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Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of “Voodoo Dolls” in Ancient Greece

THERE IS MUCH evidence that the ancient Greeks used binding magic at public ceremonies to protect their cities and in more private rituals to resolve interpersonal problems in their day-to-day lives.¹ The large number of inscribed lead *defixiones* attests to the popularity of private binding magic as early as the fifth century B.C. in Sicily and Attica.² In this essay I survey still another rich

1. A portion of this article was presented at the 119th Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in New York City in December 1987, and a great deal of it appears as chapter four of my Stanford Ph.D. dissertation, “Talismans, Voodoo Dolls, and Other Apotropaic Statues in Early Greece” (1988). I should like to thank W. Brashear, W. Burkert, M. Edwards, F. Graf, M. Jameson, D. Jordan, R. Kotansky, J. Scurlock, H. S. Versnel, J. Winkler, and others for their encouragement and comments on earlier drafts. I should also like to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose Summer Stipend for 1989 allowed me to complete work on this article. The errors that may remain are mine alone.

The following abbreviations will be used throughout: *ANET*, J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*³ (Princeton, 1969); *DT*, A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904); *DTA*, R. Wunsch, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, *IG* 3.3 (Berlin, 1897); *KAR*, E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Assur religiöse Inhalts*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1915–23); *KBo*, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Berlin, 1916–); *MMG*, J. Scurlock, “Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts in Ancient Mesopotamia” (diss., Chicago, 1988); *PGM*, K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, eds., *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*² (Stuttgart, 1973–74); *SGD*, D. R. Jordan, “A Survey of Greek *Defixiones* Not Included in the Special Corpora,” *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–97. Unless otherwise indicated, the number that follows any of these abbreviations refers to the number of the text in the collection, and *not* to a page number.

2. *DTA* and *DT* are the basic collections. For bibliography and description of material published subsequently, see *SGD*. Aside from the prolegomena to the above-mentioned corpora and surveys, comprehensive discussions include: E. G. Kagarow, *Griechische Fluchtafeln*, *Eus Supplementa* 4 (Leopoli, 1929); S. Eitrem, “Bindezauber,” *RAC* 2 (1954) 380–85; K. Preisendanz

source of information—the literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence that the Greeks in all periods used bound or buried images to control inimical gods and demons as well as ghosts and other more human enemies.³ In doing so I hope to show that the aim of these rituals, whether performed on behalf of the state or an individual, was to control but not destroy the source of evil, and that they were regularly perceived as forms of defensive magic. The essay falls into four discrete sections. I begin by examining the abundant testimony to defensive rituals that involve binding or burying the effigy of Ares; this material reveals the close correlation between early Greek myth and much later ritual, and allows us to see the continuity of beliefs about the bound god over a long period of time. In order to set the material about Ares into a larger cultural context, I devote the second section to a detailed survey of the binding and burial rituals (both public and private) used by the Egyptians and the Assyrians. In the third section of the paper I turn away from the gods and focus on the use of effigies in Greek magic to protect people against the attacks of ghosts. After a detailed examination of the role of the problematic *κολοσσοί* in the so-called cathartic inscription from Cyrene, I discuss how Greek ghost-banning combines funerary ritual and sympathetic magic in a unique way. In the final section I examine the archaeological evidence for the private use of “voodoo dolls”⁴ in the Greek world as early as the seventh century B.C., arguing that, in light of the other evidence collected here, these artifacts can now be seen as merely one colorful band of a wide spectrum of defensive magical rituals used to control the forces of evil in the ancient world.

BINDING ARES IN GREEK MYTH AND RITUAL

In the fifth book of the *Iliad* Aphrodite collapses into the lap of her mother, Dione, and complains bitterly about the wound that she has just received from Diomedes; when Dione tries to comfort her with a list of the indignities that other gods have suffered at the hands of overweening mortals, she begins with the god of war himself:⁵

“Fluchtafel (Defixio),” *RAC* 8 (1972) 1–29; C. A. Faraone, “The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells,” in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford, 1991) 3–32.

3. For some recent treatments of myths and rituals concerned with binding the gods in ancient Greece, see K. Meuli [and R. Merkelbach] “Die Gefesselten Götter,” in K. Meuli: *Gesammelte Schriften* 2 (Stuttgart, 1975) 1077–78; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 21 (Rome, 1985) 81–96; H. S. Versnel, “Greek Myth and Ritual: The Case of Kronos,” in J. Bremmer, ed., *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1987) 121–52.

4. I use the term “voodoo doll” advisedly throughout simply as the closest and most familiar American equivalent of the German *Rachepuppe* or the French *figurine d’envoûtement*, without implying or suggesting any connection whatsoever to the religious practices of the Afro-Caribbean people of Haiti and elsewhere.

5. The Greeks of later antiquity seem to have recognized the magical act reported in these lines; the opening line (385) is twice quoted in a magical papyrus as an efficacious charm (*PGM* IV 474, 830). Although these quoted lines lack the rubrics that accompany most of the other Homeric

Ares had to endure it when strong Ephialtes and Otos,
 sons of Aloeus, chained him in bonds that were too strong for him,
 and three months and ten he lay chained in the brazen cauldron;
 and now might Ares, insatiable of fighting, have perished,
 had not Eëriboia, their stepmother, the surpassingly lovely,
 brought word to Hermes, who stole Ares away out of it
 as he was growing faint and the hard bondage was breaking him.

(*Il.* 5.385–91, trans. R. Lattimore)

The mention of the two heroes Ephialtes and Otus points to a Boeotian locale for this myth, but a papyrus chrestomathy dated to the second century A.D. suggests that a similar myth was told about Enyalios (Ares) in Thrace.⁶

Binding is one of the most popular weapons with which the gods fight each other in Greek myth: Cronus is bound by Zeus (*Hes. Erga* 173a); Zeus is threatened with the same fate at the hands of Poseidon, Apollo, and Hera (*Il.* 1.399–401); and Hephaestus binds Ares and Aphrodite in bed (*Od.* 8. 296–99), and even his own mother (Pindar, fr. 283 Snell; Plato, *Rep.* 378d). In part this phenomenon is a logical corollary to the fact of the gods' immortality; since they cannot kill one another, they can only defeat their enemies by imprisoning them, binding them, or similarly restricting their movements. Compare for example, Hephaestus's treatment of Ares in Demodocus's tale to the summary execution of an adulterer caught *in flagrante delicto* in Classical Athens (*Lys.* 1.49, *Dem.* 23.53). The myth about Ephialtes and Otus binding Ares, however, is even more curious, because although it can no longer be linked to episodes in the life of the Etruscan Mars,⁷ it does correspond quite

verses cited in the magical papyri, it seems an obvious inference that the verse (and indeed in the handbook this may simply be shorthand for the entire passage) was to be used in a binding ritual. Compare the quotation of *Il.* 8.424 ("Will you dare to raise your mighty spear against Zeus?"), accompanied by the rubric "To Restrain Anger," or *Il.* 10.193 ("Let's . . . seize, lest we become a joy to our enemies"), which is to be used "To Get a Friend." The *Geoponica* (10.87.6) recommends attaching verse 5.387 of the Ares passage ("and three months and ten he lay chained in a bronze cauldron") to a tree to prevent it from prematurely casting its fruit; i.e., it "binds" the tree to hold on to its fruit until the correct moment in its annual cycle.

6. *POxy* 1241 col. 4.20–24. Thrace is Ares' homeland (*Il.* 13.301, *Od.* 8.361); see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* 5 (Oxford, 1909) 399–403. A similar myth seems to have been told (and located) at the Cretan city of Biennos, whose name, according to Stephen of Byzantium (s.v.), commemorated the βία ("act of violence") that had befallen Ares, "whom they say [was bound] there by Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of Poseidon, and even now they give Ares the sacrifice called the Hekatomphonia." The Hekatomphonia appears to have been peculiar to the Messenians, the Cretans of Biennos, and perhaps the Athenians; see A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Kultschriststeller*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 15.1 (Giessen, 1914), 175–77, for a discussion of the pertinent texts, which all seem to go back to Diophantos of Sparta, *FHG* 4.397.

7. See Farnell (*supra*, n. 6: 407) and E. Simon, "Il dio Marte nell'arte dell'Italia centrale," *SE* 46 (1978) 135–47, for the traditional interpretation, countered by H. S. Versnel, "Apollo and Mars One Hundred Years after Roscher," *Visible Religion* 4/5 (1985/86) 147–48. For possible Near Eastern parallels to the brazen cauldron in the Boeotian myth, see H. A. Hoffner, "Hittite *Tarphim* and Hebrew *Teraphim*," *JNES* 27 (1968) 65–66, who discusses the myth of the Hittite weather god at Lihznina, in which hostile demons and abstracted evils (e.g., "Bloodshed," "Tears") are imprisoned

nicely to some actual Greek rituals that were apparently performed in the later periods.

Perhaps the most interesting testimony to these rituals is a first-century-B.C. hexametric inscription that appears to be a text issued by the Panhellenic oracle of the Clarian Apollo. In it, the people of Syedra, plagued by the incessant attacks of pirates, are advised to erect a statue of Ares bound in the "iron chains of Hermes" and supplicating a figure of Dike:⁸

Pamphyliaus of Syedra inhabiting a land in the bordering territory of the people of mixed race, set up an image of Ares, the blood-stained slayer of men, in the midst of your town and perform sacrifices beside it, while holding him [*sc.* the statue] in the iron bonds of Hermes. On the other side let Dike giving sentence judge him, while he himself is like to one pleading. For thus he will be peacefully disposed to you, after he has driven out the unholy mob far from your native land, and will raise up much-prayed-for prosperity. But also you yourselves together put your hand to the hard task, either chasing them away or manacled them in unloosable bonds, and do not give to delay the terrible vengeance on the plunderers. For thus you will escape from impairment.

(trans. H. W. Parke)

Despite the array of pronouns whose reference is not always certain, one can easily make out the ceremony: the creation of a statue of the bound Ares kneeling⁹ before a menacing statue of Dike¹⁰ is expected "sympathetically"¹¹ to re-

in copper kettles sealed with lead and then deposited in the sea. Hoffner compares these with the similarly sealed copper kettles that appear in the underworld in other Hittite myths (they are said to contain "Wrath, Anger, Sin, and Rage"), a female statuette representing "evil" sealed in a jug with a lead lid (Zech. 5:5–11), and Pandora's $\pi\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ in Hesiod.

8. G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford (*Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*, DenkschrWien 85 [Vienna, 1965] 21–23 no. 26) and F. Sokolowski ("Sur l'oracle de Claros destiné à la ville de Syedra," *BCH* 92 [1966] 519–22) date the inscription to the first century B.C. L. Robert (*Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale* [Geneva, 1966] 91–100) and J. Wiseman ("Gods, War and Plague in the Times of the Antonines," in D. Mano-Zissi and J. Wiseman, eds., *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi* 1 [Belgrade, 1973] 174–79) attempt unsuccessfully to redate the inscription to the reign of Lucius Verus using numismatic evidence; see E. Maroti, "A Recently Found Versified Oracle Against the Pirates," *AAASzeged* 16 (1968) 233–38, for a good refutation of Robert, an article of which Wiseman was apparently unaware.

9. H. W. Parke (*The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* [London, 1985] 250 n. 20) and Graf (*supra*, n. 3), follow Robert's suggestion (*supra*, n. 8) that the tableau contained three standing figures. The expression in the Syedran inscription ("while restraining him with *the iron bonds of Hermes*") need not mean that the god himself was actually depicted, but only that he was believed to have invented the shackles or that they were within his traditional sphere of activity (cf. *Veneris vincula*, Verg. *Ecl.* 8.78; surely we need not suppose that Venus made an epiphany during the spell). Hermes often acts as an agent of binding in the texts of Attic *defixiones* in his guise as Katochos ("Restrainer"), as well as in some obscure myths about binding Charon and Prometheus (see Serv. *ad Aen* 6.42). For the interpretation followed here, see C. A. Faraone, "Clay Hardens and Wax Melts: Magical Role-Reversal in Vergil's Eighth *Eclogue*," *CP* 84 (1989) 296–97.

10. Sokolowski (*supra*, n. 8: 521) suggests that the statue of Dike in Syedra was depicted in an aggressive stance like the Dike brandishing a $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ and throttling Adikia on the Chest of Cypselus

strain and humble the hostile force of the pirates. Ares' relationship to the pirates is a bit unclear, but we do find evidence in the Greek novels and elsewhere for a popular belief that brigands and highwaymen were thought to be the special devotees of this god.¹² This ritual is much more elaborate than simply binding an image of Ares; it creates a scenario in which both the intended victims (Ares and the pirates) and the performers of the spell (the people of Syedra, represented by the figure of Dike) appear. This kind of complicated ritual is not, however, unique; it can be paralleled in a recipe preserved in the Greek magical papyri, as well as in descriptions of similar erotic spells in Vergil and Horace.¹³

The other explicit testimonia for the magical binding of effigies of Ares are all much later, but seem nevertheless to be variations of the same type of ritual. The first witness is an anonymous epigram in the *Palatine Anthology* (9.805):

Εἰς στήλην Ἄρεως κειωσμένην ἐν Θράκῃ
 Εἰσόκε θούριος οὗτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ κέκλιται Ἄρης,
 οὐποτε Θρηϊκίης ἐπιβήσεται ἔθνεα Γότθων.

[Inscribed] on the base of an Ares [statue] that lies buried in Thrace:
 As long as fierce Ares here has been laid low upon the ground,
 the Gothic peoples shall never set foot upon Thrace.

It is unclear exactly how the image has been treated; the rubric states that it or its base was buried, but the epigram itself uses ambiguous language (κέκλιται, lit. "laid low"), a term that could very well suggest that Ares had been magically made subservient.¹⁴ In any case, the ritual seems to have involved the manipula-

(Paus. 5.18.1–2), a scene that appears on a late sixth-century vase painting; see J. Frel, "Dike and Adikia," in L. Varel, R. F. Willetts, et al., eds., *Geras: Studies Presented to George Thomson* (Prague, 1963) 95–98, pl. 1.

11. I use this term advisedly throughout. S. J. Tambiah, "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View," in R. Horton and R. Finnegan, eds., *Modes of Thought* (London, 1973) 199–229, rightly dismisses the common view that "sympathetic magic" is based on poor observation of empirical analogies. He distinguishes instead between the operation of "empirical analogies" (used in modern scientific discourse to *predict* future actions) and "persuasive analogies" (used in rituals in traditional societies to *encourage* future action). Cf. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (Cambridge, 1979) 2–3, 7. In the ritual described in this inscription, the binding of Ares' image is expected to persuade Ares and the pirates to be restrained in similar fashion.

12. In the novel of Xenophon of Ephesus, for instance, Hippothoös and his band of robbers (λησται) garland a wooden statue of Ares and prepare a peculiar form of sacrifice that involves tossing a javelin at a suspended victim (13.1). G. Palmeyda, *Xénophon d'Éphèse: Les Éphésiaques* (Paris, 1962) 32 n. 2, suggests that the motivation for this type of worship lies in Hippothoös's Thracian origins (2.1). In Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, the Thessalian bandits pour a libation and sing hymns in honor of Mars (4.22) and sacrifice an old male goat to him on an altar of green turf (7.5), a scene in which they are addressed as *deo Marti clientes*. Ares is regularly connected with the barbarians to the north; see, e.g., Eur. *Ba.* 1330ff. (*infra*, n. 110), or two epigrams from Didyma that celebrate that city's escape from the siege of the Gauls in 262–63 A.D. (J. Fontenrose, *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult, and Companions* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988] 23–24).

13. Faraone (*supra*, n. 9) 294–300.

14. Paton (Loeb) translates "rests on the ground," while Waltz/Saury, *Anthologie Palatine VIII* (Paris, 1974) *ad loc.* (who date the epigram to the late third / early fourth century on account of its

tion and burial of an effigy of the god in hopes of warding off a hostile enemy; here Ares appears to represent the warlike Goths, who were a continuous threat to the Thracian border in the late antique period.

A historical account preserved by Photius describes a similar form of binding ritual, which may have been aimed at averting this same menace from Thrace:¹⁵

The historian says that he heard from a certain Valerius, a man of high rank, about silver statues which were consecrated to ward off barbarians. He says that during the reign of Constantius the Emperor, when Valerius was governor of Thrace, it was reported that a treasure had been found. Valerius visited the site and learned from the locals that it was sacred and that the statues had been consecrated there according to an ancient rite. This he then reported to the Emperor and received a rescript empowering him to take possession of the objects reported. When the spot was excavated, three silver statues were found deposited there, of barbarous style, with hands bound, dressed in the embroidered clothing of the barbarians, with long hair and inclining toward the North, that is toward the land of the barbarians. As soon as the statues were removed, a few days later the whole Gothic nation poured over Thrace and shortly afterwards the Huns and the Sarmatians were to invade Illyricum and Thrace also. For the site of the consecration lay between Thrace and Illyricum and to judge from the number of statues, they had been consecrated against the whole of barbarity.

(trans. R. D. Blockley)

The historian Photius refers to is Olympiodorus, an occasionally tendentious Egyptian priest from Thebes who searches everywhere for evidence of the efficacy of traditional pagan rituals. Despite such shortcomings, his narrative of the “eyewitness account” of the governor of Thrace with his imperial rescript rings true, and we are probably justified in accepting his report of the discovery of some kind of bound and buried artifacts, while dismissing his interpretation of the catastrophic outcome of their removal (especially since this causes grave chronological problems with the rest of his narrative).¹⁶ Some of the details may

“inspiration païenne”), print “couché” but suggest in a note that “appuyé” might be closer to the sense of the Greek. For the use of the verb κλίνειν in magical texts to mean “make subservient,” see *LSJ* s.v., I.5 (citing *PGM* IV 1718). The more familiar verb in this context is the intensive form κατακλίνειν, e.g., *PGM* IV 2076, 2450, 2497; *SGD* 141. For a detailed discussion of this verb in the context of magical rituals, see F. Maltomini, “I papiri greci,” *SCO* 29 (1979) 102. Perhaps the statue, which depicted Ares helplessly sprawled on the ground (and bound as well?), was erected and then subsequently buried in the ground to restrain the god further. An anonymous reader for the journal suggests yet another possibility: an upright statue of the god was “toppled” during a ritual and then buried with its base.

15. Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 80 p. 177 = Olympiodorus of Thebes, *FHG* 4.63.27 = frag. 27 Blockley.

