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Chapter 4: Hair Today, Gone Tomorrow: The Use of Real, False and Artificial Hair as Votive Offerings

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Introduction

For the last three thousand years the anatomical *ex-voto* – whether made from terracotta, stone, metal or wood, whether in the form of eyes, ears, arms, hands, fingers, legs, feet, toes, internal organs, genitals or other recognisable parts of the internal and external body – has performed a continuous albeit not entirely understood role in both ritual and healing practice. But precisely what should be included in this category of artefact? Should we perhaps include votive offerings consisting of actual parts of the human body rather than just terracotta, stone, metal or wood facsimiles? For obvious reasons there are few parts of the human body that it would be possible to utilise in this way: namely hair, nails (both finger and toe) and teeth. These are the only parts of the human body that not only either fall out or fall off of their own accord or which can be removed without causing serious long-term harm or compromising the overall integrity of the human body and its ability to function. While there is ancient ample literary, documentary and archaeological evidence for the votive offering of hair cut straight from the dedicant's head there is somewhat less evidence for the votive offering of nails and teeth, so it is this first type of votive offering consisting of an actual part of the body that will be the focus of this chapter. However, 'real' hair was not the only type of hair that was dedicated as an *ex-voto* in ancient Greek and Roman sanctuaries, temples and shrines. 'False' hair – that is human hair that was used to create wigs and hair pieces – was also dedicated, as was 'artificial' hair – that is objects

fashioned from substances such as terracotta, stone, metal, wood or textile that represent an isolated section of the hairstyle itself such as a scalp or a braid. In addition to these supplicants dedicated *ex-voto* heads and half-heads in which the head and facial hair was frequently a prominent and thus perhaps significant feature.

How to explain the existence of this wide range of *ex-votos*? This chapter will survey the many different types of hair *ex-voto* that were offered in the ancient world, examining the use of real hair, false hair, artificial hair, head and half-head *ex-votos* with a view to establishing how these very different objects were used, and whether they were used in the same ways and for the same reasons.

Hair and Health

The most common interpretation of anatomical *ex-votos* is that they were offered to gods and goddesses associated with certain aspects of healing, such as Asclepius and Hygieia, at sanctuaries, temples and shrines associated with healing cult practice (see for example Lang, 1977; Comella, 1982–83; Aleshire, 1989; 1991; Girardon, 1993; Turfa, 1994; and the Introduction to this volume). To what extent does this interpretation accord with what is known of the dedication of hair *ex-votos*?

In his 1969 article ‘Social Hair’, Christopher Hallpike set out what he considered to be the ‘special’ characteristics of hair (Hallpike, 1969, p. 269). First, it grows constantly; second, it can be cut painlessly; third, it grows in such great quantities that it is impossible to count individual hairs; fourth, head hair is apparent on infants of both sexes at birth; fifth, genital/anal hair appears in both sexes at puberty; sixth, males develop facial and body hair even after puberty; seventh, hair on different parts of the body is of different textures; eighth, hair turns white and/or

falls out in old age; and ninth, hair is a prominent feature of animals. Bearing these nine characteristics and their implications in mind Hallpike considered that it would be surprising if all of hair's ritual and symbolic characteristics could be reduced to a single origin. Certainly in antiquity hair was utilised in a range of different religious rituals that were by no means all associated with health and healing. Hair was both grown long and cut short in the service of gods, goddesses, heroes and heroines – perhaps the most famous example, both in antiquity and today, of a votive hair offering is the Lock of Berenike (Callimachus, *Aetia* 110.7; Catullus, *Carmina* 66.9–12; Hyginus, *Poeticon astronomicon* 2.24). Whether hair remained on the head ('growing hair for the god') or was cut away from it, it took the form of an *ex-voto*. These processes of growing the hair, styling the hair, cutting the hair or shaving the head could be undertaken not only to mark different stages of life such as birth, the end of childhood and/or beginning of puberty, citizenship, marriage and/or the birth of a child but also specific occasions such as surviving a shipwreck (for the circumstances under which hair would be dedicated see Rouse, 1902, pp. 240–49; Burkert, 1987, p. 70; these circumstances are also discussed in Levine, 1995, pp. 85–7; Leitao, 2003, pp. 112–18). Additionally, there are accounts of gods, goddesses, heroes and heroines interacting with individuals and their hair, often with lasting effects, which may have resulted in especially charged votive offerings subsequently being dedicated. Heraieus of Mytilene, for example, had a testimonial inscribed upon a stele at the Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus: 'He had no hair on his head, but an abundant growth on his chin. He was ashamed because he was laughed at by others. He slept in the Temple. The god, by anointing his head with some drugs, made him grow hair' (*IG IV* 1.121; Stele 1, no. 19, Edelstein and Edelstein 1945 and 1998, p. 233). Similarly, the emperor Nero's ancestor Lucius Domitius reportedly gained the *cognomen* Ahenobarbus, subsequently borne by him and all of his descendants, at the

