.

[65] Petzl 37 (=*SEG* 35.1158). Translation by Gordon (2004b), 196.

Figure 5.10 White marble stele of Apollonios, from the Middle Hermos Valley.

Apollonios' story embodies a belief that is expressed in many of the other stelai too: that is, the belief that an individual's well-being could be affected by the actions of other members of their family.[66] The stele of a certain

[66] Cf. Varinlioğlu (1983), 83: 'In many instances the whole family was held responsible for an offence against god and they were punished one after another until god's anger was soothed by an expiation.' His n. 41 contains references to further examples, including *TAM* V.1.317, 318, 322, 326, 328, 440, 464, 492, 510, 527; Robert (1964), 24–7; Steinleitner (1913), 78, 97–9.

Figure 5.11 White marble stele with eyes, leg and breasts from the sanctuary of Anaitis and Men Tiamou near Kula. AD 236–7.

Prepousa, for example, tells us that she had made a vow on behalf of her son Philemon, swearing that in the event of a successful cure she would record it by writing it on a stone.[67] Prepousa failed to keep her promise, and so the god punished Prepousa's *father*: the last line of her inscription states that 'she fulfils the vow for her son and from now on praises the god'. Another stele dedicated to Zeus Peizenos records the case of Diogenes, who 'had made a vow for the ox, but he did not fulfill it; for that reason his daughter Tatiane was punished in her eyes. But now they propitiated and made the dedication'.[68] Yet another long inscription on a stele raised in AD 156–7 tells of a woman, Tatias, who had been accused of witchcraft against her son-in-law: she 'raised a sceptre' in the temple as a means of clearing her name, after which – because she was in fact guilty – not only did she die, but her own son too was mortally wounded when an axe used for cutting vines fell from his hand and struck him on his foot, while he was passing in front of the sacred wood – an accident that plainly demonstrated the god's agency in bringing the death about.[69]

These examples and several others besides show that the transgressions of individuals often had serious consequences for members of their family and those around them. That the effects were not necessarily limited to human family members is shown by the story of Hermogenes who, after he had sworn a false oath, suffered the death of his own bull and donkey, before his daughter was also eventually taken from him.[70] Other inscriptions make the same point in a slightly different way, by acknowledging that the act of propitiation spared the family from misfortune that might otherwise have struck them had the transgression *not* been propitiated. One stele set up by a man named Pollion describes in the text how he had mistakenly crossed over a sacred boundary (Figure 5.12).[71] Pollion appears alone, raising his arm in a gesture of reconciliation, but his propitiation is not only

[67] Petzl 62 (=*SEG* 39.1276); Chantiotis (1995), 331 (the translation given here is that of Chaniotis); Gordon (2004a), 192.

[68] Petzl 45 (= *TAM* V.1.509); Drew-Bear et al. (1999), 37 n. 49; Gordon (2004a), 194, 37 n. 49.

[69] Petzl 69 (= *TAM* V.1.318); Pettazzoni (1936), 70; Rostad (2006a), 216–17.

[70] Petzl 34 (=*TAM* V.1.464); Pettazzoni (1936), 72. Third century AD.

[71] Petzl 6 (=*SEG* 39.1279); Varinlioğlu (1989), 47–9, no. 5. 'Because I crossed the boundary by mistake, as it was not proper, the gods punished him (…) As soon as the inscribed stone was erected, he took away (the sin) with a mole and a sparrow and a tuna; and the gods received the gifts by which the divine anger was dissolved, according to the custom, a modios of wheat, one prochus of wine; breakfast for the priests, one and a half kupros of wheat, one and a half prochus of wine, chick-peas and wheat groats. And I propitiated the gods for the sons of my sons and the grandchildren of my grandchildren.' Translation from Chaniotis (1995), 333. Gordon (2004a), 184 notes that such texts 'generally construct an artificial stasis, a still point at which history is satisfactorily halted, and man is reconciled with god'.

Figure 5.12 White marble pedimental stele dedicated by Pollion, AD 238–9.

intended to save himself: the inscription finishes with the claim that 'I have reconciled the gods for the sake of my children and grandchildren.' We also find several cases of propitiatory stelai being set up by relatives after the perpetrator of a transgression had died: presumably here one of the aims was to protect themselves from inheriting the divine punishment from the dead person. A stele from Meonia states that it was set up in AD 162–3 by 'Apollonios son of Menodoros on behalf of his brother Dionysios. When he was ritually purified, and did not observe the goddess' appointed time, she killed him.'[72] Another stele from the temple of Anaïtis and Men near Kula records a quarrel about the theft of livestock between two families.[73] Two brothers, Hermogenes and Apollonios, refused to give back another family's animals after they had escaped and got in with their own animals; when the other family 'raised a sceptre', Hermogenes died. We then hear that his brother Apollonios, together with 'Aphias and her children' made a confession and raised a stele, an act which Richard Gordon suggests can be linked to their desire to distance themselves from Hermogenes, thereby 'restoring the moral order', and re-entering the village community from which they had temporarily been isolated.