16. On the chronological problems with Olympiodorus’s account of this incident, see J. F. Matthews, “Olympiodorus of Thebes and the History of the West (A.D. 407–25),” *JRS* 60 (1970) 96; R. D. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Late Roman Empire* (Liverpool, 1981) 164 n. 20.

also be suspected as fanciful embroideries drawn from the author’s own ethnic background, in particular the differentiation of the three figures by their special native hairstyles and costumes.¹⁷

Thus we see a pattern of a very old Greek myth and some much later rituals that concern the constraint of hostile armies—armies that must be magically bound if the northern borders of Greece are to be defended. We occasionally find hints that similar beliefs were current in other parts of the Greek world as well, and at a much earlier date. Pausanias, for instance, describes a bound image of the war god Enyalios at Sparta:

Opposite this temple [*sc.* of Poseidon] is an ancient image of Enyalios in fetters. The belief of the Lacedaemonians about this statue is the same as that of the Athenians about their Wingless Victory; they believe that Enyalios will never escape by fleeing, while the Athenians think that Victory will always remain in that place because she has no wings to flee upon.

(3.15.7)

To Pausanias’s mind, at least, the statue represents Sparta’s continued excellence in the craft of war, which is chained down to ensure that it never deserts her. The Greek god Ares/Enyalios was not, however, a god of martial excellence like the Roman deity Mars, but rather the reckless, dangerous force of slaughter and death on the battlefield. It is, of course, easy to understand how such an explanation could develop, especially in the Imperial period, when Sparta, her military prowess, and her peculiar social and religious institutions were popular with the Roman intelligentsia, who came to view Lacedaemonian culture as some Hellenic prefiguration of their own.¹⁸ This kind of confusion is facilitated by the familiar ambiguity (as in the Syedra inscription, above) between the encouragement of good fortune (i.e., keeping excellence in war on our side) and the binding and warding-off of bad fortune (i.e., preventing “war” from hurting us). Because of the obvious similarities between this Spartan statue and the Boeotian myths discussed above, many scholars believe that it is part of a cult

17. Nearly all the extant Greek “voodoo dolls” are nude (see the Appendix at the end of this article for a full survey and n. 94). Olympiodorus may be injecting some of his native Egyptian lore here to fill in the details. See below for the more elaborate Egyptian “bound captive” effigies, which depict national headdresses and exact racial characteristics. Compare also the account in Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The History of Alexander* 1.2 (a third-century-A.D. work written in Egypt), where Nectanebo, the last of the Egyptian pharaohs, is said to destroy enemy armies by manipulating wax figurines that depict soldiers in the national dress and arms of their country. O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder: Untersuchungen zum Wunderglauben der Griechen und Römer*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 8.1 (Giessen, 1909), 167 n. 2, explains the rationale behind the number of the effigies reported by Olympiodorus by pointing out that three as well as one is a common *pars pro toto* number in Greek ritual (he gives several examples).

18. E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* 2 (Uppsala, 1974) 95–225 *passim*.

borrowed at an early period from the Boeotians that involved binding effigies of Ares/Enyalios to prevent him from harming the community¹⁹

It is important to note how these bound statues are treated. The statue at Sparta, like the one at Syedra, is not housed in a temple, but stands in an open space in the city, opposite the temple of Poseidon. At Syedra sacrifices are to be performed at the side of the Ares statue, but it is not clear whether these offerings were to be performed only once or at regular intervals. A quip attributed to the famous sophist Herodes Atticus (ca. 100–179 A.D.) suggests that sacrifices were also traditionally offered to bound statues of Ares in Boeotia. Herodes scoffs at misers who lock up their wealth in “prisons” and consider it worthy to be offered sacrifice; such men, he said, should be called “Aloadae,” because they sacrifice to Ares after they have bound him (μετὰ τὸ δῆσαι αὐτόν, Philostratus, *VS* 2.547). It is unclear whether this is a purely literary reference to a more detailed version of the myth referred to in *Iliad* 5 (discussed above), or whether Herodes is alluding to a traditional ritual performed in historical times by priests drawn from the clan of the Aloadae, a ritual that may still have been performed in Herodes’ time. The anecdote does, however, attest to some kind of regular sacrifice to the bound god, since any mention of sacrifices in a literary source (i.e., some local Boeotian epic or hymn) was probably part of an aetiological myth explaining the particulars of a local cult of the bound Ares. The mythical account of the Aloadae quoted above from *Iliad* 5 limits the duration of Ares’ incarceration to thirteen months, a figure that has prompted the undoubtedly correct inference that the myth is to be connected with an annual ceremony in which the god was released and then rebound each year.²⁰ Thus it appears that in some areas of Greece, at least, bound statues were erected at specific points of crisis to ward off a particular military threat, and that despite such hostile treatment they could be offered sacrifice and treated with deference like any other cult statue.

BOUND STATUES IN EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST: SOME COMPARATIVE DATA

In Egypt “voodoo dolls” were deployed at the highest levels of state religion from the earliest times.²¹ In the daily rituals performed to ensure the safety of

19. The antiquity of the Spartan cult seems to be assured by Pausanias’s description of the bound Enyalios as an ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον; there was also a temple of Enyalios at Geronthrae (Paus. 3.22.6) and on the road between Sparta and Therapnai a ἱερὸν ἀρχαιότατον of Ares Theritas (Paus. 3.19.7). The image there was allegedly imported from Colchis, a mistake (according to S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* [Leipzig, 1893] 149–50) for Euboean “Calchis.” Farnell, (*supra*, n. 6: 402–3) and J. G. Frazer (*Pausanias: Description of Greece* [Cambridge, 1898] *ad loc.*) argue that dog sacrifice to Ares, a practice usually associated with Thracian and other non-Greek forms of apotropaic or purificatory ritual, is another indication that the Spartan worship of Ares is borrowed from the north.

20. In connection with the myth about the binding of Ares by the Aloadae, W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 169, suspects some similar annual festival of licence, a plausible interpretation with some nice Roman parallels, especially the Saturnalia.

21. The best general discussions of the Egyptian “voodoo dolls” are M. J. Raven, “Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism,” *OMRL* 64 (1983) 7–47 (on the wax effigies); G. Posener, “Les

Egypt, the Egyptian gods were aided in their struggles with their enemies by the creation and manipulation of wax images depicting their rivals. Egyptian hieratic papyri dating for the most part to the earliest years of the Ptolemaic period provide us with the most detailed information about these effigies, which were bound, abused, and then destroyed in a variety of ways. Such rituals at the temple of Amon-Re in Karnak included the manufacture of red wax figurines of the god's enemy Apophis, which were bound back to back with an effigy of one of the pharaoh's human enemies, mistreated, and then consumed by fire.²² A similar fate was regularly reenacted in the temple of Osiris at Abydos for wax or wooden effigies of Seth, whose name was inscribed on their chests; bound hand and foot with the sinew of a red cow, these figurines were spat upon, trampled, cut up, and then burnt.²³ Effigies of Seth and other anonymous "foes of Osiris" were likewise stabbed and then burned on a brazier in a number of different ceremonies performed in the temple complex at Edfou.²⁴ In each case the king of Egypt is assimilated to Re, Osiris, or Horus, and his enemies (both foreign and domestic) are correspondingly represented either explicitly or implicitly by the bound figurines. Although most of the testimonia for these rituals is late by Egyptian dynastic standards, there is much evidence that the Ptolemaic papyri that preserve the instructions for these rites stand at the end of a long scribal tradition of manuscripts that were heavily guarded state secrets until the later periods of foreign domination.²⁵ The pose that these wax figures are forced to assume prior to their destruction is another indication of the antiquity of the rite; depicted kneeling and bound hand and foot—a statue type usually referred to as the "bound captive" (Fig. 1)—they are identical to the kneeling and bound figures (marked as foreigners by inscriptions, distinctive national dress, or racial features) that were regularly depicted in monumental reliefs cowering at the feet of the pharaoh, who threatens them with a mace or an axe. They are subsequently found in the form of free-standing statues and appear in subservient positions on royal furniture and even on the soles of royal sandals. In each case the symbolism is twofold: these figures are meant to commemorate past victories

empreintes magiques de Gizeh et les Morts Dangereux," *MDAI(Kairo)* 16 (1958) 252–70; *idem*, "Ächtungstexte," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 1 (1975) 67–69 (on the clay and stone dolls). I have not been able to lay my hands on his most recent publication, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 101 (Cairo, 1987), for which see the short review in *BO* 46 (1989) 30–31. See also R. Ritner, "The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice" (diss., Chicago, 1987) 92–183.

22. R. O. Faulkner, "The Bremmer-Rhind Papyrus: The Book of Overthrowing Apep," *JEA* 23 (1937) 166–86; 24 (1938) 41–54. The papyrus appears to be a copy of a text that probably dates as early as the Middle Kingdom; it seems to have been copied by a temple priest for his own personal use. See Ritner (*supra*, n. 21) 210 n. 735.

23. The ritual is described in the "Book of Overthrowing Seth," which was probably composed in the New Kingdom. See Raven (*supra*, n. 21: 10) for a full bibliography.

24. Ritner (*supra*, n. 21: 205–7) briefly describes the rites of Soker-Osiris, the "Play of Horus," and other ceremonies at Edfou that contain similar execration rituals, as well as rites in which fish are labeled with the names of state enemies and then trampled and burned.

25. Ritner (*supra*, n. 21) 203 n. 713

of the pharaoh over his foreign enemies and at the same time to encourage (through sympathetic magic) future victories.²⁶

Smaller clay, mud, and stone versions of the free-standing "bound captive" figure seem to have evolved artistically into a flattened, nearly abstract shape that provided a wide and level writing surface for long lists of intended victims. Unlike the monumental versions, these smaller effigies were not created for public view; nearly all the extant examples were found buried in large caches (frequently in sealed clay pots) in cemeteries or near mortuary temples, and, in contrast to the wax dolls discussed above, it is often unclear whether they have been intentionally abused or accidentally broken over the passage of time.²⁷ They can roughly be divided into two categories: small figurines that are labeled with the name of a single individual, and statuettes two to three times larger carrying much longer texts that curse entire nations, their princes and soldiers, hostile gods or demons, as well as Egyptian individuals who were probably inimical to the regime. The earliest examples of both types are from four closely related deposits in the necropolis at Giza, which date to the Sixth Dynasty (ca. 2300 B.C.).²⁸ It is to the Middle Kingdom (2065–1785 B.C.), however, that the bulk of the evidence belongs. The larger statuettes are particularly prominent here,²⁹ and bear texts that are nearly identical to those inscribed on simple earthenware pots and bowls used in other execration ceremonies.³⁰ The necropolis at Saqqara yielded many examples of smaller dolls, nearly all of which are

26. Ritner (*supra*, n. 21: 94–97 and *passim*) gives the most complete and up-to-date discussion, repeatedly emphasizing the fact that such images did not simply reflect the past triumphs of the pharaoh, but were magically designed to encourage further victories over his enemies.

27. See Posener's survey article (*supra*, n. 21) for a complete discussion. Ritner (*supra*, n. 21: 111 n. 376) supplies a full bibliography subsequent to 1972. G. Jéquier ("Statue de prisonnier," in J. Capart, ed., *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien* 1 [Paris, 1931] 21–23) and J. P. Lauer ("Les statues de prisonniers du complexe funéraire de Pepi Ier," *BIFAO* 51 [1969–70] 37–45) discuss the large (2/3 life-size) free-standing statues of bound prisoners discovered in the mortuary temples of Pepi I and II.

28. H. Junker, *Giza VIII*, DenkschrWien 73.1 (Vienna, 1950) 30–38, with pls. 6b, 7; Posener, *MDAI(Kairo)* (*supra*, n. 21). All these dolls were discovered together sealed in a single large vase. A. Abu Bakr and J. Osing ("Ächtungstexte aus dem alten Reich," *MDAI(Kairo)* 29 [1973] 97–133) and J. Osing, "Ächtungstexte aus dem alten Reich II," *ibid.* 32 [1976] 133–85) publish three other deposits of the same date and provenance, two of which were sealed in clay jugs.

29. G. Posener, "Nouveaux textes hiératiques de proscription," in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* 1 (Paris, 1939) 313–17, publishes five large alabaster figurines (Cairo J 63955–59) probably from the necropolis at Saqqara, which date to the first half of the 12th Dynasty. He also discusses (in *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie: Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire* [Brussels, 1940] 15–20) another, larger find from the same necropolis of slightly later date, which includes both the large (31–34 cm) and smaller types (6–7 cm). The larger figurines have texts very similar to those mentioned above and holes drilled under the arms to allow the attachment of threads for binding. The texts are all written in red ink. Three large limestone dolls (14.5 cm) and several hundred mud figurines, all dating to the 12th Dynasty and inscribed with very similar texts, were discovered near a border fortress at Mirgissa in the Sudan. See A. Vila, "Un dépôt de textes d'envoûtement au Moyen Empire," *JS* (1963) 135–60; and especially Ritner, (*supra*, n. 21) 134–70.

30. G. Posener, "Les textes d'envoûtement de Mirgissa," *Syria* 43 (1966) 277–87.

inscribed with the names of individual Egyptians who are described as "dead"—that is, in English parlance, "the *late* so-and-so."³¹ Two other caches of the smaller type of doll come from the later periods and also bear the names of individual "dead" Egyptians.³² In every case, this peculiar designation seems to refer to the potentially dangerous ghosts of recently deceased individuals, which still hovered about the place of burial.³³

As discussed above, it is important to note that from the Old Kingdom onward the "bound captive" was a standard motif in the large stone reliefs that lined the walls of public buildings. The ideological reasons that underlie the public monuments are clear: the Egyptian reliefs showing the king brandishing weapons over his enemies (portrayed in the classic "bound captive" position) are at once an advertisement of past good fortune and an assurance for continued good fortune. The pairing of a triumphant figure and a bound, helpless one recalls the statues of Ares and Dike described above in the Syedra inscription. A similar pairing occurs on smaller, apparently private Egyptian talismans: along the Egyptian and Nubian border numerous clay disks and one crudely fashioned stele have been found that depict in relief a bound Nubian captive being led by a single armed Egyptian soldier (Fig. 2).³⁴

There are, then, three well-developed types of Egyptian rituals that aim at the protection of the king and country: (1) the burning of inscribed wax effigies of hostile gods, demons, ghosts, and mortal enemies; (2) the shattering of simple crockery inscribed with the names of a similar range of superhuman and human enemies; and (3) the binding and burial (usually in graves or mortuary temples) of clay and stone figurines inscribed with the same range of names. The relationship between public and private binding rituals has occasioned some comment.

31. Posener, *Princes et pays* (*supra*, n. 29) 15–20.

32. Nearly 100 small clay statuettes (4.5–8.2 cm.) were found at Lischt and date to the Second Intermediate Period (1785–1580 B.C.); they are inscribed in red ink, and some were found enclosed in a small clay coffin. See "The Egyptian Expedition 1932–33," *BMMA Suppl.* (Nov. 1933) 23–24 with fig. 32. Thirty-nine terra-cotta plaques (mass-produced by pressing clay into a mold) depict in relief the same "bound captive," except that he is shown in profile—just as in the monumental royal reliefs; see Posener, *MDAI(Kairo)* (*supra*, n. 21) 252–70, pls. xxvi, xxvii.

33. Posener, *MDAI(Kairo)* (*supra*, n. 21) 265–68; Abu Bakr and Osing (*supra*, n. 28) 129–30. A section of the Bremmer-Rhind papyrus (*supra*, n. 22) refers to effigies made of "enemies both living and dead." For the power of ghosts in Egyptian popular belief, see A. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928) 1–12, who point out that even the medical papyri include "every dead man and every dead woman" among the possible causes of disease. Ritner (*supra*, n. 21: 116–17) argues that the designation of these victims as *mwt*, "dead," could merely be an optative or proleptic formulation wishing the early demise of the person so named. Compare, however, the similar designation of a hostile ghost simply as "a dead person" in Assyrian ghost-banning texts (*infra*, n. 63).

34. T. Söve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941) 132–35, suggests that they are commemorative of some past victory. Posener, *MDAI(Kairo)* (see n. 21) 254, is cautious and does not see any close connection with the "voodoo dolls." The ten disks found at Arieka, however, were buried in the outer defensive wall of a fort, i.e., a good place for a talisman but a rather curious one for commemorative medallions of absolutely no material worth (i.e., they are made of clay, not of gold or any other material worth hoarding).

One rather tempting explanation is the “trickle-down effect”: Junker, struck by the fact that the smaller clay figurines all seem to come from the vicinity of nonroyal tombs, proposed that they represented a democratization of the royal ritual; just as the royal funerary rituals were gradually co-opted by the king’s nobles and courtiers, so too the protective rituals for saving all of Egypt were gradually taken over by private individuals on a much cheaper scale. Similar parallels between royal and nonroyal rituals in Assyrian magic suggest, however, that such public ceremonies could just as well be imitating much older private rites designed for the same purpose.³⁵

With perhaps one exception,³⁶ clearly identifiable “voodoo dolls” have not survived intact in other parts of the Near East prior to the Hellenistic period, but this is true for many kinds of artifacts; the dry, stable climate of the Nile valley is well known as a unique preservative. From the surviving literary evidence, however, one is able to piece together a similar pattern of a widespread use of such effigies at both the personal and civic levels. A Babylonian cuneiform tablet, for example, prescribes a series of sacrifices that are to be performed before setting out for battle; at its conclusion, an image of the foe is fashioned from tallow, and its face is bent backwards with a cord.³⁷ Another ritual text also refers to a military context:³⁸

[You fashion] seven figurines of asphalt, seven of sheep tallow, and seven of wax. Twist their arms behind their backs . . . and then the army of the king will triumph over the army of the enemy.

These simple recipes recall the bound silver statues of Gothic tribesmen described above by Olympiodorus; in both cases images of human soldiers are bound or manipulated in hopes of impeding their performance in future battles.

Elsewhere there is much evidence for more private ceremonies, in which images are used in “medical” exorcisms to cure the sick, by binding, destroying, or sending away the demon, ghost, or human sorcerer who has attacked the patient. The Assyrian incantation series *Maqlû* (lit. “Burning [Rituals]”) offers

35. Junker (*supra*, n. 28) 32–33. A similar relationship was once suggested between the monumental figures of animals and demons that stood beside the doors of Assyrian palaces and the very similar but cheaply manufactured clay figures that originally were only found in the foundations of private houses in Assur. Subsequent discoveries, however, prove that both kinds of image were used simultaneously to protect royal buildings. See C. A. Faraone, “Hephaestus the Magician and the Near Eastern Parallels for Alcinous’ Dogs (*Od.* 7.91–94),” *GRBS* 28 (1987) 266–74, esp. 271–72. For the similar evolution of the royal *Maqlû* rituals from traditional private rites, see *infra*, n. 40.