Battle of Lake Regillus in 496 BC after having his cheeks stroked by the Dioscuri, an act which turned his beard from black to bronze (Suetonius, *Nero* 1; Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus* 25.4).

‘Ahenobarbus’, taken from *aheneus* ‘bronze’ and *barbus* ‘beard’, perhaps also adds an extra layer of significance to Nero’s dedication of his first beard shavings – the *depositio barbae* – to the Capitoline gods (Suetonius, *Nero* 12).

Hair was offered to a variety of gods, goddesses and other mythological figures throughout the ancient world. Herodotus’ *Histories*, dating from the late fifth century BC, recounts practices that the author himself had observed being undertaken in Egypt:

Townfolk in each place, when they pay their vows, pray to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving all or one half or one third of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it and feeds them. (Herodotus, *Histories* 2.65.4)¹

Diodorus Siculus’ *Historical Library*, written several centuries later in the mid first century BC, reported that this practice was ongoing and he specifically connected it with the health of the children in question: ‘The Egyptians make vows to certain gods on behalf of their children who have been delivered from an illness, in which case they shave off their hair and weigh it against silver or gold, and then give the money to the attendants of the animals mentioned’ (Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library* 1.83.2). Either this practice or a similar one perhaps accounts for two

¹ On the hair offerings consisting of locks of hair rolled up in clay made to the Egyptian gods during the Pharaonic period, see Tassie (1996). A study into the contents of Egyptian clay balls is currently being undertaken at the University of Manchester’s KNH Centre for Egyptology by Dr Natalie McCreesh.

mummy portraits in which young children are depicted with almost entirely shaved heads (Ikram, 2003). In the first (Figure 4.1), which is thought to date to around AD 150–200, a young boy sports an entirely shaved head except for a side-lock of youth (or ‘Horus lock’) on the right side of his head and two tufts of hair above his forehead. In the second (Figure 4.2), which is thought to date to around AD 230–50, a young boy has a traditional hairstyle starting further back on his scalp but the front of his head is shaved except for four tufts of hair above his forehead.

[Insert Figure 4.1 here – portrait]

Figure 4.1 Mummy Portrait, J. P. Getty Museum inv. 78.AP.262.

Source: Digital image courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program.

[Insert Figure 4.2 here – portrait]

Figure 4.2 Mummy Portrait, British Museum inv. 6715.

Source: Image courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Salima Ikram (2003, p. 89) has argued that this practice of shaving part of the head is indicative of an offering having been made in an attempt to improve the health or even save the life of the child. Similar practices are also undertaken in present-day Egypt (Tassie, 1996; Blackman, 2000[1927], pp. 84–7 and p. 290). However, in both cases represented by the mummy portraits this action seems to have taken place to no avail. Although the first portrait has subsequently been separated from the mummified remains, the second has not. Analysis of the skeleton indicates that the portrait was accurate and the deceased was aged between seven and

ten years old when he died. Perhaps the hair that was shaved off was weighed and the equivalent value in gold or silver dedicated to a god or goddess as recounted by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

According to Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, written in the late second century AD, Alexanor the son of Machaon and thus the grandson of Asclepius built a sanctuary dedicated to the latter at Titane in Sicyonia (the site is currently being explored and excavated by the Belgian School at Athens, but for interim results see Lolos, 2005; Nuttens et al., 2007). As was common in Asclepieia the sanctuary contained not only a cult statue of Asclepius but also a number of others that depicted figures particularly associated with the god to whom supplicants could likewise make votive or sacrificial offerings:

Of the image [of Asclepius] can be seen only the face, hands, and feet, for it has about it a tunic of white wool and a cloak. There is a similar image of Hygieia; this, too, one cannot see easily because it is so surrounded with the locks of women, who cut them off and offer them to the goddess, and with strips of Babylonian raiment. With whichever of these a votary here is willing to propitiate heaven, the same instructions have been given to him, to worship this image which they are pleased to call Health. There are images also of Alexanor and of Euamerion; to the former they give offerings as to a hero after the setting of the sun; to Euamerion, as being a god, they give burnt sacrifices. (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.11.6–7)²

² On the family of Asclepius, see Stafford (2005, pp. 127–34). While it was common for cult statues of Asclepius to be accompanied by cult statues of various members of his family such as Hygieia and Telesphorus other statue types were sometimes dedicated too, such as one of Apollonius Mys the emperor Augustus' personal physician in the Temple of Asclepius on Tiber Island at Rome: Suetonius, *Augustus* 59.

In this particular case it would appear that locks of hair were only offered to Asclepius and Hygieia, with the offerings being subsequently displayed upon the statue of Hygieia and with alternative offerings being made to the other gods. A series of inscriptions dating to the third century AD that have been recovered from the sanctuary of Asclepius at Paphos indicate that similar activities were being undertaken there a century later. Two inscriptions record the offering of a boy's 'childhood hair' (τὴν παιδικὴν τρίχα and τὴν παίδιον τρίχα respectively) to the god and goddess by his mother, while a third records the offering of a youth's 'ephebic hair' (τρίχα τὴν ἔφηβίην) by his father (*IG* XII 5.173.3; XII 5.173.5; XII 5.173.5). There is therefore ancient literary and documentary evidence for hair *ex-votos* having been offered specifically to deities for the purpose of ensuring good health or rectifying poor health.

Hair and Religious Ritual in the Ancient World

Healing sanctuaries encouraged devotees to act publicly, both through making vows and through fulfilling them with sacrificial or votive offerings in a manner that was both visible and audible, thus ensuring that these activities were not only something to be performed but also something to be seen to be performed.³ The incorporation of such offerings into religious rituals was a product of ancient beliefs regarding the importance of reciprocity (that by making an offering to the gods they will give something in return, or that if the gods give something the recipient must make an

³ It is worth noting that in antiquity medical practitioners such as physicians, surgeons and dentists frequently not only consulted with but also treated their patients in front of an audience consisting of the family and friends of the patient, the patient's slaves, the practitioner's slaves, apprentices or colleagues or even interested onlookers. For discussion of this see Draycott (2014). For discussion of this with specific reference to Galen's demonstrations of dissection and vivisection see von Staden (1995).

offering to them in return) and quality (that the finer or more elaborate the offering the more effective the prayers accompanying it will be), but these also enabled public demonstrations of piety, status and wealth (van Straten, 1981, pp. 63–77). The acquisition of a suitable offering, whether it was specially commissioned or simply chosen from an available selection, was a performance in itself, with the supplicant performing for both a human audience (consisting of the craftsman responsible for producing the votives at the very least but perhaps also the sanctuary personnel and other worshippers) and a divine one. The presentation of the *ex-voto* within the sanctuary was a second performance made not only for the benefit of the supplicant but also for the benefit of those around them, again both human and divine. If the *ex-voto* had been made in advance and this supplication proved successful this would necessitate a return to the sanctuary. Once there a third performance would take place during which a second *ex-voto* – a thank offering – would be presented. Consequently, the visual dynamics within the microcosm of a sanctuary were crucial: the ritual viewing of the cult image and the dedications that had been left there was part of the process by which an individual worshipped and the display of such *ex-votos* provided evidence of divine manifestation, demonstrated the deity's efficacy and was thus central to maintaining the deity's prestige and ensuring future worship (Petsalis-Diomidis, 2005, pp. 187–8). In a very real sense the sanctuary was a theatre, their interiors the stage upon which the supplicants performed for their human and divine audiences and then, once they had finished, the *ex-votos* they left behind would serve as a constant reminder of those performances.