Each of the stories mentioned here demonstrates an understanding of human transgression *and* divine punishment as things that could be transmitted *between* members of the kinship group, and even spread to animals. This same belief had been conceptualised in earlier Greek myth and religion as *miasma*, with myths such as those of Atreus and Oedipus providing powerful mythological examples of how the repercussions of a wrongdoing could ripple over many generations without weakening.[74] The major role that kinship links play in the transmission of wrongdoings and punishments can help us understand why many of the transgressive parties are shown making reparations to the gods in the presence of their families. For instance, if we return to the relief of Ammias and her daughter Dionysias (Figure 5.5), we might now suspect that the mother's presence on the stele is partly motivated by the potentially contaminating nature of the child's wrongdoing. Perhaps Ammias had already been struck by an inherited punishment, or perhaps she was hoping to ward off any future reprisals? Other stelai also represent family members together, often using body language and clothing to materialise these ancestral links. Looking again at

[72] Hermogenes: Petzl 34. Apollonios stele: Petzl 72 (=*TAM* V.1.326); Pettazzoni (1936), 92. Translation Rostad (2006a), 294. Further examples of stelai being erected by relatives after the death of the transgressor are listed at Chaniotis (1995), 336, n. 73 (*TAM* V.1.179a, 318, 326, 440, 464, 492, 510, 527).

[73] From AD 114/15; Petzl 68 (=*TAM* V.1.317); Mitchell (1993), 192; Gordon (2004b), 199.

[74] Sewell-Rutter (2007); Gagné (2013). On *miasma* see Parker (1983).

the stele of Apollonios (Figure 5.10), we see that the interconnectedness of the three figures is given visual form in their drapery, which falls in parallel folds, and their identical upraised right-hand gestures.[75]

How do the images with body parts echo these themes of inherited transgression and family interconnections? On one level, the fragmented body parts do this by showing the individual *not* as a bounded, self-governed system, but rather as a fluid, permeable entity which could merge and combine with other bodies in space.[76] Figure 5.11 shows a relief which stood in the sanctuary of Anaïtis and Men Tiamou near Kula. It depicts two breasts, a leg and a pair of eyes engraved on the right; the inscription explains that the stele had been dedicated by several people who were propitating the gods on behalf of their children and livestock.[77] It is very likely that the body parts depicted on the stele indicated the location of punishment and illness, although even literate viewers would have found it impossible to know precisely *whose* body or bodies were represented (six dedicants are named in the inscription, in addition to an unspecified number of children and animals). Instead, the stele presents a generalised image of the body in pieces, which not only reorganises the body into a horizontal jigsaw (breast-breast-leg-eye-eye), but also disavows the physical boundaries between the individuals named in the inscription. In this sense, as well as depicting the *sick* body, this relief also potentially embodies anxieties about the *normal* body – that is, the body which is not yet sick, but which is constantly open to moral and physical 'infection'.

Another, slightly different perspective is suggested by a text that was written in nearby Ephesos during the first century AD, which also draws heavily on the imagery of the body in pieces:

> For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot says, 'Because I am not a hand, I am not part of the body', it is not for this reason any the less a part of the body. And if the ear says, 'Because I am not an eye, I am not a part of the body', it

[75] Cf. also Petzl 12 (*SEG* 33.1012) from AD 253/4 (stele of Klaudia Bassa, dedicated to Zeus of the Twin Oaks 'having been tormented for four years and not believing in the god').

[76] We might suspect that such beliefs would find confirmation in cases where illnesses were observed to affect members of the same household: for although we would now rationalise such events in terms of bacteria and 'catching' viruses, the narratives on the propitiatory stelai suggest that ancient communities might see the spread of illness as the physical manifestation of an inherited transgression, which contaminated individuals via ancestral, family links. For a discussion of the anthropological concepts of personhood, partibility and permeability in relation to anatomical votives (in this case from Hellenistic/Republican Italy), see Graham (2017).