36. A sixth-century-B.C. bronze statuette from Syria and now in Copenhagen is depicted in the same peculiar stance prescribed in a Neo-Assyrian ritual text, *infra*, n. 89.

37. H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) no. 173; see M. Elat, “Mesopotamische Kriegeritualen” *BO* 39 (1982) 22–24, for discussion.

38. Elat (*supra*, n. 37) 5–25.

the most abundant testimony for the rite of burning effigies of demons, ghosts, and living enemies as well, who are usually described as hostile sorcerers.³⁹ The superhuman targets and the destruction by fire recall the quotidian Egyptian rituals discussed above. The rituals and incantations in the *Maqlû* series seem to have been borrowed from earlier private rites (which were originally only performed in times of medical crisis) and elevated in the Neo-Assyrian period to the status of a national, calendrical ritual in which the private enemies of the king were regularly destroyed in effigy.⁴⁰ In the *Maqlû* series, as in Egypt, the source of potential evil is not limited to hostile deities or demons; at 2.146–51 bronze figurines of anonymous human magicians are melted down as well. Effigies of alleged human sorcerers and sorceresses could also be defiled and physically abused (*Maqlû* 2.172–80). In the case of these unidentified magicians we see that the effigies cannot be literal portraits; the regular practice of binding and destroying figures of both sexes was a precautionary measure, since the practitioner usually did not know whether it was a man or a woman who was attacking the patient.

In some healing rites the effigy was not destroyed, but simply bound or otherwise restrained. A ritual against witchcraft from another cuneiform series called *Namburbi* provides a very detailed treatment of the binding and burial of images of hostile witches and warlocks:⁴¹

- 31 That sorcery, witchcraft, magic, [and] evil spells, whether of a man or of a woman, may not approach a man:
- 32 You make two images of clay, two images of dough, two images of wax, two images of tallow, [each pair consisting] of male and female, and
- 33 you write their names on the left hips, you turn their hands behind them.
- 34 You bind their feet.

(trans. R. Caplice)

39. G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, Archiv für Orientforschung 2 (Berlin, 1937). For the incineration of effigies in a ritual not associated with the *Maqlû* series, see E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach der Vorstellung der Babylonier* (Berlin, 1931) 118–19, no. 28, ll. 5–7.

40. These rituals were not, however, used against foreign enemies like the Egyptian rites; see T. Abusch, "Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature; Texts and Studies, Part 1: The Nature of *Maqlû*, Its Character, Divisions and Calendrical Setting," *JNES* 33 (1974) 251–62; *idem*, "The Demonic Image of the Witch in Standard Babylonian Literature: The Reworking of Popular Conceptions by Learned Exorcists," in *Religion, Science, and Magic: In Concert and Conflict* (Oxford, 1989) 27–60; *idem*, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature: Case Studies*, Brown Judaic Studies 132 (Atlanta, 1987) 13–41.

41. R. I. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum IV," *Orientalia* 39 (1970) 134–41 no. 40, ll. 31–34 (translation quoted here) and rev. 1–4 (translation quoted below). *Namburbi* spells are designed to avert evil omens; for a good introduction and overview of the ritual, see R. I. Caplice, *The Akkadian Namburbi Texts: An Introduction*, Sources from the Ancient Near East 1.1 (Los Angeles, 1974).

After a short prayer, which states that “these are the images of my adversary, my prosecutor,” the end of the ritual follows:

- rev. 1 . . . and you take the combings of their heads. You clothe them
in the combings.
2 You bind them [i.e., the statues] together in a skein. You put
them in a half-*sila* container . . .
4 . . . you bury them in the ground.

(trans. R. Caplice)

In this spell, the magical action is directed toward the victims by inscribing a name and by placing strands of hair from the victim on the doll.⁴² The binding action is multiple: the arms are twisted behind the figurine’s back; the feet are bound; the two dolls are tied together in a coil of string and then buried in a container.

Another type of very similar Assyrian ritual aims at the banishment of “Appearing Ghosts.”⁴³ Aside from the presentation of a variety of food and drink offerings, several texts prescribe the fashioning of images of ghosts. Of particular interest are these instructions from Nineveh; after a number of prayers and incantations, we find at the end of the tablet the following ritual:⁴⁴

- 13 If a [dead] ghost appears to a living person [. . . a figurine] of clay
you shall make, its name on its left hip write,
14 place it into a gazelle horn, [cover?] its face, [at sunset place it
either in the] shade of a caper tree or in the shade of a thorn bush.
15 You shall dig a hole and bury it.

(trans. G. Castellino)

As in the case of the Egyptian ritual discussed above, a figurine is inscribed with the name of the (dead) person, placed in a container, and then buried in some uncultivated land. Another recipe prescribes the distortion and abuse of the effigy:⁴⁵

- . . . knead clay, make a figurine
7 [of the ghost]; its name on the left hip you shall write, its feet twist
[. . .] throw it; a dog’s tooth
8 [as a] peg in its mouth fix;

(trans. G. Castellino)

42. For the use of human hair in Greek binding or erotic magic, see the summary of the evidence in D. R. Jordan, “Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora,” *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 251–55.

43. For general discussion, see G. Castellino, “Rituals and Prayers against ‘Appearing Ghosts,’” *Orientalia* 22 (1953) 240–74; J. Bottéro, “Les morts et l’au-delà dans les rituels en accadien contre l’action des ‘revenants,’” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 73 (1973) 153–203, esp. 179–96; and J. Scurlock, *MMG* pp. 125–36.

44. *K* 2175 rev. 13–14 = *MMG* 20. See R. C. Thompson, “An Assyrian Incantation for Laying a Ghost,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (1906) 219–27; Castellino (*supra*, n. 43: 265–69) for translation and discussion.

45. *KAR* 234.6–8 = *MMG* 22. See Castellino (*supra*, n. 43) for discussion.

In contrast to the treatment of images of demons or sorcerers in the *Maqlû* ceremonies, the figurines of ghosts were rarely destroyed; indeed, the lengthy rites (which could last as long as three days) usually involved typical funerary libations and offerings, and seem to represent a "second burial" of sorts, aimed at permanently removing the ghost from the world of the living.⁴⁶ In general these images of ghosts were made of clay, inscribed with a name on the left side, dressed, and then given both funeral offerings and further provisions for their journey back to the land of the dead.⁴⁷ After the ritual was over, the figure could be bound, have its feet twisted, its mouth blocked with a peg, or its anus and eyes covered; such coercive measures (mild in comparison to those found in the *Maqlû* series) were usually reserved for ghosts of strangers not family members, and were accompanied by threats or oaths forced from the ghosts, who were made to swear that they would never return.⁴⁸ Finally the image was incarcerated in a jar, a traditional form of coffin in the Neo-Assyrian period, and buried at sunset on the steppe or some similarly desolate area.⁴⁹

It is clear that the destruction or burial of effigies was a common form of ritual used by the Egyptians and the Assyrians in both public and private arenas. There are hints, as well, that such rites existed in the less documented cultures of the Levant and Anatolia. The Hittites employed clay, wax, tallow, dough, and wooden effigies to restrain or injure their adversaries, both public and

46. Of the 88 Assyrian ghost-banning recipes collected by Scurlock, only 17 (*MMG* 15, 18, 20–23, 56–58, 61, 62, 65–68, 70, 71) explicitly prescribe the manipulation of figurines; they all date to the Neo-Assyrian period, with the exception of one text discovered in a third-century-b.c. context in Uruk. Scurlock, *MMG* pp. 49–64, provides a thorough discussion of the use of effigies, and elsewhere (pp. 29–30 with n. 127) notes the unusual length of these rites, which frequently last for three days (e.g., *MMG* 22, 23, 55–58).

47. *Ingredients*: *MMG* 15, 20, 22, 58, 65, 66, 71 (clay); 15, 67 (wax); 56 (dirt, ox blood); 57 (horse urine, flour); 61 (clay mixed with tallow and wax); 71 (excrement, straw, donkey urine); six recipes do not mention the medium: 18, 21, 23, 62, 68, 70. *Inscriptions on left side of doll*: *MMG* 20, 21, 57, 61, 66, 67. *Dress*: *MMG* 21 (white or red garment); 56 (lionskin); 62, 70 (girdle); 65, 68 ("makeshift" garment); 71 (red garment); 80 ("clean clothing"). *Offerings given to figurines*: *MMG* 21 (libation); 56 (nine dishes of barley gruel and libations); 58 (libation of hot broth, food offerings); 65 ("food portion"); 67 ("You make funerary offerings for them. You pour out hot broth . . . and beer"); 70 (beer, wine). *Provisions given to figurine for return trip to underworld*: *MMG* 21 (provisions); 56, 62 (filled waterskin, malt flour); 58 (image placed on a sailboat with travel provisions); 65 (groats, malt, beerwort, dried bread); 71 (travel provisions, copper axe).

48. *Coercive measures*: *MMG* 15 (eyes covered with bark); 22 (dog tooth inserted in mouth, feet twisted); 57 (peg of cornelwood placed in mouth; "put a copper chain on it"); 62 (hands tied behind back); 65 (bound to tamarisk). *Threats*: *MMG* 57. *Forced oaths*: *MMG* 18, 56, 57, 63, 65, 66. In some cases the binding seems designed to force an oath from the effigy (e.g., *MMG* 65), but elsewhere it may simply be a way of inhibiting the ghost's ability to return and haunt the patient. See Scurlock, *MMG* pp. 58–59, for discussion.

49. *Containers*: *MMG* 18, 56, 61 (jar); 57, 71 (copper cup); 20 (gazelle horn). *Burial*: *MMG* 15 (family tomb); 18 (locale unspecified); 20, 23 (in the shade of a camelthorn or acacia bush); 22 (a hole "in the west"); 56 ("abandoned waste"); 57 (steppe); 66 (canal bank). Scurlock, *MMG* p. 60 n. 283, points out the similarities between the ghost-banning rites and burial customs. For a parallel, see Ritner (*supra*, n. 21: 163–65), who discusses the assimilation of funerary ritual to Egyptian execration rites.

private.⁵⁰ In the purification rite of the old woman Tunnawi, for example, the practitioner abuses effigies of a pair of hostile sorcerers fashioned from wax, flattens (or perhaps melts) them, and says: "Whatever wicked persons are making him/her unclean, let them be flattened [or perhaps "melted"] in this way."⁵¹ The Hittite "Soldier's Oath" is accompanied by a similar execration: "Just as this wax melts, and just as this mutton fat dissolves, whoever breaks these oaths . . . let him melt like wax, let him dissolve like [mutton fat]."⁵² Parallels are preserved in Aramaic inscriptions dating to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., for example the treaty of Matti'el, a minor king who ruled in the neighborhood of modern Aleppo: "As this man of wax is blinded, thus Matti'el shall be blinded [*sc.* if he violates this treaty]."⁵³

CYRENEAN ΚΟΛΟΣΣΟΙ AND EARLY GREEK GHOST-BANNING RITUALS

Two fourth-century-B.C. inscriptions from Cyrene attest to a similar use of effigies (called κολοσσοί) in "sympathetically" magical ceremonies. Both texts appear to contain material copied or paraphrased from much earlier documents, a fact that allows us with some confidence to date the rituals contained therein to the Archaic period in one case, and at least as early as the Classical period in the second. The first inscription is the well-known description of the oath of the seventh-century Theran colonists who founded the city of Cyrene in Libya; while wax images (κολοσσοί) are burned, the participants say:⁵⁴ "May he who does not abide by this agreement but transgresses it melt away and dissolve like the

50. A. Goetze and E. H. Sturtevant, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi* (New Haven, 1938) 72–75; D. H. Engelhard, "Hittite Magical Practices: An Analysis" (diss., Brandeis, 1970) 172–78.

51. See Goetze and Sturtevant (*supra*, n. 50: 78) for this translation. The key verb *shallanu*, "to make flat," is also used in another recipe (*KBo* VI 34 I 41–42) to describe the effect on wax and tallow effigies placed in a cooking pot, prompting J. Friedrich, (*infra*, n. 52: 162–63) to suggest "she melts them and says: ' . . . let them melt' " as a better translation. Either procedure can be paralleled in Assyrian recipes.

52. *KBo* VI 34.40–rev. 5. For translation and commentary, see J. Friedrich, "Der hethitische Soldateneid," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 35 (1924) 161–92; A. Goetze, *ANET* p. 353; N. Oettinger, *Die militärischen Eide der Hethiter*, Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten 22 (Wiesbaden, 1976) 6–17, 72–76.

53. F. Rosenthal, *ANET* pp. 659–60. For dating, detailed discussion, and bibliography, see J. A. Fitzmyer (*The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, *Biblica et Orientalia* 19 [Rome, 1967] 52–58) and J. C. L. Gibson (*The Textbook of Syrian-Semitic Inscriptions II: Aramaic Inscriptions* [Oxford 1975] 18–43), who discuss similar stipulations in two Akkadian treaties.

54. For text, bibliography, and the current agreement on the archaic dating of the oath, see R. Meigs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969) 5–9, no. 5, ll. 44–49. The translation is that of A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester, 1964) 226. C. Picard, "Le rite magique des ἐίδωλα de cire brûlés, attesté sur trois stèles araméennes de Sfiré," *RA* (1961) 85–88, argues that the Sefire inscription suggests a Near Eastern source for Greek magic involving wax figurines, but he strangely does not mention the Cyrenean oath, which he discusses at length in an earlier article (*infra*, n. 70). For a detailed analysis of the magical rituals involved in such oaths, see C. A. Faraone, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Curses in Near Eastern and Early Greek Oaths," *JHS* 113 (1993) forthcoming.

images, himself, his seed, and his property" (trans. A. J. Graham). The second Cyrenean inscription that mentions κολοσσοί is a much-discussed *lex sacra*.⁵⁵ It consists of a series of purification rituals allegedly given to the city over the years by the Delphian Apollo,⁵⁶ including one for the removal of an evil spirit of uncertain identity from a private house. Although the instructions for the rite have been roughly treated and abridged by the fourth-century redactor, the outline of the ceremony is well-enough preserved to reveal some startling similarities with the Assyrian prescriptions for "laying" a ghost:⁵⁷

Visitant sent [by spells] from afar.

If a visitant is sent against the house [and] if he [*sc.* the householder] knows from whom it attacks, he shall name him by proclamation for three days.

If he [*sc.* the visitant, or perhaps the sender] is dead and buried in the earth or has in some other manner perished,⁵⁸ if he [*sc.* the householder] knows his name, he shall make a proclamation by name [*sc.* for three days?].

But if [in either case?] he does not know his name [he shall address him]: "Ο ἄνθρωπος, whether you are a man or a woman," and having made male and female κολοσσοί either from earth or from wood he shall

55. *SEG* 9.72.111–21; *LSS* no. 115; C. D. Buck, *Greek Dialects* (Chicago, 1955) no. 115; F. Solmsen and E. Fraenkel, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Illustrandas Dialectos Selectae* 4 [Stuttgart, 1966] no. 39; cf. *SEG* 20.717. For full commentaries, see S. Ferri, *Notiziario Archaeologico del Ministero delle Colonie* 4 (1927) 93–144; G. Luzzatto, *La Lex Cathartica di Cirene* (Milan, 1936); H. J. Stukeley, "The Cyrenaean Hikesioi," *CPh* 32 (1937) 32–43; J. Servais, "Les suppliants dans la loi de Cyrène," *BCH* 84 (1960) 112–47; and most recently (with English translation) R. Parker, "The Cyrene Cathartic Law," in *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1983) 332–51. The translation closely follows Parker except where indicated.

56. The opening words of the inscription ("Apollo decreed . . .") have been taken by all commentators to refer to the Delphian god because of the close connection between Cyrene and the oracle (cf. *Hdt.* 4.150–58, 161.1).

57. W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literature*, SHAW (Heidelberg, 1984) no. 2, pp. 68–71, was the first to point out the parallels. The recent appearance of *MMG* with its translation and discussion of numerous parallels has encouraged my detailed discussion here, which corroborates and greatly expands Burkert's treatment.

58. Parker (*supra*, n. 55) prefers Fraenkel's minor emendation of the line and translates: "If (the sender of the suppliant) has died in the land or perished *anywhere else*." In either case, there are good parallels for this sort of all-inclusive (nearly legalistic) language designed to cover every contingency. For similar sets of contrasting pairs, see the description of ghosts in the Neo-Assyrian spells: "whether you be a [*sc.* man's] buried ghost or a [man's] unburied ghost" (*MMG* 11); "whether it be the ghost of my kith and kin, or the ghost of one who was killed in a military defeat, or a roving ghost—this is he; this [*i.e.*, effigy] is a representation of him" (*MMG* 62); or "because of the ghost of my relative, which was set on me, or a strange ghost or a robber or a murderer [which] day and night is bound after me and continually pursues me" (*MMG* 67). The contrast in all of these examples seems to be between properly buried ghosts (with whom the patient is familiar) and strange ghosts who roam the earth on account of the violent circumstances of their demise (in military defeat or execution as a criminal) or because of some defect in their burial.

entertain them and set beside them a portion of everything. When you⁵⁹ have done the customary things, take the *κολοσσοί* and [their] portions and deposit them in an unworked glen.

This ritual is designed to prevent the attack of a *ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός*, a hostile visitant, probably a ghost or a demon.⁶⁰ The redaction of the recipe is unfortunately compressed to the point of obscurity. Three situations are envisaged, which correspond to the divisions in the translation above. The first scenario deals with a visitant who has been sent by a living enemy (compare the ghosts sent by Assyrian sorcerers) or an angry corpse,⁶¹ while the second directly involves a dead man, probably the uneasy ghost itself operating of its own will from the grave.⁶² The ritual in both cases is simple if you know the name of the living magician who sent it or of the dead person whose spirit it is: simply invoke the name for three days.⁶³

In the third stipulation, we are given instructions about what to do if the identity of the sender or the ghost is unknown.⁶⁴ This section of the inscription is most relevant to our discussion, as it reports the construction of a pair (male and

59. The verb changes here without warning or any apparent reason from the third person to second. See *infra*, n. 116, for one possible explanation.

60. Burkert, *Epoche* (*supra*, n. 57) 68–71, and Parker (*supra*, n. 55) *ad loc.* support the earlier interpretations of P. Maas, *Epidaurische Hymnen* (Halle, 1933) 139, and Stukeley (*supra*, n. 55), who were the first to argue that these stipulations concerned the banning of a *δαίμων* or a spirit sent to do harm. The seemingly contradictory use of the same word, *ἰκέσιος*, to mean both daemonic attacker and suppliant can be paralleled by the puzzling semantic range of *παλαμναῖος* or *ἀλάστωρ*, which can mean a murderer, the *δαίμων* sent by a murder victim against the murderer, and also a suppliant polluted with blood (Parker [*supra*, n. 55: 108 n. 13]). This same usage of *ἰκέσιος* is confirmed by Hesychius (*infra*, n. 61).

61. Cf. Plutarch's description (*infra*, n. 76) of the Thessalian *γόητες*, who like Assyrian sorcerers have the power to send *εἶδωλα* against someone or send them away. For the use of ghosts in Greek *defixio* rituals, see Jordan, *SGD* pp. 152–53. Stukeley (*supra*, n. 55) adduces Xen. *Cyr.* 8.7.18 and Clytemnestra in the *Eumenides* as examples of murder victims sending out (the verb is *ἐπιπέμπειν*) *δαίμονες* from the grave. See also Hesychius s.v. *ἀνταία*, a word glossed *ἰκέσιος* and *δαίμων*; he goes on to explain, "and they call Hekate "Antaia" because she sends out [*ἐπιπέμπειν*] these things."

62. For evidence that the angry ghosts themselves came out to do the haunting, see, e.g., the bizarre ritual of *μασχαλισμός* (*Soph. El.* 445 and Jebb's note and appendix *ad loc.*), or the piercing of Oedipus's feet (*infra*, n. 103), which seem to be preemptive rituals designed to cripple a ghost in its efforts to gain revenge. See *infra* my discussion of the angry ghosts of the Spartan regent Pausanias and of Actaeon, both of which necessitated exorcism.

63. The Neo-Assyrian spells betray a similar emphasis on knowledge of the ghost's identity, e.g., "If you know it, write his [*sc.* the ghost's] name" (*MMG* 17); "If a man continuously sees [dead persons], (either) one who is kn[ow]n to him, or not known to him, to keep them away, you make figurines of the dead persons" (*MMG* 23); and "the dead persons whom I know (and) many whom I do not know" (*MMG* 26). For the three-day ceremony, compare the Assyrian rites (*supra*, n. 46).

64. I follow Stukeley's suggestion (*supra*, n. 55) that the *κολοσσοί* were to be used in both situations, taking my cue from the Assyrian spells that use male-female pairs of effigies to attack anonymous living sorcerers (e.g., in the *Maqlû* series) as well as to ban anonymous ghosts (*MMG* 87.27–30: "You are the ghost of nobody . . . whose name nobody knows. . . . Whether you be a man who is like a (living) man or whether you be a woman who is like a (living) person"; cf. *MMG* 23, 58, 67, 69 for descriptions of pairs of male and female dolls).

female) of wood or mud statuettes (κολοσσοί);⁶⁵ after providing a ritual meal for them, the householder is to deposit them in some uncultivated spot.⁶⁶ The similarities with the Assyrian materials quoted above are obvious; a pair of effigies, male and female, are fashioned out of cheap materials and equated with an anonymous attacker. After offerings are made to the statues, they are carried away and deposited in the wilds together with their "portions," that is, their food offerings. In the Assyrian ghost-banning texts, libations and other funerary offerings of food are also frequently presented to effigies, as well as provisions for their return journey, which are in some cases taken along when the effigies are carried off and buried in the steppe or some other abandoned area like the ὕλα ἀεργός mentioned in the Cyrene decree.⁶⁷

The parallels with the Assyrian ghost-banning rites are intriguing, but they are not quite complete. The Cyrenean κολοσσοί are neither bound nor incarcerated, and it is unclear whether they are to be "deposited" in a hole (i.e., buried) or simply set up in some uncultivated spot.⁶⁸ There are, moreover, some broad similarities between the ritual prescribed in the inscription and the very early Greek practice of erecting cenotaphs for people who had died in far-off places, or for those whose bodies were irrecoverable because of some disaster.⁶⁹ The earliest known cenotaph is the Mycenaean chamber tomb discovered near Midea, which contained two stone effigies (usually called *menhirs*), an abundance of grave goods, and not a single indication of human remains.⁷⁰ A deposit

65. E. Benveniste, "Le sens du mot κολοσσός" *RPh* 6 (1932) 118–35, and Fraenkel's commentary on Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 416, for a correction of the chronic misperception that the word κολοσσός always refers to gigantic statues. For refinements of Benveniste's approach and a challenge to his assertion that κολοσσός originally meant "double" or "ritual replacement," see G. Roux, "Qu'est-ce qu'un κολοσσός?" *REA* 62 (1960) 5–40; J. Ducat, "Fonctions de la statue dans la Grèce archaïque: Kouros et kolossos," *BCH* 100 (1978) 239–51.

66. S. Ferri, "Note d'epigrafia cirenaica," *Historia* 3 (1929) 399, argues that if we accept Wilamowitz's restoration ἐρε[]σαι (as most recent editors do), it must mean "to deposit [in the ground]," i.e., "to bury". Parker and most editors translate it simply as "to set up." G. De Sanctis, "Le decretali di Cirene" *RFIC* 5 (1927) 205–6, originally restored the aorist infinitive as ἐρε[σ]σαι, "to hang," and suggested some oscillation ritual connected with Minoan tree cult. In the Near Eastern voodoo-doll rituals quoted above, the dolls are always buried in the necropolis (in Egypt; *supra*, nn. 27–33) or some out-of-the-way place like the steppe (in Assyria; *supra*, n. 49).

67. *Supra*, nn. 46–49, for the funerary offerings given to the Neo-Assyrian effigies and other indications of a "second burial."

68. *Supra*, n. 66.

69. E. Rohde, *Psyche*³, trans. W. B. Hillis (London, 1925), 42–43, 57 nn. 87–88; J. Boardman and D. Kurtz, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, 1971) 247–59.

70. The *menhirs*, carved from poros limestone, are different sizes, the larger being about 1.25 m tall and 0.64 m wide, while the smaller is half as tall and measures 0.52 m wide. A. W. Persson, "The Cenotaph of Midea," in *The Royal Tombs at Dendra*, Skrifter Utgivna av Kunglige Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 15 (Lund, 1931) 108–17, discusses the find in detail, calling attention to the Homeric references to cenotaphs (*Od.* 1.289–92, 4.584). C. Picard, "Le cénotaphe de Midéa et les 'colosses' de Ménélas (*ad* Aeschyl. *Agamemn.* v. 414 sqq.)" *RPh* 7 (1933) 341–54, first argued for the approach taken here, pointing out that the ceremony involving κολοσσοί in the Cyrenean *lex sacra*, the description of the κολοσσοί in Aeschylus, and the *menhirs* in the Midea cenotaph were all part of the same "Doric" (I would say "Peloponnesian") tradition of ghost-

of seventh-century-B.C. date discovered on the island of Thera (the so-called Schiff's Grave) contained a large number of traditional grave goods, but there was no trace of inhumation or cremation; here too, however, excavators found two rather crudely carved stone statuettes, which were apparently placed in this cenotaph as substitutes for the bodies of people who had died elsewhere.⁷¹ In Italian Locri excavators found a fifth-century-B.C. "pot burial" in which the usual remains of the deceased were replaced by a clay bust of a woman, again apparently as a replacement for a missing body.⁷² Literary evidence suggests that placement of such an image was not always necessary: in the *Odyssey* Athena, disguised as Mentès, tells Telemachus that if he learns that his father is dead, he should erect a tomb for him and offer many sacrifices (1.289–92), and Menelaus reports that he heaped up a funeral mound for Agammemnon in Egypt, since he believed him lost at sea (4.584). In both cases the individuals were kings and may have received special treatment: Herodotus reports that at Sparta it was customary to bury εἰδῶλα of kings whose bodies were lost because they died in battle far from home (6.58).⁷³

A similar rite probably lies behind conflicting stories about the trouble that arose for Sparta after Pausanias was starved to death in the temple of Athena of the "Brazen House" (Χαλκίαικος).⁷⁴ The Delphic Oracle ordered the Spartans to rebury Pausanias's body in the entranceway of the sanctuary and "to give back two σώματα to the Goddess of the Brazen House in payment for one," a riddle that they solved by dedicating to the goddess two bronze statues "as a replacement for [ἀντί] Pausanias" (Thuc. 1.134–35). The Spartans, although they believed that they had handled Pausanias in strict accordance with their laws, suffered from a state of pollution that could only be lifted by the reburial of

banning. Picard also discusses a rather early legend concerning Alcmena, who came from this same city of Midea: when Alcmena died, Zeus sent Hermes to snatch her away and to replace her body secretly with a stone. When the sons of Heracles discovered the stone, they set it up in a small wood (as in the Cyrenean decree), a place that became a ἥρωον for Alcmena (Pherecydes *FHG* 2.82 = Ant. Lib. 33; cf. Plut. *Rom.* 28.7, who reports a similar myth).

71. The two figurines (heights 19 cm and 18.3 cm) are roughly carved from non-native limestone (perhaps from Crete). The details of the bodies are only vaguely indicated, but the shoulder-length hair, eyes, ears, nose, and chin of the heads are clearly delineated. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Das von A. Schiff entdeckte Grab," in *Theräische Gräber*, Thera Untersuchungen: Vermessungen und Ausgrabungen 2 (Berlin, 1903) 291–307, esp. 304–6, figs. 492–93, argues that the long hair and pronounced buttocks suggest that both were meant to be females. He also believed that the grave once held a body that was washed out of the tomb. The view is countered by Boardman and Kurtz (*supra*, n. 69: 179, 258 fig. 34), who suggest that the stone statuettes were indeed substitute images, which were placed in a cenotaph.

72. Boardman and Kurtz, *ibid.* 259 fig. 56.

73. J. Schäfer, "Das Eidolon des Leonidas," in K. Schauenberg, ed., *Charites: Festschrift E. Langlotz* (Bonn 1957) 223–33, gives a complete discussion, arguing that the term εἰδῶλον here means substitute image, like the use of κολοσσός in the Cyrenean texts.

74. See J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978) 129–31, for a full discussion of all the sources and for the approach taken here, that the incident must have involved the haunting and removal of a ghost.

Pausanias within Athena's temple. A similar situation seems to have occurred in southern Italy early in the Classical period. The armies of Croton and Metapontum overran and obliterated the neighboring city of Siris, and at the height of the carnage they slew fifty youths crowded as suppliants about the altar of Athena. Later, a pestilence struck the two victorious cities, and again at the prompting of the Delphic Oracle both communities erected statues of the youths at the site of the massacre. The people of Croton had fifty life-sized statues made, as well as a statue of Athena. The Metapontians, who heard about the oracle later on, in their haste to fulfill its commands made fifty smaller statuettes out of stone "for the *manes*" and gave sacrifice to the goddess.⁷⁵ The images of the suppliant youths of Siris and the statues of the Spartan Pausanias reveal how intimately religious scruple for proper burial is entwined with fear of the dead, especially in cases where suppliants are slain. In both incidents, the historical accounts emphasize the anger of Athena, within whose sanctuaries the murders occur; as a result, the dedication of the images is interpreted as a repayment to the goddess. The passing mention, however, that the second, smaller set of statues at Siris were "for the *manes*" suggests another interpretation, as do other, later reports of the death of Pausanias.

Plutarch twice supplies us with a variant account of the events following Pausanias's death, in which it is revealed that the εἶδωλον of Pausanias was scaring people out of their wits as they entered the Brazen House. The first mention occurs in a scholion to Euripides' *Alcestis*, at the point where Admetus upon seeing his resurrected wife worries that she is some φάσμα from the dead; Heracles replies defensively that since Admetus has made him a guest-friend (ξένος), he, Heracles, could not possibly be a ψυχαγωγός, a term that the scholiast explains as follows:⁷⁶

Ψυχαγωγοί τινες γόητες ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ οὕτω καλούμενοι, οἵτινες καθαρμοῖς τισι καὶ γοητείαις τὰ εἶδωλα ἐπάγουσί τε καὶ ἐξάγουσιν οὓς καὶ Λάκωνες μετεπέμψαντο, ἥνικα τὸ Πausανίου εἶδωλον ἐξετάραξε τοὺς προσιόντας τῷ ναῷ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου, ὡς ἰστορεῖ Πλούταρχος ἐν ταῖς Ὀμηρικαῖς μελέταις.

Some sorcerers in Thessaly are in this way called ψυχαγωγοί, who with certain purifications and magic spells send ghosts out [i.e., to attack] as well send them away. Even the Spartans sent for them, when the ghost of Pausanias terrified people as they were entering the temple of the Goddess of the Brazen House, as Plutarch says in his *Lectures on Homer*.

The comment is doubly instructive. First of all, it explains why Heracles is taken aback at Admetus's comment—because sending up ghosts from the grave to haunt someone is the act of an enemy, not a friend. The scholiast also provides

75. Justin, *Pompei Trogi Epit.* 20.2.

76. Schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1128 = Plut. *Mor.* frag. 126 (Sandbach).

us with a Plutarchan fragment that mentions a fact Thucydides apparently left out of his narrative (the haunting of the temple), while at the same time corroborating an important detail in Thucydides' narrative; Plutarch says the ghost was seen by people going into the temple—that is, at the very spot where (according to Thucydides) Pausanias gave out his last breath, and where the oracle stipulated the body be interred. In another passing reference to these ψυχαγωγοί Plutarch informs us that they were summoned by the Spartans at the command of the Delphic Oracle:⁷⁷

And in a similar way, when the Spartans, too, were ordered by the oracle to appease the spirit [ψυχή] of Pausanias, the ψυχαγωγοί were summoned from Thessaly,⁷⁸ and after they made sacrifice, they drew the ghost [εἶδωλον] from the temple.

Aside from his rather general reference to purifications and magic spells, Plutarch fails to specify what rituals were performed to exorcise the ghost. The author of the *Letters of Themistocles*, probably a near contemporary of Plutarch, testifies to the same tradition of a haunted temple when he refers obliquely to the fact that Sparta was plagued by the παλαμναῖος or ἀλιτήριος (both terms can mean “ghost”) of Pausanias, which was in fact exorcised “by means of bronze statues” (*Epist.* 5.15, χαλκείους ἀνδριάσιν ἀποδιοπομπήσιμον), surely a reference to the brazen effigies that all accounts agree were made at the bidding of the Delphic Oracle. It is clear that in the second century A.D., at least, there existed a tradition according to which the Spartans brought in Thessalian magicians who performed rituals that seem to have included a rite of (re)burial of the body, as well as the manufacture of two statues.

It is important to note, however, that this second tradition of the haunted temple and the subsequent exorcism of the angry ghost does not (as far as we can tell) necessarily contradict Thucydides' explanation of pollution followed by purification by means of compensation to an offended deity; in his account of the exorcism, Plutarch actually corroborates (e.g., in the detail of the place of death) and augments (e.g., giving the occasion for the oracle) the Thucydidean narrative of Pausanias's death without directly confuting it. The widely differing interpretations of the same events can be attributed, in part, to the fully articulated daemonology characteristic of the second century A.D.,⁷⁹ as well as to a tradi-

77. *De sera num. vind.* 17 = *Mor.* 560e–f. The dialogue is set in Delphi, and Plutarch raises the story of Pausanias's ghost in connection with Delphic oracles in which the god's reply is based on an assumption of the *post mortem* existence of the soul.

78. The manuscripts read ἐξ Ἰταλίας but most editors print ἐξ Θεσσαλίας to make it consistent with the fragment quoted above. Mittelhaus, *RE* XIX 2084 s.v. “Phigaleia,” suggests reading ἐξ Φιγαλίας, citing Paus. 3.17.9, where we learn that the same Pausanias went to Phigalia to consult ψυχαγωγοί in order to appease the ghost of a young girl he accidentally killed in Byzantium.

79. W. Burkert, “ΓΟΗΣ: Zum griechischen ‘Schamanismus,’” *RhM* 105 (1963) 48–49 (esp. n. 67), in his exegesis of Plato, *Laws* 909b (the use of state-hired magicians), discusses Plutarch's report of these Thessalian γόητες in detail, and points out that the silence in Thucydides' account (about the

tional split in the ancient Greek understanding of the exact operations of pollution and purification.⁸⁰ In addition, Plutarch is probably using a traditional Delphic source here, which may reflect the Spartan understanding of these events better than does Thucydides, with his notoriously rationalizing and detached Attic viewpoint.⁸¹

There is one instance in Greece where the effigy of a ghost is bound (Paus. 9.38.5):

With regard to Actaeon the Orchomenians say the following: A ghost was running amok and ravaging the land.⁸² When they inquired at Delphi, the god told them to recover the remains of Actaeon and bury them in the earth. He also commanded them to make a bronze image of the ghost and fasten it to a rock with iron. They also offer chthonic sacrifices [ἐναγίζουσιν] every year to Actaeon.

The similarities between this account and the latter traditions about Pausanias's ghost are obvious: a horrible death, an εἶδωλον haunting the scene of the murder, and a Delphic oracle containing a two-part exorcism: (1) the (re)burial of the body, or whatever was left of it, and (2) the construction of bronze statues. The existence of the statue of Actaeon is alluded to in another source. Apollodorus offers a different and a patently less plausible aition for a statue that seems to have existed on Cithaeron, but one that nevertheless retains the pattern of disruption and then return to order by the erection of a statue (3.4.4): he writes that after they finally "came to their senses," the dogs of Actaeon began to

occasion of the oracle) can reasonably be filled in from the "ghost story" in Plutarch's version, provided that one realizes that the highly elaborate daemonology of the latter only amplifies certain tendencies in the Greek popular tradition that were already evidenced in the plays of Aeschylus and elsewhere. He mentions the εἶδωλον of Clytemnestra and the Erinyes as an alternate formulation to the pollution that besets Orestes.

80. L. Moulinier (*Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs d'Homère à Aristote* [Paris, 1952] 215–42) and Parker (*supra*, n. 55: 104–15) discuss the apparent inconsistencies in the Athenian conception of pollution, separating them into two sources: (1) [Antiphon's] *Tetralogies* and the tragedians, who consistently portray a "daemonic" interpretation of pollution, in which the soul of the murder victim or the avenging spirit(s) that he or she sends out can do actual harm to the murderer, his family and associates, and all that live in his city; (2) actual forensic orations, as well as the works of the historians and the comedians, which make no mention of δαίμονες arising from pollution, and speak only of the impurity of bloodstained hands and the legal remedies of exile, expiation, and purification rites. Both Parker (*ibid.*) and J.-P. Vernant ("The Pure and the Impure," in *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd [Atlantic Highlands, 1980]) offer some sensible corrections to Moulinier's exaggerated positivism and his outright rejection of the "daemonic" interpretation of pollution as mere poetic fancy.