[77] *TAM* V.1.322 'To the Goddess Anaetis and Men Tiamou: Tyche and Socrates and Ammianos and Trophimos, the sons of Ammios, and Philete and Socratia, the daughters of Ammias, having made a sacrifice to propitiate Mater Anaetis for the sake of their children and nurslings, inscribed and set up (this stele).' Translation from Kloppenborg and Ascough (2011), 269.

is not for this reason any the less a part of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where would the hearing be? If the whole were hearing, where would the sense of smell be? But now God has placed the members, each one of them, in the body, just as He desired. If they were all one member, where would the body be? But now there are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, 'I have no need of you', or again the head to the feet, 'I have no need of you' … And if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; if one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it.[78]

This well-known passage from St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians consitutes one of the most extensive surviving applications of a much older literary topos – that of the 'body politic'.[79] One much earlier version of this topos was encountered in Chapter 2 of this book, where we saw Plato using the image of the sick body to talk about the corruption of whole community. By the time that Paul was writing, this loose analogy had developed into an elaborate metaphor of the ecclesiastical community of Christ. Although Paul's letter emerges from a different religious background to the propitiatory stelai, his words nevertheless resonate with those inscribed votive texts, echoing their latent message about the importance of interpersonal bonds and community. Particularly relevant here is his claim that 'if one member suffers, all the others suffer with it' – a claim which echoes the stelai's own implicit warnings about the impact of individual transgression upon the rest of the culprit's family. Paul's depiction of the individual body parts as autonomous entities with their own voices and opinions also evokes the depiction on some stelai of the 'transgressive' body parts, which are alienated from the rest of the body and personified as independent agents of wrong.

[78] St Paul, 1 Corinthians 12:12–26.

[79] Plato *Republic* 8.556e; see *supra*, Chapter 2 n. 91. In intervening periods the analogy was utilised and developed by several different authors, from Xenophon and Aristotle to Livy and Cicero. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Socrates urges reconciliation between quarrelling brothers by citing the harmony of pairs of hands, feet, and eyes, while Aristotle demonstrated the individual's dependence on the state by saying 'if the whole body be destroyed, there will be no foot or hand'. Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.3 (on which see Brock 2004); Aristotle *Politics* 1253a. The Roman historian Livy made use of the analogy in the second book of his *Histories*, where Menenius Agrippa ends a plebeian secession by explaining that the belly (which in this case symbolised the Senate) provides nourishment for the hands and feet (the People). Livy *Histories* 2.32 (note that here there is a functional relation between the person/group and the particular body part chosen to represent it). Meanwhile, Cicero wrote that if each part of the body tries to appropriate the health of the others, then the body will die, commenting that such behaviour in men would be equally destructive. Cicero *De officiis* 3.22. A further example comes from Seneca's dialogue *De ira*: just as it is unnatural for the hands to destroy the feet, so the need for harmony, love, and mutual protection causes mankind to protect individuals. Seneca *De ira* 2.31.

This passage from the letter to the Corinthians thus leads us towards another interpretation of the body parts on the stelai as *pars pro toto* representations of their dedicants – images which effectively 'condensed' the whole person into a single part of their anatomy. In fact, this metonymic reading is implicit in every one of the votive offerings we have met in this book, and coexists in productive friction with the symbolism of fragmentation and dismemberment (again reflecting the 'dual ontological status' of the body part, discussed above in relation to Pompey's portrait head at Figure 1.5). The *pars pro toto* interpretation fits particularly well with the material discussed in this chapter, however, partly because of the heavy emphasis placed on the interconnectedness of individuals in the written texts of the propitiatory inscriptions, and partly because the body politic metaphor had particularly wide currency in this period (appearing, for instance, in Paul's letters to the Colossians, Ephesians and Romans, as well as the Corinthians passage discussed here).[80] In other words, although the interpretation of the anatomical propitiatory stelai as a material manifestation of the body politic metaphor requires some logical acrobatics on *our* part, it may have occurred far more readily to the stelai's original viewers, for whom this use of the body was a standard literary topos. Even more importantly, another literary text seems to confirm that the *pars pro toto* reading *did* occur to people dedicating votives in Asia Minor during this period. Again, the text in question is the *Hieroi Logoi*, and more specifically the passage in which Asklepios visits Aristides in a dream, first informing him that he is to die within three days, before revealing some ritual measures that Aristides might take to avoid this fate.

> The god said that it was necessary to cut off part of the body itself on behalf of the safety of the whole. This however would be too great a demand and from it he would exempt me. Instead, I should take off the ring that I was wearing and offer it to Telesphoros. For this would do the same as if I offered the finger itself. Furthermore, I should inscribe on the band of the ring 'Son of Cronos'. After this there would be salvation.[81]

This passage has already been picked up on by earlier commentators on the anatomical votives: it was highlighted in the oldest monograph by J. J. Frey; Pazzini then incorporated the passage into his argument about sacrificial substitution, while Walter Burkert similarly used it to suggest

[80] See Colossians 1:18, 1:24; 2:18–20; Ephesians 1:22–23; 4:13; and Romans 12: 4–5. On Paul's adaptation of the metaphor see Hicks (1963).

[81] Aelius Aristides *Hieroi Logoi*, 48.26–8.

that votive offerings represent 'a kind of ransom from the threat of death'.[82] In the present context, the most important thing about this passage is that it demonstrates Aristides' understanding that his ring, which was a substitute for his finger, was to be accepted by the deity 'on behalf of [the safety of] the whole': that is, as a *pars pro toto* offering.[83] Aristides' text thus indicates that the *pars pro toto* interpretation was a plausible one for dedicants in Asia Minor in the second century AD, and, as such, might have been applied to the isolated body part images on the propitiatory stelai (not to mention the simpler *euche* reliefs with body parts that were encountered in the same sanctuaries).

This interpretation of the anatomical images as *pars pro toto* images which collectively materialised a sort of 'body politic' attributes the propitiatory stelai with a powerful ideological function. In many respects, this reading dovetails neatly with Benedict Anderson's theories about 'imagined communities' in much later historical periods, insofar as the anatomical representations position the individual within a larger social group that is known but never actually *seen* in its entirety – a naturalised community in which real distinctions of gender, age and class are elided to produce the sense of a 'deep, horizontal comradeship'.[84] Here, the precise identity of this community was usefully ambiguous: it could refer to the family (the group with the strongest identity in the written inscriptions), or alternatively it could mean the wider village community (in this respect, it is worth noting that some propitiatory inscriptions do show a concern with 'smoothing over' relations between villagers).[85] For literate viewers, or viewers who heard these inscriptions read aloud, the themes of interconnectedness and mutual dependence would already have been suggested by the texts of the propitiatory stelai, which repeated narratives about inherited sin and transgression, as well as demonstrating an evident concern for the health and harmony of the wider village community. But for *all* viewers – including those who could not read the inscriptions – the imagery of the body parts

[82] Frey (1746), 4, section III; Pazzini (1935), 118; Burkert (1996), 35–8. Burkert draws parallels between this passage and an episode recorded in medieval versions of Homer's *Odyssey* in which Odysseus is forced to bite off his own finger to rid himself of a deadly finger-ring given to him by the Cyclops Polyphemus: he says 'by the loss of a member I saved the whole body from imminent death'. See also the discussions in Versnel (1977) and (1981).

[83] Cf. Rynearson (2003), 8: 'Here the logic of substitution of the votive for a part of the living body is explicit. The possibility of the literal fragmentation of the body is raised in order to be displaced onto the votive and thereby negated. Aristides' ring thus conflates the salvation of the whole body with the sparing of the individual part from amputation; his body remains whole because the part is spared through substitution.'

[84] Anderson (2006 [1983]), 7.

[85] E.g. the tale of Hermogenes and Apollonios; Petzl 68 (see n. 73 here).

would have provided a dynamic visual illustration of these themes, advertising the tight-knit links between the individual and the group to which they belonged. In this way, as well as allowing dedicants to communicate with the gods about the welfare of sick body parts, the propitiatory stelai also implicitly warned their mortal viewers about the need to act responsibly *and* to police the actions of others, as strategies for maximising the health and well-being of all parties.

Conclusion

This final case-study has given us an unprecedented opportunity to explore the meanings of dedicated body parts in antiquity, thanks to the lengthy inscriptions that appear alongside the anatomical images on the propitiatory stelai. This chapter has investigated the relationship between image and text on these stelai, with the aim of elucidating the role in which body parts play in individual narratives, as well as suggesting some ways that this anatomical imagery might connect to broader themes that resonate across the whole group of propitiatory stelai. It is clear that most of the stelai with body parts were dedicated by people suffering in that particular part of the body, which may also have been the part responsible for the transgression that had attracted the illness as punishment. At the same time, the body parts on the stelai can be seen collectively to dramatise deeper and more general beliefs about the human body, and the nature of sickness and health. Significantly, despite frequent claims that the propitiatory stelai are exotic and fundamentally 'unclassical' objects, many features identified in this chapter resonate with arguments made in earlier parts of this book, in relation to better-known anatomical votives.[86] The simple identification of the votive body part as a representation of the sick body part, the direct equating of the sick and 'unfastened' body, the conceptualisation of illness as divine punishment, and the potential overlaps between anatomical imagery and the literary metaphor of the body politic – these are all themes which have emerged from looking at earlier anatomical votives, and which find some element of confirmation in the rich narratives that accompany the Lydian-Phrygian body parts.