81. Fontenrose (*supra*, n. 74: 129) suggests that Thucydides knowingly suppressed the ghost story current in the "folk" tradition because he did not consider it to be "true history." Rohde (*supra*, n. 69: 173–75) singles out Boeotia and Laconia as two areas where deep religious conservatism led to the exaggerated reverence for the souls of the dead and a strong belief in their continued efficacy amongst the living.

82. Reading, with most editors, Hitzig's emendation περιτρέχον instead of the MSS' πέτραν ἔχον.

howl inconsolably and searched vainly for their master until they came to the cave of Chiron, who fashioned an εἶδωλον of Actaeon (there is no mention of binding) to assuage their grief and, presumably, to quiet the uproar.⁸³

As the foregoing discussion reveals, in terms of motivation, function, and expected result, the symbolic (re)burial of the lost or angry dead by the erection of cenotaphs or substitute images is remarkably similar to rituals in which the hostility of an angry ghost is averted by the binding, the burial, or simply the erection of such a substitute. As mentioned above, similar parallels exist between the Assyrian and Egyptian ghost-banning ceremonies and their own indigenous burial rites. It is also important to recall that some of the terminology of the Cyrenean ghost-banning rite is similar to that used to describe Greek funerary ritual.⁸⁴ The pairs of stone statuettes from the cenotaph in Midea and the so-called Schiff's Grave on Thera also deserve special notice in connection with the stipulations of the Cyrenean *lex sacra*, in that they each seem to constitute a couple, as is prescribed by the inscription.⁸⁵ The dates and provenances of these artifacts vaguely suggest some Peloponnesian tradition dating back to the earliest periods. Bronze Age Midea provides the earliest attested cenotaph in the Greek world. The seventh-century-b.c. effigies from Schiff's Grave give us a glimpse of a similar ritual performed on Thera roughly at the same time when her colonists founded Cyrene, presumably bringing along their native cults and burial traditions, including (it seems) a ritual exorcism of ghosts that employed the use of

83. A. Casanova, "Il mito di Atteone nel catalogo Esiodeo," *RFIC* 97 (1969) 31–46, esp. 33, connects this version of the εἶδωλον story with *POxy* 2509 (which mentions only the grieving dogs and Chiron) and suggests that Hesiod is the ultimate source. W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 112, in accordance with his overarching theory of sacrifice as a form of restitution argues that the statue here is a symbolic restoration of Actaeon to the dogs that "sacrificed" him. The "Orchomenian" coin shown in Daremberg-Saglio, *DAGR* s.v. "Actaeon," fig. 84, and described as a fourth-century-b.c. illustration of this statue, is apparently a mirage; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1911) 451, demonstrates that the provenance of the coin is *Arcadian* Orchomenos and that the figure is that of the mortally wounded Callisto, not the bound Actaeon.

84. De Sanctis (*supra*, n. 66: 204–5) points out that the description of the meal offered to the figurines uses terminology traditional to funerary offerings. Benveniste (*supra*, n. 65) argues that the original and basic meaning of *κολοσσός* is "image of the dead." The timing of the invocation in the Cyrene inscription admits two different interpretations, "for three days," a solution favored by most editors (e.g., De Sanctis, Wilamowitz, Vogliano, Stukeley, Servais) and the one followed here, or "thrice during the daytime," the reading adopted by Radermacher and Olivero. The three-day time period recalls the length of some Assyrian ghost-banning rites, which are themselves patterned on funerary cult (*supra*, n. 46). A triple call in one day, however, is very much like the call used by Greeks to summon a dead soul back to its homeland for some kind of substitute burial; see *Od.* 9.65–67 with Eustathius's comments *ad loc.* (pp. 1614–15); Verg. *Aen.* 6.505–8; and Rohde's discussion (*supra*, n. 69) 173–79.

85. The cenotaph at Midea (*supra*, n. 70) contained a pair of *menhirs* of different heights, but no demarcations of gender; Schiff's Grave (*supra*, n. 71) also contained a pair of stone statuettes which betray no clear indication of gender (*pace* Hiller von Gaertringen [*supra*, n. 71]). One of the statuettes is, however, slightly larger and pierced through the neck; compare the lead voodoo dolls from Delos (Appendix no. 12), where the males alone were impaled with iron nails (*infra*, n. 95).

κολοσσοί as substitutes for reburial.⁸⁶ It is in fact interesting to note that of all the Greek ghost-banning stories discussed above, only the effigy of Actaeon is explicitly said to be bound, a variation one might expect, given the native Boeotian traditions of binding effigies of Ares.

PRIVATE "VOODOO DOLLS" IN THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD

There is widespread evidence that throughout the Greek and Roman world lead, clay, and wax figurines were regularly bound and buried in private rituals to bind one's personal enemies.⁸⁷ A survey of all extant Greek, Etruscan, and Roman "voodoo dolls" known to me appears at the end of this article as the Appendix. The earliest Greek examples seem to be two Archaic bronze figurines, but this has been disputed: a Tegean example (no. 8 in the Appendix) holds its arms aloft in a curious dancelike gesture and has its head and feet twisted completely round, and a bronze figurine from the island of Cephalonia (no. 10; Fig. 3) has its head, feet, and one arm completely reversed. Aside from the very real problem of dating uninscribed early bronzes once they have been removed from their archaeological context,⁸⁸ scholars have been reluctant in the past to ascribe malevolent intent to these dolls because they do not exhibit some of the more overt signs of magical activity, such as an inscription of the victim's name or limbs that are actually bound. They prefer instead to see these artifacts as "grotesques," ugly, contorted images that were used as a form of protective "white magic" to ward off the evil eye.⁸⁹ More recent discoveries, however, of

86. Picard (*supra*, n. 70) argues that the Thera and Cyrenean data are related to the Midean *menhirs* and when taken together give evidence for a "Doric" tradition of ghost-laying ritual.

87. For the most recent survey of the Attic dolls, see D. R. Jordan, "New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens," *Praktika of the 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Sept. 4–10, 1983 (Athens, 1988) 273–77. For the older treatments, see the bibliography in the Appendix to this article.

88. E.g., P.-F. Perdrizet, "Les pieds ou les genoux au rebours," *Mélusine* 9 (1898–99) 193–96, dates the Cephalonia figurine (see Appendix, *infra*, no. 10) to Hellenistic or Roman times; whereas K. A. Neugebauer, *Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium* 1 (Berlin, 1931) 66, describes it as early Archaic.

89. Perdrizet (*supra*, n. 88: 41) and G. Q. Giglioli ("Curiosità archeologiche," *SE* 3 [1929] 529–31) argue in one way or another that these dolls are grotesques, like the Greco-Roman miniatures of the Egyptian god Bes, the dwarfs, and other figures in shocking or obscene poses that were used to ward off the evil eye in later antiquity. In his discussion of the position of the hands covering the anus of the lead figurine found in the Ilissus River (see Appendix, *infra*, no. 2), Perdrizet declares that it is just another "typical" form of the grotesque, like many a nude bronze found in Italy (both male and female) that covers the mouth with one hand and the anus with another (C. Q. Giglioli, "Il ripostiglio Bianchini" *BollComm* 56 [1929] 5–51, provides a detailed description of a cache of these figurines that was found in a ruin near Rome in the seventeenth century, sealed in a bronze box placed within a large terra-cotta vase). One should compare, however, the treatment of a ghost's effigy in *MMG* 57.41–43: "You make a representation of the ghost or anything evil that has seized hi[m]. You write its name (on it). You have it hold its mouth with its right hand and its rear end with its left." The effigy is then deposited in a copper container and buried. Compare also a sixth-century-B.C. bronze figurine from Syria (Nat. Museum of Copenhagen, inv. no. 1989; see Giglioli, *ibid.* 50–51), which is depicted in just such a pose.

similar dolls encourage the inclusion of these early bronzes in the category of "voodoo doll."⁹⁰ Four cast-lead dolls (three discovered in Attica, one in Sicily) all have their heads distorted in a manner identical to the early bronzes, and in addition also betray at least one other indication of malevolence: the doll found in a disturbed fifth-century Athenian grave (no. 1) has its hands twisted behind the back as if bound, two Attic dolls of unknown date (nos. 2, 3) have their arms twisted behind the back, and the Sicilian figurine (no. 16) carries a late fifth-century inscription that lists the names of ten men. The last example, moreover, has its arms raised in the same peculiar dancelike gesture as the Tegean figurine.

All the early figurines discussed above were cast from metal, and consequently their production required some modicum of technical skill; five of the examples (nos. 4, 8, 13, 14, 17) have even been admired for their high artistic quality. At no point, however, do we see, even in the best-crafted examples, any attempt at realism. Thus it is clear that these images were never meant to be portraits, and that the sympathetic action of the doll was directed by the inscriptions that appear on some of them, or by the formulas that were undoubtedly uttered over them in the process of the rite.⁹¹ As time goes on we see a marked decline in the quality of the images. The first examples are the related group of figurines found in two different graves in the Ceramicus (nos. 5, 6; see Pl. 5); all dating to about 400 B.C., they seem to have been the work of the same person or persons.⁹² These hand-molded lead figurines are squat and ugly, with oversized feet and genitals; the hands are bound behind the back with a thong of lead. They all appear to have been employed as part of a judicial curse aimed at restraining the success of an opponent at law; each doll is inscribed on a leg or an arm with a single name and placed within a lead box, which is inscribed with a judicial curse.⁹³ Four cast-bronze figurines found in a Hellenistic house on Delos (no. 11; see Pls. 4b, 6–9) are similar in their smaller size and poor execution, but they are uninscribed. Five cast-bronze statuettes of unknown date from Alonistena (no. 9; see Pls. 2, 3, 4a) are closely related to the Delian figurines in size and treatment, and are probably contemporaneous; the hands of all five are twisted behind the back and bound, and the feet of each are bound together with

90. For many other arguments that the twisted heads point to binding rituals, see L. Mariani ("Osservazioni intorno alle statuette plumbee Sovanesi," *Ausonia* [1910] 39–47) and D. Comparetti ("Figurina plumbea iscritta," 194–97) in *Miscellanea di studi sicelioti ed italoti in Onore di Paolo Orsi*, Asso 28 [Catania, 1921].

91. For a general discussion, see Tambiah (*supra*, n. 11). C. Daxelmüller and M.-L. Thomson, "Bildzauber im alten Mesopotamian," *Anthropos* 77 (1982) 27–64, esp. 53–58, argue that effigies used in Mesopotamian magic were not meant to be portraits. In both the Greek and the Assyrian traditions, it is the addition of the victims' names (or, less frequently, hair or some other kind of οὐσία) that allows one to pinpoint the target of the spell. The many uninscribed dolls must have been the object of spoken incantations that similarly made some connection with the name of the victim.

92. Jordan (*supra*, n. 87).

93. *Ibid.* For a discussion of the wider cultural context of judicial curses in the Classical era, see C. A. Faraone, "An Accusation of Magic in Classical Athens (Ar. *Wasps* 946–48)," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 149–61.

a thick band. Their heads are all twisted unnaturally, in one case completely around.

In the much later periods clay, lead, and (in Egypt) wax figurines show up wherever Greek culture exercised its influence: for example, in Italy (nos. 16–24), North Africa (nos. 25, 26), Egypt (nos. 27–31), and Palestine (no. 32).⁹⁴ Of the later examples, I limit my discussion to the appearance of females, which are somewhat rare in the earlier periods. The earliest example is the lead "ginger-bread" figure from Euboea (no. 15; see Pl. 11), whose gender is only indicated by the woman's name inscribed upon it. The earliest bound figurine with identifiable female features is the figurine of cast lead with arms twisted behind its back; it was found together with a male of identical pose in the entrance of a late sixth-century-B.C. Etruscan tomb (no. 18; see Pls. 12, 13). They were apparently placed there much later, for each doll is inscribed on its left leg with a name that can be dated by epigraphical evidence to the late fourth or early third century B.C. Two uninscribed couples roughly hewn from small slabs of lead (no. 12; Pl. 10) were found buried in the supporting wall of the first-century-B.C. temple of Zeus Hysistos on Mount Cynthus on Delos. The method of binding seems to have been gender-specific in this case: the two male figures have nails driven into their eyes, ears, and mouths (the mouths are then covered with the right hands), while the females are constrained only by a thick choke collar.⁹⁵ There are also four pairs of inscribed clay figurines (no. 20; Fig. 4) dating "no later than the first century B.C." that like the Delian couples were carved from small slabs, but of clay not lead; they were found in Puteoli jumbled together amidst the remains of what appears to be a cremation burial. And finally, there is the pair of elongated, Modigliani-like dolls found in Roman Morocco (no. 25); their attenuated legs are unnaturally twisted, and the male holds his hands crossed before his belly as if they are bound.

If we exclude the late antique Greco-Egyptian effigies used in erotic magic (nos. 27–31), all but three of the extant female dolls appear in a pair with a male; this may, of course, be only an accident of discovery, but the Italian provenance

94. The dolls found in Egypt and in the Near East are treated as Greek because they are inscribed in that language or because they were discovered *in situ* with inscribed Greek *defixiones*. As I have argued in the section "Bound Statues in Egypt and the Near East" above, these rituals are shared by most cultures in the eastern Mediterranean; thus figurines found in Hellenized Africa or Syria are undoubtedly the result of a syncretism of various Greek and non-Greek binding rituals. Two of the Greco-Egyptian dolls (nos. 27, 29), for example, seem to recall the native Egyptian tradition, both in their kneeling "bound captive" position, and in the care taken to depict the hairstyle and jewelry (native dress?) of the victim. See Ritner (*supra*, n. 21) 93–94.

95. The treatment of the males indicates an effort to bind their cognitive and verbal faculties: nails are driven into their ears and mouth, and between the eyes. These are often the targets in a judicial curse; see Faraone (*supra*, n. 93: 58–60); *idem*, "Aeschylus' *hymnos desmios* (*Eum.* 306) and Attic Judicial Curse Tablets," *JHS* 105 (1985) 151–52. The subsequent covering of the mouth with the hand of the male dolls (see detailed description in the Appendix) reminds one of the binding spell cast on Libanius, which involved a mutilated chameleon whose front left foot had been inserted in its mouth. See Faraone (*supra*, n. 2: 21–22 n. 3) for discussion.

of two of the caches and the strong Roman influence on another (Morocco) may point to a specific epichoric variation.⁹⁶ This suggestion is further supported by the strikingly similar configuration of the so-called human sacrifice of the Gauls and Greeks that the Romans performed thrice during the great crises of 228, 216, and 114/13 B.C.⁹⁷ In each case the Romans buried alive a Greek couple and a Gallic couple in the Forum Boarium; it was apparently a magical ritual designed to protect the city from an attacking enemy.⁹⁸ This use of “living images” can be paralleled by binding rituals in which small animals (in one case bound) were apparently buried (in lieu of a “voodoo doll”) with lead *defixiones* as part of some rather elaborate binding spells.⁹⁹ On account of the anachronistic use of a Greek couple (Greeks were never enemies of Rome during the years in question) it is usually argued that the burial ritual is an old Etruscan rite that still expresses an earlier schematic view of all their enemies (i.e., Gauls to the north and Greeks to the south are symbolic equivalents of “any and all enemies”).¹⁰⁰

Although some of the Italian figurines are inscribed with what appear to be

96. The only non-erotic female voodoo dolls, which do not appear as part of a couple, are: the flattened lead “gingerbread” figure from Carystus (no. 15), which carries a *defixio* text that aims at binding a woman named Isias; the lost terra-cotta doll inscribed “Noëma” (discussed in the Appendix parenthetically after no. 7); and the bronze female figurine from Smyrna (no. 33). The Delian effigies date to a period of strong Roman influence, when the island was a major center of the slave trade. See, e.g., M. Nilsson, “Roman and Greek Domestic Cult,” *Opuscula Selecta* 3 (Lund, 1960) 277–85, who must rely in part on the abundant evidence from Delos for his discussion of the typical Roman customs involving the *dii penates* and the *lares*. For the unique character of the Egyptian wax voodoo dolls (Appendix nos. 27–31) and aphrodisiac binding spells in general, see Faraone (*supra*, n. 2) 14–15.

97. Plut. *Marc.* 3.4 (225 B.C.); Livy 22.57.2–6 (216 B.C.); Plut. *QR* 83 = *Mor.* 284c (114 B.C.). For the revival of these rites sometime in the Julio-Claudian period, see Pliny, *NH* 28.3.12, and Suetonius, *Gaius* 29.2. The precise chronology of the three Republican episodes is fixed by C. Cichorius, “Staatliche Menschenopfer,” *Römische Studien* (1922) 7–16. D. Briquel, “Les enterrés vivants de Brindes,” in *Mélanges J. Heurgon* (Rome, 1976) 33–40, discusses a legend preserved by Tzetzes (*ad Lycophron Alex.* 602) that tells of Greeks burying Aetolians alive (men, not couples) to avert a crisis, and argues for a Greek origin to the rite, which when Romanized was expanded to include females.

98. A. M. Eckstein, “Human Sacrifice and the Fear of Military Disaster in Republican Rome,” *AJAH* 7 (1982) 69–95, reviews the large bibliography. He demonstrates that the scandal over the priestesses was actually considered a prodigy that portended some greater, *future* disaster and that the burial of the Greeks and Gauls was an act designed to ward off a catastrophe signaled by the scandal as well as a series of other evil omens.

99. Faraone (*supra*, n. 2: 21–22 n. 3) discusses the use of a rooster, puppies, a chameleon, and a fish in binding rituals.