As well as adding another strand to our exploration of continuity and change in the anatomical votive tradition, this chapter has also aimed to contribute to the study of the Lydian-Phrygian propitiatory stelai, by

[86] On the perceived strangeness of the propitiatory stelai see Potts (2017), 3 n. 12.

showing how an intergrated approach to the images and text can deepen our understanding of what these objects meant to the people who made, dedicated and subsequently viewed them. Hopefully, the discussion here has demonstrated that the images on the stelai are at least as interesting as the inscribed texts that accompany them, despite the fact that the texts have been the focus of nearly all the existing scholarly investigations of this material. We do not know how many people could read the lengthy Greek inscriptions on the stelai, but we can be certain that the image of the unadorned, naked body part was something that would have been recognisable and meaningful to every single one of its viewers. In Lydia and Phrygia, as in other parts of the ancient world, the immediacy and familiarity of the body part image made it accessible to all those who contemplated it, enhancing its efficacy as a medium for delivering more opaque and complex messages. Ultimately, it is this dual nature of the votive body part – its unmediated simplicity *and* its rich multivalency – which have made it so powerful and popular an image throughout history, and which constitute its richness as a document for understanding the human past.

Afterword: Revisiting Fragmentation

This book has compared votive models of body parts from four different cultural contexts within classical antiquity, with the aim of investigating continuity and change in the anatomical votive tradition. It has explored reasons for the inception and development of this ritual in different parts of the Greco-Roman world, and has argued that looking at these dedications in a comparative framework can help us to reconstruct how ancient people experienced their bodies and the bodies of others around them. The emphasis here has been on highlighting differences between the four case-studies, and in particular the shifting range of body parts represented in the various contexts. In turn, I have considered how the anatomical votives in each of these four cultures fit alongside other non-votive images of the body produced in the same areas, so as to better understand what these objects meant to their original users and viewers. This book thus offers a counterpoint to the usual commentary on the anatomical votives, in which these objects are seen as evidence for an unbroken continuity in beliefs about how to represent and treat the human body; it also highlights the agency of users and their power to transform the tradition they 'inherited'.

Each of the case-studies examined in this book thus forms a single frame in a moving picture of the anatomical ritual in antiquity. But although the emphasis has been on contrast and difference, I have also argued that all votive body parts share one important feature – that is, the capacity to symbolise the fragmentation or disaggregation of the human body. This has allowed us to move beyond the observation that anatomical votives pinpoint parts of the human body that were suffering (or salient for another reason), to recognise that the striking visual image of a truncated body part also had other meanings, which drew on contemporary discourses and contexts for the divided body. For instance, the Classical Greek votives resonated with contemporary medical discourses which conceptualised illness as fragmentation and health as reintegration, while the similarities between the votives and older images of divine punishment served to infuse illness with a moral component. In turn, I argued that the Etrusco-Italic votives were best understood in relation to the 'undoing' of the body in local traditions of sacrifice and haruspicy, while the

Romano-Gallic material echoed older practices in which the (real) human body was dismantled and displayed in situations of conflict. Finally, the last chapter showed how the propitiatory stelai from Asia Minor not only evoked the fragmentation of the body in illness and divine punishment for mortal transgression, but also suggested the reassembly of these fragments into a hybrid body politic.

As well as suggesting new interpretations of these objects, acknowledging the fragmentary nature of the anatomical votives can also help to challenge and nuance some of our conventional ideas about classical art in general, insofar as we normally perceive fragmentation as something 'accidental' that happens to an ancient artefact in later stages of its biography. In most of these latter cases, the incompleteness of the object functions as a 'metaphor of modernity' (to cite Linda Nochlin), which both symbolises *and* constructs our sense of distance from the partially lost world of antiquity.[1] The iconic, mutilated body of the Venus de Milo 'works' as an image because we know she was originally whole; her missing arm thus (im)materialises the long stretch of time that separates us from the moment of her manufacture (Figure 6.1).[2] The anatomical votives studied in this book threaten this particular construction of historical time and distance, by showing that fragmentation was never a unique preserve of modernity, but was instead central to the way in which ancient people themselves perceived and represented their bodies. In turn, I would argue that the votive body parts can also alter our perspective on those full-bodied images of elite males that are normally hailed as representative of the Classical period (Figure 2.9). Naturalistic statues like the Doryphoros may have emerged from a climate of democracy, but representative images of ancient society they were *not*; in this respect, the anatomical votive assemblage, with its mixture of bodies of different genders, ages, social backgrounds, and even species, is a far better qualified standard-bearer for a history of 'The' Classical body.