100. F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 15.3 (Giessen, 1918) 148–50; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960) 256–57; and most recently B. MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation: A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome*, Collection Latomus 177 (Brussels, 1982) 62. The recent thesis of A. Fraschetti, “Le sepolture rituali del Foro Boario,” in *Le délit religieux dans la cité antique, Table ronde, Rome 6–7 avril 1978* (Rome, 1981) 51–115, that the rite is Roman from the earliest periods does not seem to be tenable; see D. Briquel, “Des propositions nouvelles sur le rituel d’ensevelissement de Grecs et de Gaulois au Forum Boarium,” *REL* 59 (1981) 30–37. In the revival under the Julio-Claudians the nationality of the victims seems to have been changed to reflect the current realities; see Pliny, *NH* 28.3.12.

personal Greek or Etruscan names, we might understand in the pairing of couples that some similar *pars pro toto* magic is at work, except on a smaller scale, and that all of these couples are somehow supposed to represent larger social groups—that is, whole families, clans, or perhaps towns. In any event it is interesting that the Romans or the Etruscans apparently felt that both sexes had to be bound to restrain an enemy, while the Greeks were only concerned with the males (cf. the three *male* silver statues in Thrace discussed above). On the other hand, the pairing of male and female dolls of anonymous ghosts or sorcerers in the Cyrenean *lex sacra* and in the Assyrian ghost-banning rites may provide an alternative and equally attractive explanation, along with some interesting parallels in the details of the rite. Each figure of the lead couple from the Etruscan tomb, for instance, was inscribed on the left side of the body and then buried in a tomb, much like the instructions in the Assyrian ghost-banning rituals (*MMG* 15, 20, 21). Furthermore, the nails pressed into the mouths of the two male Delian dolls recall the dog's tooth or cornel-wood peg that is inserted into the mouth of an Assyrian ghost's effigy (*MMG* 22, 57).

Despite the variety of ways in which the effigies collected in the Appendix were treated, I think that at least in the case of the early examples we can safely say that the ultimate goal was the containment or the restraint of the enemy, not necessarily his or her demise. The same is true for the larger civic statues discussed in the first section of this article. The symbolic logic of some of the means of binding is not, however, always clear to the modern observer. The nails that appear in several dolls (e.g., nos. 7, 12, 21) are a case in point; like the nails that pierce the rolled-up *defixiones*, they most probably aim at "nailing down" opponents and making them immobile, *not* at piercing their flesh or wounding them.¹⁰¹ This is especially clear from the only extant detailed narrative of a person's escape from a "binding spell."¹⁰² Sophronius, a Christian author of the late sixth century, reports how an Alexandrian paraplegic named Theophilus was visited in a dream by two saints and told to go down to the harbor and offer a large sum of money to the fishermen there to buy their next catch, sight unseen. He did as he was told, and when the nets were hauled up, amongst the struggling fish a small box (κιβώτιον) was discovered, which contained a bronze statuette with nails driven into its hands and feet. As each of the nails was withdrawn, the paralysis in the corresponding limb ceased immediately.

Although certainly no one would vouch for the historicity of this particular incident, the need for verisimilitude in the details of such miracle stories suggests that the underlying assumptions about the paralyzing but non-fatal effects of

101. Only a few early *defixiones* refer even vaguely to piercing or perforation. (e.g., κέντησον in *DTA* 96, 97, "sting" or "stab"). The nails are usually driven through the head or chest, and probably aim at "binding" the internal organs or abstract faculties, which are often the targets of *defixiones* (e.g., heart, soul, vision, speech, memory).

102. *Narratio Miraculorum Sanctorum Cyri et Joannis*, *PG* 87.3 col. 3625; the relevant portions of the Greek text appear in *DT*, pp. cxxii–cxxiii.

“voodoo dolls” were still common knowledge, at least in the early Byzantine period. Certainly the description of a naked doll imprisoned in a “coffin” and deposited in a body of water is in complete agreement with much of the archaeological evidence surveyed in the Appendix (esp. nos. 4–6, from Attica). The sympathetic effect of the nails was merely to “transfix” the limb in order to make it immovable. We must allow for a similar latitude in the interpretation of those figurines that have their heads and feet twisted completely around (e.g., nos. 1–3, 8–10). This position most probably aims at the utter confusion of the victim’s limbs and not literally at the breaking of his neck or strangulation, the natural result if this action were actually applied to a human body.¹⁰³ In this regard it is interesting to note Pausanias’s description of the decoration of the famous Chest of Cypselus (5.18.1):

A woman is represented as carrying a white boy asleep on her right arm; on her other arm she has a black boy who is like the one that sleeps. The feet of both boys are turned in different ways [διεστραμμένους]. The inscriptions show, what is easy to see without them, that the boys are Death and Sleep, and that Night is the nurse of both.

(trans. J. G. Frazer)

Some scholars point to the reversed feet on many of the Greco-Roman voodoo dolls discussed above (e.g., nos. 3, 8, 10, 16) and suggest that the participle used by Pausanias to describe the feet of the boys (διεστραμμένους) refers to the same action and ought to be translated “completely twisted around” instead of “turned in different ways.”¹⁰⁴ Death and Sleep are of course popularly thought to come and fetch the dying (cf. esp. *Il.* 15.454–55, the death of Sarpedon), so it is understandable that they should be depicted in a way that would hinder their prompt arrival.

The foregoing discussions of literary and archaeological evidence have focused on different aspects and contexts of binding magic in the eastern Mediterranean. Taken together, the evidence suggests that the ancient Greeks (and the

103. There is a good parallel in the *similia similibus* formulas found on *defixiones* that encourage the victim to become analogous to the retrograde direction of the writing, e.g., the formula found on a late Classical Attic *defixio*: “Just as these things [i.e., letters] are backwards [ἀνένπαλιν], so too may all words and deeds be backwards for him” (*SGD* 40). The notorious mutilation of Oedipus’s feet may have been similarly motivated to prevent his ghost from returning to haunt his parents; such babies were commonly thought to be ἄωροι (“untimely dead”), and since they had to wait for a long time before entering Hades, they were thought to be good prospects for a haunt; see J. ter Vrugt-Lentz, *Mors Immatura* (Groningen, 1960) 32–51.

104. Pedrizet (*supra*, n. 88) and Giglioli (*supra*, n. 89) both discuss the Pausanias passage in light of the voodoo dolls with twisted feet. H. Shapiro, “Personification of Abstract Concepts in Greek Art and Literature to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.” (diss., Princeton, 1976) 67–69, points out that aside from the canonical and much-copied depictions of the death of Sarpedon, Death rarely appears in Greek art, a fact that he attributes to the same “superstitious” caution that caused people to avoid using his name.

Etruscans and Romans as well) were accustomed to bind or bury effigies of their enemies in an attempt to inhibit their hostilities or at least their ability to harm. As we have seen above, these enemies could be dangerous deities (e.g., Ares/Enyalios), ghosts (e.g., Pausanias, Actaeon), or mortal men (e.g., the Goths depicted by the silver statuettes in Thrace). Like those of the *defixiones*, the targets of the extant "voodoo dolls" surveyed in the Appendix are generally assumed to be living human rivals. Near Eastern parallels suggest, however, that some of those figurines inscribed with human names may very well refer to men or women who had already died, and that they were images used to bind hostile ghosts like those envisioned in the Cyrene decree, in the bound prisoners inscribed with the names of "deceased" Egyptians, or in the Assyrian recipes entitled "Against Appearing Ghosts."¹⁰⁵

We must allow, too, for the possibility that some of the uninscribed dolls found in Greece may have even represented inimical gods or demons. In one case, in particular, the effigy (no. 19; Fig. 5) holds the accoutrements of the Etruscan Heracles; its head, however, is twisted completely about, as in so many of the other dolls discussed above, and forces us to recall that the god/hero often appears as an unpredictable force of death and destruction.¹⁰⁶ It is not without reason that someone might wish to bind such a deadly superhuman power. The lead voodoo doll from Sicily (no. 16) has an ugly, contorted face, which has rightly been described as "demonic." A similar interpretation has been advanced above for the depictions of the gods Sleep and Death with twisted feet on the Chest of Cypselus. In each case, the effigy is contorted to restrain the demon or divinity represented. A further example seems to have come to light recently in a late tenth-century-B.C. shaft grave at Lefkandi in Euboea—a painted terra-cotta centaur (height 36 cm.) broken in several places. Although normally such a state of disrepair would not provoke any suspicion of magical activity, there is evidence that the figurine was broken prior to its burial, as its severed head was found in a different tomb dating to the same period.¹⁰⁷ In light of the Greek, Etruscan, and Near Eastern practices discussed above, I suggest that the figurine may have been purposely decapitated and broken up, and then buried as a protective measure against a demon envisaged as a centaur, a figure that (like Heracles) often appears as a disruptive, destructive force, much like Pan, the

105. As far as I can tell, there is no evidence that Greek *defixiones* were used to bind ghosts.

106. The *locus classicus* for the deadly Heracles is *Od.* 11.605–12, where he appears glaring about with his bow forever drawn—a deadly force with a hair trigger. He alone shares Ares' epithet Πτολίπορθος (*Hes. frag.* 25.23 M-W) as the traditional destroyer of Troy and Oechalea.

107. V. R. d'A. Desborough, K. V. Nicholls, and M. H. Popham, "A Euboean Centaur," *BSA* 65 (1970) 21–30, pls. 7–11, argue that the peculiar circumstances of the burial suggest that it was a prized family heirloom, which was purposely broken and carried to the grave by two different family members because neither wanted to give it up. This interpretation is followed in the final excavation report; see M. H. Popham, L. K. Sackett, and P. G. Themelis, *Lefkandi 1, The Tombs and Their Contents* (Oxford, 1980) 168–70, 344–45 with pls. 251 and 252.

Sileni, and other half-human beasts.¹⁰⁸ Burying the head in another place would be a particularly effective way to prevent the statuette from being reassembled.

CONCLUSION

In Assyria continuously from the second millennium B.C. down through to the Persian conquest and in Egypt well into the Ptolemaic period images were bound, buried, or burned in preemptive defensive rituals that sought to destroy or at least inhibit both personal and public enemies, whether mortal or superhuman. In ancient Greece, myths alluded to in Homeric poetry and artifacts dating to the Bronze Age and the Archaic period signal the existence of ceremonies of similar intent and scope. The binding of Ares, for instance, and his imprisonment in a bronze cauldron is reminiscent of the Assyrian and Egyptian procedures discussed above for incarcerating bound images of ghosts and other enemies in clay or metal pots deposited in a necropolis or on the steppe, activities that also seem to lie behind Hittite myths about demons and personified evils imprisoned in bronze pots in the underworld or the sea (*supra*, n. 7). The Greek "voodoo dolls" from the Athenian Ceramicus (ca. 400 B.C.) repeat the pattern: bound lead effigies were enclosed in inscribed lead boxes and then buried in a graveyard (nos. 4–6). The more elaborate Syedran tableau of Dike standing over the bound and suppliant Ares seems to have its parallel in Egyptian monumental reliefs, which so often depict the pharaoh threatening a kneeling and bound foreign prince.

There are of course many notable differences in how these rituals were performed. In Egypt, many of the national apotropaic rites were enacted on a regular, if not daily, basis by a small coterie of literate priests working from traditional ritual handbooks; it is only in the last periods of Egyptian dynastic history that the priesthood appears to be making private copies of such texts and performing these rituals for their own use.¹⁰⁹ In Assyria and Greece binding ceremonies appear both as part of annual ceremonies and as special rituals employed in times of crisis. The annual repetition of the *Maqlû* ritual and the apparently annual (re)confinement of Ares in Boeotia are good examples of calendrical rituals, while the Assyrian recipes for laying ghosts and those in the Cyrenean decree appear to have been used only in times of sickness or some other serious problem. The bound statues of Ares at Syedra and in Thrace, and of Actaeon at Orchomenus, were similarly a reaction to a specific crisis, although in the first and last instances it is probable that these statues were regularly treated to sacrifice thereafter, as was the bound Ares in Boeotia (as the quip of Herodes about the Aloadae suggests).

108. For Sileni and goat demons, see M. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York, 1940) [= *Greek Folk Religion* (Philadelphia, 1961)] 10–15 and fig. 5. For the attacks of Pan, see P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*, trans. K. Atlass and J. Redfield (Chicago, 1988), 88–116; W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War 3* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979) 45, 162–63.

109. Ritner (*supra*, n. 21).

To some extent, the presence of these public "voodoo dolls" acts like radioactive traces on a Geiger counter, indicating an elevated level of anxiety about particularly dangerous neighbors. In Egypt, for example, although the daily rituals at Abydos and elsewhere carefully named all of the possible enemies and rivals of the state, the high incidence of bound figurines of Nubians and similarly inscribed plaques along the Nubian border (many of which were of hurried and inferior execution) may indicate a special concern about these people at certain points in time. The public binding ceremonies of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans reveal a similar anxiety about invaders from the north. To be sure, the old Etrusco-Roman ritual of burying Gauls and Greeks alive symbolically aimed at inhibiting all enemies, but it was only performed in historical times to ward off danger from the northern border. For the Greeks of late antiquity, the barbarians to the north were the Goths, against whom were directed the three bound silver statues described by Olympiodorus and the bound statue of Ares mentioned in the Palatine epigram. There are, however, indications that such fears of "Ares' brood" in the north were commonplace as early as the Classical period: see, for example, the bizarre oracle at the end of Euripides' *Bacchae*—that Cadmus and Harmonia (the daughter of Ares) will someday return from the north leading a barbarian horde to sack many Greek cities, only to fall short of taking Delphi.¹¹⁰

In Greece there is some evidence for the annual performance of magical (re)binding rituals, but it is rarely explicit (e.g., the Boeotian treatment of Ares implicit in the myth and anecdote discussed above). There are several brief notices in Pausanias and other, later authors of the existence of bound statues of Artemis, Dionysus, Hera, and Athena that were apparently released once a year from bondage and may have received special sacrifice.¹¹¹ In some cases such bound or incarcerated statues were thought to be important to the health and continued safety of the city.¹¹² It also appears that lore about binding statues and

110. *Ba.* 1330–39 (cf. 1355–60), with E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae*² (Oxford, 1960) *ad loc.*, for a full discussion of this oracle and similar ones, which date as early as the time of the Persian Wars.

111. A wooden image of Artemis Eurynome at Phigalia was bound in chains, and its temple was only opened once each year (Paus. 8.41.6); a small helmeted image of Artemis Soteira at Pellene was kept out of sight (Paus. 7.27.3, Plut. *Arat.* 32.2); a small wooden image of Artemis Ortheia or "Lygodesma" was bound by willows (Paus. 3.16.7–11); a small wooden image of Dionysus Asymnetes at Sparta was shut up in a box and only brought out once annually (Paus. 7.16.6–9); an armed Aphrodite Morpho, also at Sparta, had its feet bound by golden chains (Paus. 3.15.10–11); and a small statue of Athene, the so-called "Palladium," was hidden in the temple at Troy (Ps.-Plut. *Mor.* 309–10, Dercylus *FHG* 4.377.5; cf. the Palladium at Rome: Seneca, *Contr.* 4.2, *Dial.* 1.5.2; Pliny, *NH* 7.141; Juv. 6.265). The Gorgon's Lock at Tegea was sealed in a brazen pitcher; the temple in which it was kept was only opened once a year (Paus. 8.47.5, Apollod. 2.7.3). Polemon mentions in passing that among the Chians a statue of Dionysus and among the Erythrians a statue of Artemis is bound (frag. 90 Preller = *FHG* 3.146.90 = schol. *Ol.* 7.95a). For a wide-ranging discussion see Meuli and Merkelbach (*supra*, n. 3) and Graf (*supra*, n. 3).

112. The statue of Artemis Soteira at Pellene saved the city from the Aetolians (Plut. *Arat.* 32); the Tegeans had a similar legend about the Gorgon's Lock (*supra*, n. 111). The protective power of the Trojan Palladium is well attested; see Verg. *Aen.* 2 *passim*, Konon *FGH* 26 F 34, Apollod. 3.143.

their subsequent calendrical ceremonies was disseminated throughout Greece by the Panhellenic oracles, those renowned storehouses of traditional knowledge to which both cities and individuals turned for advice in times of illness or catastrophe. Thus it is at the command of the Delphic Oracle that the Orchomenians bind a statue of Actaeon with iron chains, while the Syedrans follow the commands of the Clarian Apollo when they similarly treat an effigy of Ares. The statues of the Spartan Pausanias and the fifty youths of Siris are set up upon the advice of Delphi. The burial of the Gauls and Greeks at Rome as "living effigies" is likewise performed in times of crisis and at the behest of the Sibylline Books. The stipulations for the use of *κολοσσοί* dolls in the Cyrenean decree also purport to be the words of the Delphian Apollo, although the slapdash assembly of that fourth-century document from obviously disparate sources greatly vitiates the credibility of this claim. The Cyrenean code is most interesting, because it is the sole testimony to the early existence of ritual handbooks to which one could turn when a house was haunted or when any other form of pollution or supernatural discomfort existed. We know that such documents existed (unfortunately not in durable media) at Athens and elsewhere, but the great bulk of them and even the nature of their contents are unknown to us.¹¹³ In Assyria, a number of such handbooks have survived, primarily because of the antiquarian interests of the seventh-century-B.C. monarch Assurbanipal, who sent his secretaries far and wide to collect, copy, and study all the ritual handbooks that they could find. One can only wonder what our picture of Greek apotropaic ritual would look like if some similarly motivated individual had performed such a favor for the Greek states and inscribed them on more durable materials.

Despite the many broad correspondences between the Greek, Near Eastern, and Egyptian rites discussed in this survey, the scantiness of the evidence prevents us from knowing whether such parallels arise independently in different cultures as part of a universal human response to danger or impending disaster (e.g., the tying of knots and the manipulation of effigies are forms of magic known to many cultures), or whether these similarities result from a process of cultural borrowing from the society that first "invented" the rituals (e.g., as seems the case in several forms of Hittite rituals, which were probably modeled on Babylonian or Hurrian antecedents). It is, nevertheless, *a priori* more likely that the Greeks would imitate in matters of ritual the more advanced and culturally sophisticated societies of the East, from which they indisputably borrowed their alphabet and so much of their artistic and literary esthetic.¹¹⁴ As I have argued elsewhere, however, it is impossible in most cases to know exactly when

113. Tresp (*supra*, n. 6) collects all the fragments of what was probably (at least at Athens) a considerable corpus of materials.

114. For the "Orientalizing period" of Greek art, see the general summary in J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*² (London, 1980) 54–85. For similar influence on Greek philosophy and literature, see M. L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford, 1971); *idem*, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," *JHS* 108 (1988) 169–71. Burkert (*supra*, n. 57) demonstrates that a similar and pervasive influence was being exercised in the area of magical/religious ritual.

such influence occurred,¹¹⁵ and the best one can do is to assume some Oriental influence at an early date, without pressing the unwilling evidence further.