Finally, talking about the votives in terms of fragmentation also indicates how the Greco-Roman body might relate to the bodies of later historical periods in which corporeal fragmentation has long been recognised to play a central role. When we look at Christian discourses of healing in the Middle Ages, for instance, we find many interesting points of overlap with the Greco-Roman material examined in this book. During this later period, too, the broken body served as a site of healing, not only in the form

[1] Nochlin (1994).

[2] On the Venus and fragmentation see Fuller (1980), 71–129; Squire (2011), 83–4. A critique of Fuller's argument can be found at duBois (1995), 34–5.

Figure 6.1 Plaster cast of the Venus de Milo.

Figure 6.2 Feet of Aurelia del Prete on display in the sanctuary of the Madonna dell'Arco, S. Anastasia, near Naples.

of anatomical votives, but also via an expanded range of artefacts including saintly relics and the body-part-shaped reliquaries made to house them, as well as sites of grisly martyrdoms.[3] Textual sources also reveal that fragmentation and reintegration continued to be used to symbolise the ultimate healing miracle of bodily resurrection. One story recorded by the sixth-century AD bishop Gregory of Tours tells of a crystal chalice that was first broken by a clumsy church deacon and then miraculously mended overnight – a clear Christian reworking of the story of the 'Epidaurian goblet' discussed in Chapter 2 above.[4] Meanwhile, other sources indicate that the

[3] For fragmentation in medieval Christianity see Bynum (1991) and (1995). Brown (1981), 83–4 also mentions that sites associated with fragmentation of a martyr's body were often subsequently visited as places of healing.

[4] 'In the same city of Milan there is a church of St Laurentius the deacon … In the church there is a crystal chalice of marvellous beauty. But once after the celebration of mass, as a deacon carried the chalice to the holy altar, it slipped from his hand, fell to the ground, and was smashed into small pieces. The deacon, pale and white, carefully gathered the fragments of the chalice and placed then on top of the altar; he did not doubt that the power of the martyr would be able to make it whole. After he had spent the night in vigils, weeping and praying, he went to look at the chalice and found it formed and whole (*solidatum*) on the altar.' Translation: de Nie (2002), 265.

association between bodily fragmentation and divine punishment still persisted in Christian discourse. For a potent example of this we might travel full circle back to the site where this book began – the sanctuary of the Madonna dell'Arco at Sant'Anastasia near Naples. In a room leading off a long corridor lined with anatomical votive offerings, the visitor is confronted by an iron cage containing a pair of desiccated human feet that once belonged to a local woman named Aurelia del Prete (Figure 6.2). On Easter Monday in 1589, Aurelia had been on her way to the sanctuary to dedicate a wax ex-voto in thanks for the successful cure of her husband's eye disease, but for some reason she had flown into a temper and thrown the votive offering onto the ground, blaspheming against the painted image of the Madonna.[5] Precisely a year later, her feet spontaneously fell from her body as penalty for her sin; this foundation narrative of the sanctuary confirmed the potency of religious images and the willingness of the Madonna to harm as well as heal. Today, the uncanny juxtaposition of the rotten feet and the sparkling silver ex-votos continues to dramatise this dual potency of the divine, confirming the continued centrality of the fragmented body in discourses of healing and well-being. The offerings at the Madonna dell'Arco might be firmly embedded in their Catholic context, but they nevertheless retain echoes of a divine vengeance that is resolutely Classical, and, as such, provide a silent testimony of the slow and incremental nature of change in beliefs about the human body.

[5] Toschi and Penna (1971), 42–3; Giardino and Cristofaro (1996), 16.

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Abbreviations

CIE – Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum
CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
DTA – Defixionum Tabellae Atticae
ID – Inscriptions de Délos
IG – Inscriptiones Graecae
IGUR – Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae
LIMC – Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
OLD – Oxford Latin Dictionary
SEG – Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
TAM – Tituli Asiae Minoris

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