I would argue that the Assyrian ghost-banning rites in particular were probably absorbed into some areas of Greece rather early on, as is manifested by the apparently traditional use of *κολοσσοί* in the Argolid, Thera, and Cyrene. The passage discussed above from the Cyrenean *lex sacra* just may, in fact, have had an Assyrian ritual text as its source.¹¹⁶ The process of borrowing was undoubtedly aided, as Burkert suggests, by the existence of wandering professionals (like the *ψυχαγωγοί* whom the Spartans summoned to ban the ghost of Pausanias), as well as by the existence of Panhellenic oracles, which seem to play a consistent role in ordering the implementation of these types of rituals and may have served as a clearinghouse of sorts for "religious technology,"¹¹⁷ just as they were repositories of geographical and ethnological information useful to petitioners interested in founding colonies.¹¹⁸ The origin, however, of the Greek tradition of binding Ares and foreign armies in effigy is much more difficult to assess, as it seems to be related in a much more general and diffuse way to myths and rituals found in Egyptian, Assyrian, and Hittite culture. A basic stumbling block remains: the relatively small distances that separate these ancient cultures in or near the ancient Mediterranean Basin allow for the possibility of an endless number of cross-borrowings on all sides—a situation very similar, in fact, to that fearful and treacherous state in some Greek manuscript traditions that philologists call contamination. It is in just such a light that we should also examine the corpus of "voodoo dolls" collected in the Appendix; although I have boldly labeled them Greek, Etruscan, and Roman according to the immediate cultural contexts of their discovery, their long and complex cultural heritage perhaps calls for a more general appellation: perhaps "Mediterranean," as it is that small inland sea that facilitated the spread, growth, and continued "cross-fertilization" of these curious and widespread artifacts.

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115. Faraone (*supra*, n. 35: 275–80) and "Aphrodite's ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and Apples for Atlanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 239–43.

116. Aside from the close similarities with regard to the subject matter of the Cyrenean and Assyrian rituals (*supra*, nn. 57, 58, 63, 64, 67), the actual literary form of the ghost-banning segment of the *lex sacra* may depend ultimately on some Assyrian text, especially the peculiar combination of conditional statement indicating the distress of the victim, who is described in the third person singular (e.g., "if a visitant is sent against the house" or "if he knows his name"; cf. *MMG* 26, "if dead persons meet with a man"), followed by directions for the appropriate ritual in the *second* person singular, which in Assyrian texts are addressed to the professional magician, and which may account for the hitherto unexplained second-person-singular verb in the Cyrenaean text: "when you have done the customary things" (*supra*, n. 59).

117. Burkert (*supra*, n. 57).

118. See W. G. Forrest, "Colonisation and the Rise of Delphi," *Historia* 6 (1957) 160–75; Graham (*supra*, n. 54); R. Drews, "The Earliest Greek Settlements on the Black Sea," *JHS* 96 (1976) 18–31.

APPENDIX: SURVEY OF GREEK, ETRUSCAN AND ROMAN "VOODOO
DOLLS"

The following survey is greatly indebted to the earlier works of C. Dugas, *BCH* 39 (1915) 413–23; L. Mariani, *Ausonia* (1910) 39–47; K. Preisendanz, *APF* 11 (1935) 163–64; and D. R. Jordan in *Praktika of the 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens, Sept. 4–10, 1983* (Athens, 1988) 273–77. I have also benefited from my private conversations and correspondence with J. Winkler, W. Brashear, D. R. Jordan, R. Kotansky, F. Maltomini, and H. S. Versnel.

With regard to these artifacts, I limit my definition of "voodoo doll" to figurines that display two or more of the following characteristics:

1. The arms (and occasionally the legs) have been bound, or twisted behind the back as if they were bound;
2. Nails have been hammered into the doll;
3. The head, the feet, and occasionally the entire upper torso have been twisted unnaturally around, so that the chin and the toes point in the same direction as the buttocks;
4. The doll has been deposited in a container with a tight-fitting cover;
5. Some part of the doll has been inscribed with the name of the victim;
6. It was discovered in a grave, a sanctuary, or a body of water.

I have also included here some drawings of bound figures on *defixiones* (e.g., nos. 23, 24), which, although they are not figurines, nonetheless serve the same function.

ATTICA

1. Lead male figurine (18 cm tall) from a grave on Odos Panepistimiou in Athens in a disturbed fifth-century-B.C. context. Its palms are pressed together behind its back, and there seems to be some indications of binding either by a wire or (less likely) by a nail. Its head, with its carefully modeled hair and features, faces the same direction as the buttocks. (O. Alexandri, *AD* 27 B.1 *Chronika* [1972] 75, grave no. 32, pl. 57.)

2. Lead male figurine (11.5 cm tall) of unknown date found in the bed of the Ilissus River. Its hands are twisted behind its back and seem to be deliberately covering its anus. Its (bearded?) head faces the same direction as the buttocks. (Fig. 6; *Ath. Nat. Mus. inv. no. 7877*; P.-F. Perdrizet, "Les pieds ou les genoux au rebours," *Mélusine* 9 [1898–99] 194–96.)

3. Lead figurine (8 cm tall) of a (bearded?) male; exact provenance and date unknown. Its mittenlike hands are crossed behind its back as if bound, and its head faces the same direction as the buttocks. Its feet appear to have been modeled facing forward in a normal fashion and then roughly pinched and twisted about (Pl. 1; *Ath. Nat. Mus. inv. no. 10807*).

4. Lead male figurine (11 cm tall) of "high artistic quality" found in Athens along Odos Eolou. Its hands are bound behind its back, and it was discovered in a covered box formed from two folded sheets of lead. Dates "on stylistic grounds" to the fourth century B.C. or later. (F. Cumont, "Une figurine grecque d'envoûtement," *CRAI* [1913] 412–21.)

5. Lead male figurine (6 cm tall) from a grave in the Ceramicus. It has exaggerated genitals, and its hands are twisted behind its back as if bound. A single name is inscribed on its right leg. Found in an oval-shaped covered box formed from two sheets of hammered lead; the interior of the lid is inscribed with nine names; ca. 400 B.C. (J. Trumpf, "Fluchtafel und Racheputte," *MDAI[A]* 73 [1958] 94–102, pls. 71.3–4, 72.1–2; D. R. Jordan, "New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens," in *Praktika of the 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology* [Athens, 1988] 273–77.)

6. Three lead male figurines (6 cm tall) found in a grave in the Ceramicus a few meters from the grave that contained no. 5, above. Each had apparently been placed inside one of the three inscribed covered lead boxes that were discovered in the same grave. One has exaggerated genitals, and two have their hands bound behind their backs. All of the boxes and two of the dolls are inscribed with names. They have been dated to about 400 B.C. (Pl. 5; Keiramikos Museum inv. no. KER 8805; B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, "Eridanos: Necropole," *MDAI[A]* 81 [1966] 38, pl. 51.1; J. Boardman and D. Kurtz, *Greek Burial Customs* [Ithaca, 1971] 217, pl. 46; D. R. Jordan, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, no. 5].)

7. Lead male figurine (6 cm tall) from a grave in Attica. Its head has been roughly hacked off, and its feet and hands are violently twisted and bound behind its back with lead bands. Its stomach is pierced with two iron nails. It has been dated to the third century B.C. (Fig. 7; R. Wünsch, "Eine antike Racheputte," *Philologus* 61 [1902] 26–31.)

[In 1857 S. A. Koumanoudis reported seeing a terra-cotta figurine in Athens inscribed with the name "Noëma": see Pape-Benseler, s.v. *Noëma*; and O. Masson, "Pape-Benseleriana VIII," *ZPE* 42 (1981) 199. I thank Professor Jordan for this reference.]

ARCADIA

8. Cast-bronze male figurine (16.2 cm tall) from Tegea, now in Berlin, dated by Lamb and Neugebauer to the early seventh century B.C. Its head and feet are twisted completely around, and its hands are raised like a ballroom dancer. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antiquarium inv. no. 6405; W. S. Lamb, "Arcadian Bronze Statuettes," *BSA* 27 [1925–26] 133–34; K. A. Neugebauer, *Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen im Antiquarium* 1 [Berlin, 1931] 66–67, no. 163.)

9. Five bronze figurines (6–8 cm tall) from Alonistena dated by Neugebauer to the Archaic period. All were probably meant to portray males, but male genitalia are clearly portrayed on only one. In each case the hands are bound behind the back and the feet are bound together. The shortest has its head facing the direction of its buttocks, while the heads of the other four are twisted unnaturally ninety degrees to the side. (Pls. 2–4a; Ath. Nat. Mus. inv. no. 15130; Neugebauer [*supra*, no. 8] 67 n. 2.)

CEPHALONIA

10. Bronze male figurine (2.9 cm tall) from Sime, now in the British Museum, described by Neugebauer as "nach-archaisch." Its feet and one of its arms are twisted completely around, and its head is wrenched unnaturally to the left, so that the chin lies directly over the shoulder (Fig. 3; H. B. Walters, *BMC Bronzes* [London, 1899] no. 216; C. Q. Giglioli, "Curiosità archeologiche," *SE* 3 [1929] 529–30, fig. 1; Neugebauer [*supra*, no. 8] 66.)

DELOS

11. Four cast-bronze male figurines (6–9 cm tall) found together in a house of Hellenistic date near the agora. Three have their hands bound behind their backs, and two are ithyphallic (Pls. 4b, 6–9; Musée du Délos inv. nos. A 2157–60; C. Dugas, “Figurines d’envoûtement trouvées à Délos,” *BCH* 39 [1915] 413–23.)

12. Four figurines (6–7 cm tall), two male and two female, each roughly carved from a rectangular slab of lead; the males are each pierced through the eyes, ears, and mouth with iron nails; their right hands seem to cover or hold the head of the nail that penetrates the mouth. The females are simply bound around the neck with thick collars. They were discovered buried together in the retaining wall of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and date to the first century B.C. (Pl. 10; Musée du Délos inv. nos. 3787–90; A. Plassart, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du mont Cynthe*, Exploration Archéologique de Délos 11 [Paris 1928] 292–93.)

CRETE

13. Cast-bronze male figurine (14 cm tall) with its hands twisted behind the back as if bound. Date and exact provenance unknown. (L. Mariani, “Osservazioni intorno alle statuette plumbee sovanesi,” *Ausonia* [1910] 44 n. 5, fig. 12.)

14. Bronze male figurine (height not given) apparently cast without shoulders and head, with its hands twisted behind the back as if bound. Date and exact provenance unknown. (Mariani [*supra*, no. 13] 44, fig. 13.)

EUBOEIA

15. Flattened lead “gingerbread man” (9 cm tall, 5 cm wide) from Carystus, whose sex is not indicated but which is inscribed on the chest with two fourth-century-B.C. texts that aim at binding a woman. There appears to be some attempt to depict a rope or chain(?) attaching the hands to the top of the head. (Pl. 11; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* 1 [Paris, 1936] 17–18 no. 130, pl. viii.13; *SGD* 64.)

SICILY AND ITALY

16. Crude lead figurine (height not given) from Sicily of a demonic-looking man with arms upraised like a ballroom dancer (cf. nos. 8, 17) and with head and feet twisted completely around. There are ten names inscribed upon his chest; the letter-forms date to the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. (D. Comparetti, “Figurina plumbea iscritta,” in *Miscellanea di studi sicelioti ed italoti in onore di Paolo Orsi*, *ASSO* 28 [Catania, 1921] 194–97; *SGD* 122.)

17. Bronze figurine (height not given) from Sicilian Naxos “close in style to” the bronze figurine from Tegea, no. 8 above. (D. E. L. Haynes, “A Group of East Greek Bronzes,” *JHS* 72 [1952] 75; no photograph or drawing.)

18. Two lead figurines, one male (18 cm tall) and one female (16 cm tall), from a sixth-century-B.C. Etruscan tomb in Sovana. They are of high artistic quality and are depicted with arms twisted behind their backs as if bound. A masculine name is inscribed on the left thigh of the male and a feminine one on the left hip of the female in an Etruscan alphabet that dates to the late fourth or early third century B.C. (Pls. 12, 13; B. Nogara, “Due statuette etrusche di piombo trovate recentemente a Sovana,” *Ausonia* [1910] 31–39; Mariani [*supra*, no. 13] 39–47.)

19. Bronze male statuette (9 cm tall) from Città di Castello; it seems to depict the Etruscan Heracles wearing a wolf- or dogskin hat and leaning on a knotty club. Its head is completely twisted about, and its legs are broken off below the knees (Fig. 5; A. Minto, "Curiosità Archeologiche," *SE* 1 [1927] 475–76, pl. 72a).

20. Eight terra-cotta figurines (7–9 cm tall), four males and four females, discovered in a pile of cremation ashes and bones in a grave in Puteoli; each is inscribed in Greek with a different name. They date no later than the first century B.C. (Fig. 4; A. Sogliano and D. Vaglieri, "Di alcune figurine di terra cruda, sulle quali si leggono nomi greci," *NSA* [1897] 529–34, figs. 1–8; *DT* 200–207.)

21. Torso of a lead male figure in relief (6 cm tall) of unknown provenance in the Museo Nazionale Romano nelle Terme Diocleziane. It has exaggerated nipples, navel, and genitals (perhaps at one time it was ithyphallic), and it is inscribed in Latin with a masculine name. The inscription dates to the first century A.D. The arms, now both lost, seem to have been twisted behind the back. There are the remains of an iron nail in the right shoulder near the neck. (Mariani [*supra*, no. 13] 42–44, fig. 11; K. Preisendanz, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln," *APF* 11 [1935] 164.)

22. Terra-cotta bust of a couple and young child (11.6 cm tall, 10 cm wide) from a second-century-A.D. cemetery beneath the Basilica of San Sebastiano in Rome. Apparently a common sort of *ex voto*, it was inscribed in Latin prior to firing; each figure has been labeled with a name, and the back is inscribed with what seems to be a binding spell. (Museo Nat. Rom. inv. no. 82684; M. Della Corte, "Sigillum-Devotio," *RAAN* 18 [1938] 1–13; H. Solin, *Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Ostia*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 42.3 [Helsinki, 1968] 29 no. 33.)

23. An elaborate late-antique lead *defixio* (text in Greek) from Rome inscribed with four bound figures on one side and three on the other. In each case the legs are crossed beneath the body and the arms are crossed over the belly. In three of the drawings, bonds seem to be indicated by horizontal lines drawn through the point at which the arms or legs are crossed. (R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* [Leipzig, 1900] 23–28 no. 20; *DT* 159.)

24. Another Greek lead *defixio* from the same cache as no. 23, above. It depicts two demons binding a headless victim in chains. (Wünsch [*supra*, no. 23] 40–41 no. 29; *DT* 167.)

NORTH AFRICA

25. Two elongated lead figurines, one male (14 cm tall) and one female (11.7 cm tall), from a sewer tunnel in Volubilis (Morocco) dating to the Roman period. Their legs are slightly twisted, and the hands of the male are crossed over its belly; the hands of the female are missing. (G. Souville, "Volubilis: Le collecteur principal du *decumanus maximus*," *BAM* 2 [1957] 175–83 nos. 36, 37, pl. ii.3, 4.)

26. Lead figurine (13 cm tall) similar to the preceding pair but of slightly better execution. It was found in Valentia Banasa, a Roman colony in Morocco approximately 75 km from Volubilis, and dates to the Roman period. It is now in the museum at Rabat. (R. Thouvenot, *Une colonie romaine de la Maurétanie Tingitane: Valentia Banasa*, *Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines* 36 [Paris 1941] 91.)

26a. A late-antique lead *defixio* from Carthage inscribed (like nos. 23, 24) with drawings of bound men, presumably depicting the charioteers who are cursed in the accompany-

ing text. (D. R. Jordan, "New Defixiones from Carthage," in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage 1* [Ann Arbor, 1988] 117–34)

Egypt

27. Unbaked clay female figurine (9 cm tall) from "Moyenne Égypte" and probably dating to the fourth century A.D. It is in a kneeling position, has its hands bound behind its back, and is pierced with thirteen bronze nails through the eyes, ears, mouth, top of the head, palms of each hand, soles of each foot, solar plexus, anus, and vagina. It had been wrapped in a lead tablet inscribed with an erotic *defixio* text (in Greek) and then set within a crudely fashioned clay pot. (P. du Bourguet, "Ensemble magique de la période romaine en Égypte," *RLouvre* [1975] 255–57; *idem*, "Une ancêtre des figurines d'envoûtement percées d'aiguilles, avec ses compléments magiques au Musée du Louvre," in *Livre du Centenaire de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, Mélanges de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale 104 [1980] 225–38; *SGD* 152.)

[A recent catalogue for a public auction sponsored by Laurin, Guilloux, Buffetaud, and Tailleux on October 27–28, 1987, advertised the sale of two figurines, one terra-cotta (cat. no. 259; height 12.5 cm) and one wax (cat. no. 260; height 12.7 cm), that are nearly identical to the Louvre figurine, no. 27, above. Both are of Egyptian provenance, depicted kneeling with hands bound behind the back, and pierced with thirteen needles. The wax figure is accompanied by a standing wax male figurine, which is unbound. I thank Dr. W. Brashear for bringing this catalogue to my attention.]

28. Two wax figurines (height not given, but Prof. F. Maltomini informs me that they are 7 cm tall), a male and a female entwined in the act of lovemaking, found in Upper Egypt north of Assiut wrapped in an inscribed fifth-century-AD papyrus and wedged inside an uninscribed clay pot. (D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *BJ* 168 [1968] 85–102 no. 4, pls. 8, 9.)

28a. Two wax figurines (10.8 cm tall), a male and a female entwined in lovemaking. Origin unknown, but given their apparent similarities with no. 28 I would be surprised if they were not from Egypt and did not date to the fourth or fifth century A.D. They are now in Munich, purchased with a covered clay jug and a much-faded papyrus said to be inscribed in Coptic, but Dr. Brashear informs me that it is indeed Greek, and that he will publish the text in *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*. (Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst inv. nos. ÄS G791–93; D. Wildung, "Requisiten eines Liebeszauber" *MJb* [1988] 210–11.)

29. Two wax figurines (height not given), a male and a female, found in Hawara near a Greek erotic *defixio*. The male has an ass's head (= Seth?) and exaggerated genitals; the female has her hands bound behind her back and a hairstyle very similar to that of figurine no. 27, above (C. C. Edgar, "A Love Charm from the Fayoum," *BSRAA* 21 [1925] 42–47; D. R. Jordan, "A Love Charm with Verses," *ZPE* 72 [1988] 247 n. 5; *SGD* 153.)

30. Mud figurine (height not given) tied to a rolled-up fourth-century-A.D. Greek erotic charm, *PGM* LXVIII. (A. S. Hunt, "An Incantation in the Ashmolean Museum," *JEA* 15 [1929] 155–57, pl. xxxi.1.)

31. Broken wax figurine (10 cm tall) of unknown provenance molded around a small, rolled papyrus, which is undoubtedly inscribed with a victim's name and a spell. Its navel has some human hair embedded in the wax. (BM inv. no. 37918; E. A. W. Budge, *British*

Museum: A Guide to the . . . Egyptian Rooms [London, 1922] 51 no. 77; M. J. Raven, "Wax in Egyptian Magic and Symbolism," *OMRL* 63 [1983] 12).

PALESTINE

[Jordan informs me *per litteras* that the loose clayey dirt found within one of the eighty unpublished *defixiones* from an early Christian necropolis in Tyre (*SGD* p. 192) is probably the remains of a clay figure.]

32. Sixteen lead slab figurines (of various heights) found in Tell Sandahannah near the sanctuary of an unidentified deity, together with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions on limestone. Their hands and feet are bound together with bronze wire. They date according to archaeological context no later than the first century B.C. (Wünsch [*supra* no. 7] 30–31; *DT* 17.)

ASIA MINOR

33. Bronze female figurine (7.3 cm tall) with head completely twisted about found near Smyrna(?) amongst a large number of small bronze human and animal figurines. (BM inv. no. 1951.3–29.1; D. E. L. Haynes, [*supra*, no. 17] 75 no. 9, pl. IIc).

BLACK SEA AREA

34. Lead box (11 cm × 5 cm) with cover from a grave in Panticapaeum. The floor of the box was once inscribed with a drawing (now gone) of a person bound with ropes. Two narrow lead scrolls were discovered within the box, which name at least six individuals. Jordan (*per litteras*) dates the letter-forms to the fourth century B.C. or later. On the exterior of the box and its lid four bands were inscribed as if depicting ropes used to bind the box shut. (K. Preisendanz, "Die stettiner Sargzauber," *FuF* 6 [1930] 149, fig. 2).

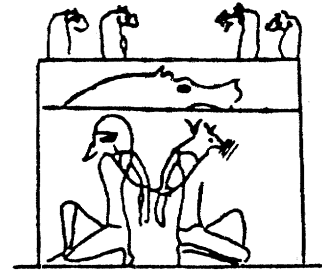


Figure 1. Examples of the Egyptian “bound captive.” (After ZDMG 123 [1973] fig. 1; P. Derchain, *Le papyrus Salt 825* [Brussels, 1965] 21*; and *ASAE* 12 [1912] 143, fig. 2)

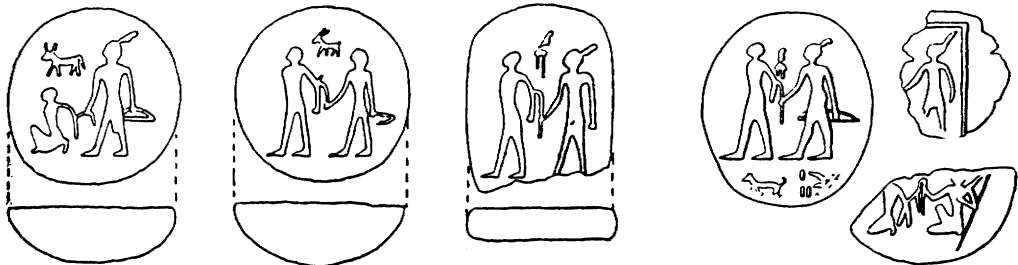


Figure 2. Egyptian clay disks of the Eighteenth Dynasty. (After T. Sove-Soderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* [Lund, 1941] 104, fig. 2)

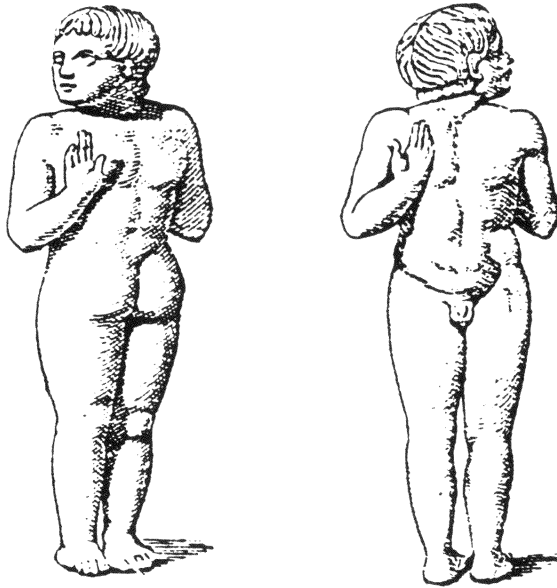


Figure 3. Bronze figurine from Cephalaria. (After *Mélusine* 9 [1898–99] 104, fig. 1)

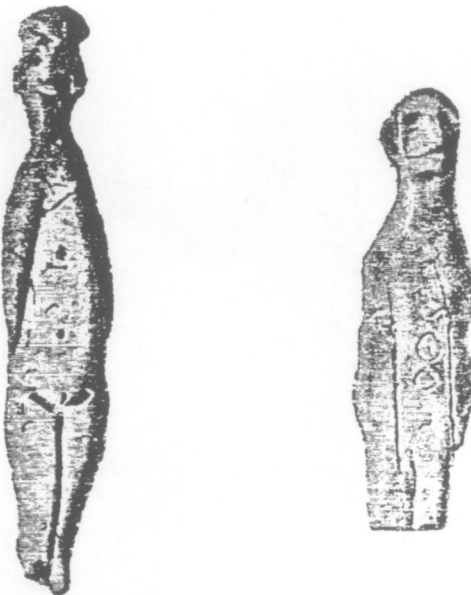


Figure 4. Clay figurines from Puteoli. (After *NS* [1897] 529–30, figs. 1, 2)

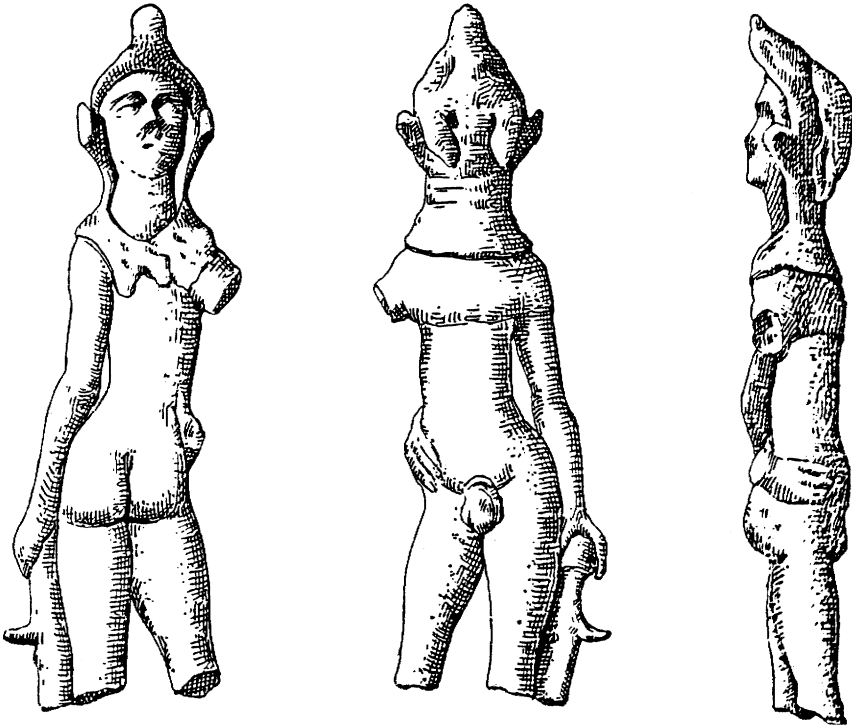


Figure 5. Bronze figurine from Città di Castello (After *SE* 1 [1927] pl. 72a)



Figure 6. Lead figurine from Athens. (After *Mélusine* 9 [1898–99] 104, fig. 2)

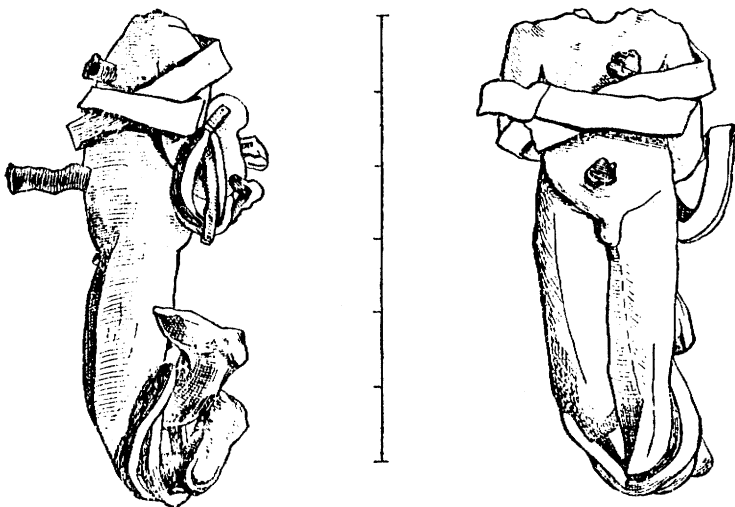


Figure 7. Decapitated lead figurine from Athens. (After *Philologus* 61 [1902] 37)



Plate 1. Lead figurine from Athens (Athens NM 10807). (Photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens)



Plate 2. Bronze figurines from Alonistena (Athens NM 15130a, b). (Photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens)

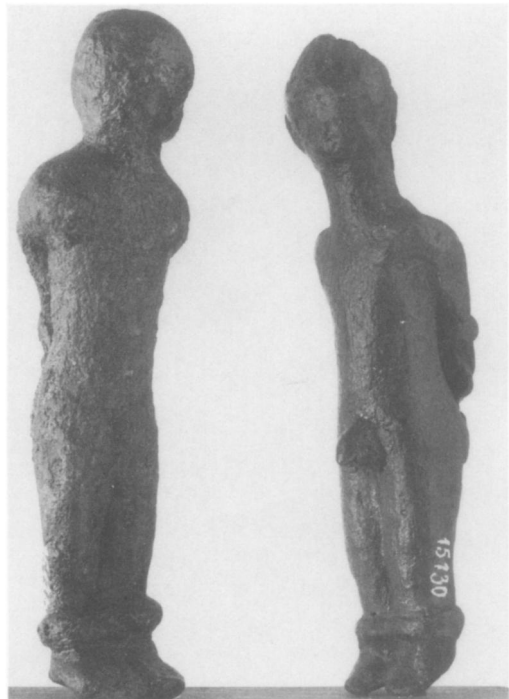


Plate 3. Bronze figurines from Alonistena (Athens NM 15130c, d). (Photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens)



Plate 4 a, Bronze figurine from Alonistena (Athens NM 15130e; photo: National Archaeological Museum, Athens).



Plate 4 b, Bronze figurine from Delos (Musée du Délos inv. no. A 2159; photo: French Archaeological Institute).



Plate 5. Lead figurines in inscribed lead coffins from a grave in the Ceramicus (ca. 400 B.C.).

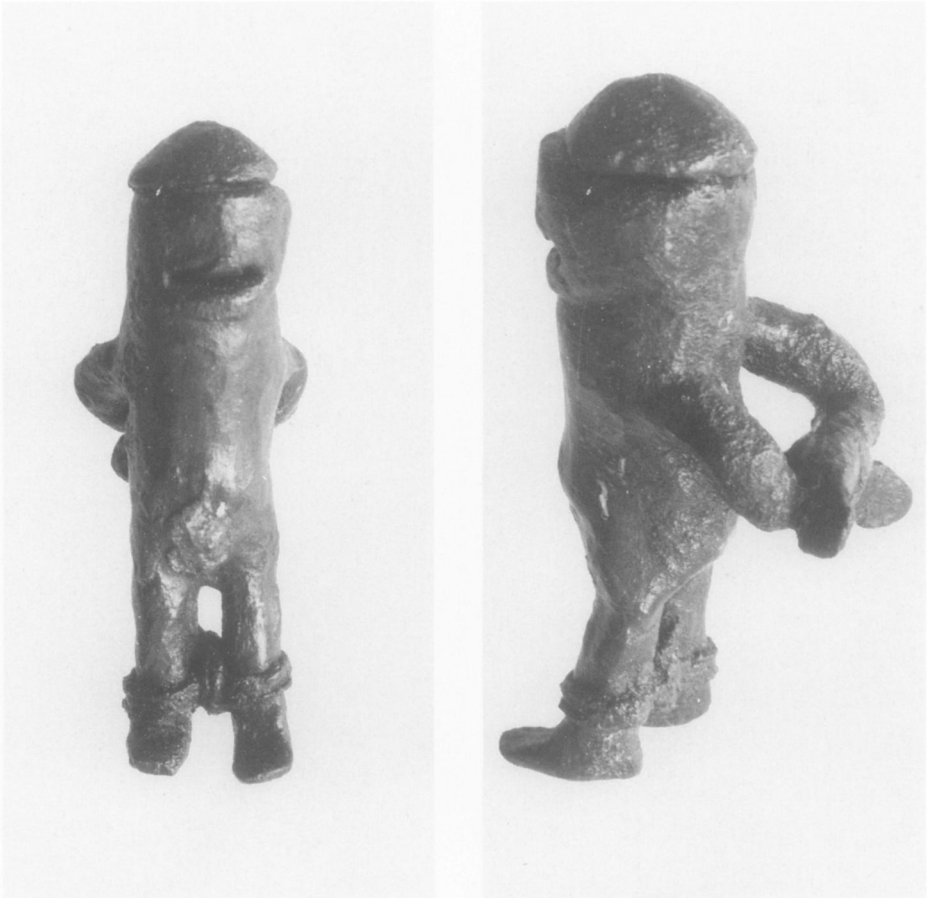


Plate 6a,b. Bronze figurine found on Delos in a house of Hellenistic date (Musée du Délos inv. no. A 2159) (Front and side views).



Plate 7a,b. Bronze figurine found on Delos in a house of Hellenistic date (Musée du Délos inv. no. A 2157) (front and side views).



Plate 8a,b. Bronze figurine found on Delos in a house of Hellenistic date (Musée du Délos inv. no. A 2158) (front and side views).



Plate 9a,b. Bronze figurine found on Delos in a house of Hellenistic date (Musée du Délos inv. no. A 2160) (front and side views).

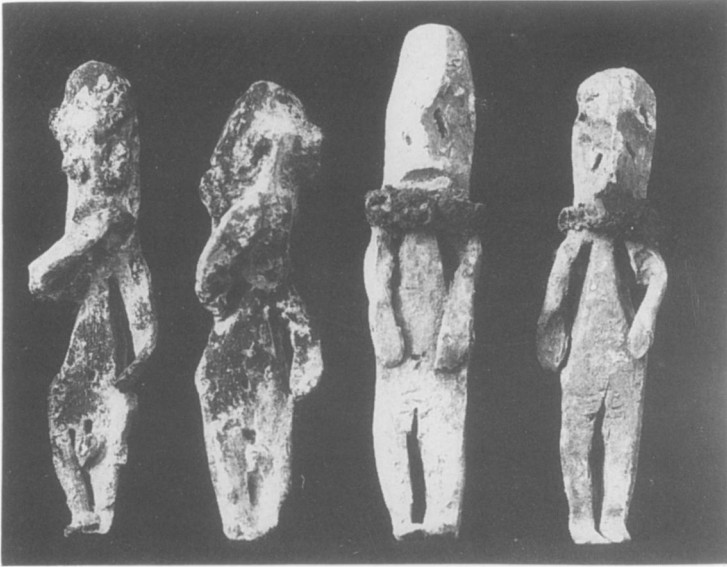


Plate 10. Four lead figurines dated to the first century B.C. found hidden in the outside of the retaining wall of the sanctuary of Zeus Hysistos on Delos (Musée du Délos inv. nos. 3787–90).

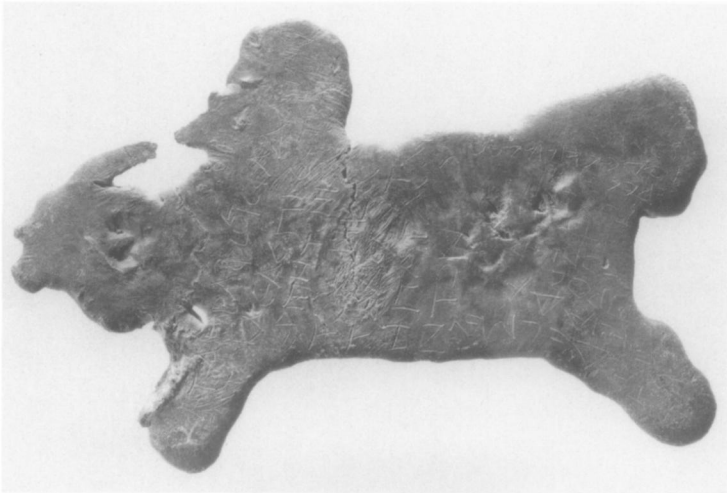


Plate 11. Flattened lead “gingerbread man” from Carystus.



Plate 12. Two early Hellenistic lead figurines from an Etruscan tomb in Sovana (front view).

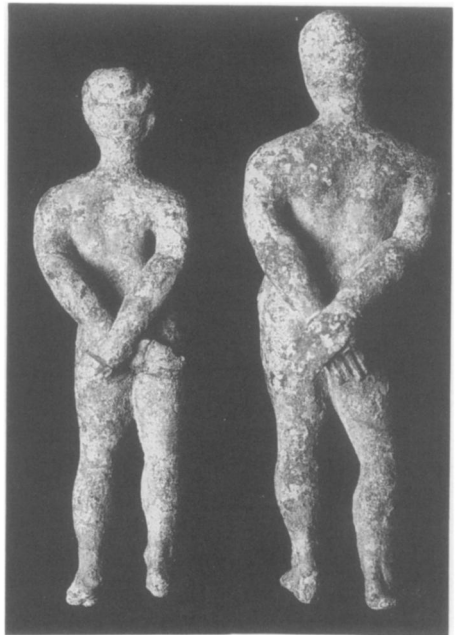


Plate 13. Two early Hellenistic lead figurines from an Etruscan tomb in Sovana (rear view).