The dedication of hair to gods, goddesses and other mythological figures occurred not only as part of certain specific ceremonies marking significant events such as initiations, marriages and funerals but also on a more ad hoc basis as a thank offering for something such as recovery from an illness or escape from disaster. How exactly were these dedications made? What did the

process of dedicating a hair *ex-voto* involve? It would appear that for offerings of real human hair the hair was grown, worn and then cut in public. As was noted above, in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Titane women hung locks of their hair upon the cult statue of Hygieia (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 2.11.6). This was perhaps due to a belief in the power of proximity – that the closer the *ex-voto* was placed to the cult statue the more immediate and/or effective the divine intervention would be – but it also ensured that the dedications were highly visible to those entering the sanctuary and approaching the cult statue. In the sanctuary of Zeus at Panamara in Caria hair was either – if dedicated by the wealthy – enclosed in a small stone coffer in the form of a stele and set up in the precinct with an inscription placed upon it, or – if dedicated by those with fewer financial resources – placed in a hole in the wall or hung upon the wall with a small label placed upon it (*I. Str.* 428, 434, 449 and 1263). In the case of the former, although the hair itself was no longer visible the stele and inscription certainly were, and in the case of the latter the hair remained visible in conjunction with a label which named the dedicant. In Hieropolis in Syria hair was placed within a sacred vase, so while the hair was not itself visible the sacred vase that contained it was (Lucian, *On the Syrian Goddess* 60). On Delos when boys and girls cut their hair in honour of the Nymphs of Hyperborea the boys wound their hair in wisps of a certain type of grass growing nearby, while the girls wound theirs around their spindles and both types of offering were placed upon the nymphs' tomb, thus both remaining visible to those who might come after them (Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 4.292; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.43.4).

The unique nature of hair combined with its tenacity and durability ensured that the connection established between the deity and the dedicant would continue for as long as the hair was present in the sanctuary (see Pointon, 1999 for the afterlife of hair). Antipater of

Thessalonica writes of an offering made to the god Phoebus Apollo by a young man named Lycon:

Having shaved the down that flowered in its season under his temples, [he dedicated] his cheeks' messengers of manhood, a first offering, and prayed that he might so shave gray hairs from his whitened temples. Grant him these, and even as you made him earlier, so make him hereafter, with the snows of old age upon him. (*Palatine Anthology* 6.198)⁴

Indeed, it is entirely possible that such a connection could last for the entirety of the dedicant's life, with supplicants redeeming the vows they made as youngsters by offering the white hair of their old age (*Palatine Anthology* 6.193).

Yet it is clear that in addition to dedicating *ex-votos* consisting of real human hair freshly grown, styled and cut from their own heads, supplicants also dedicated *ex-votos* consisting of false and artificial hair. Since hair *ex-votos* are (almost) alone amongst the entire range of anatomical *ex-votos* in representing a body part that it was possible to dedicate without requiring a facsimile why were the latter utilised at all? A simple answer may lie in the fact that offerings of false and/or artificial hair *ex-votos* were perhaps made by those who lacked sufficient hair of their own to make an acceptable offering. Two possible examples of this practice are represented by unfortunately unprovenanced *ex-votos* that are housed in the Wellcome Collection (Figure 4.3). These mould-made terracotta *ex-votos* were painted in different colours (white on the left

⁴ See also *Palatine Anthology* 6.242 in which Crinagoras asks Zeus and Artemis to protect his brother Euclides from the growth of his first beard to his first grey hair.

and black on the right), thus introducing an element of choice – perhaps even personalisation – into the process of selecting an *ex-voto*.

[Insert Figure 4.3 here – portrait]

Figure 4.3 Terracotta *ex-votos*, Wellcome Museum inv. A114891 and inv. A634932.

Source: Wellcome Library, London.

However, there are also examples of real and artificial hair *ex-votos* being used together with inscriptions that commemorate the offering of a lock of hair and also depict a representation of the said lock alongside the text, such as an inscription from Thessalian Thebes dating to the late Hellenistic or early imperial period which commemorates the offerings made to Poseidon by two brothers, Philombrotos and Aphthonetos (*IG IX 2.146*) (see Figure 4.4). Another example can be found in the form of a terracotta braid from the Asclepieion in Corinth (Lang, 1977, p. 29, pl. 29) (Figure 4.5).

[Insert Figure 4.4 here – portrait]

Figure 4.4 Inscription from Thebes, *IG IX 2.146*.

Source: Image courtesy of G. Bissas.

[Insert Figure 4.5 here – portrait]

Figure 4.5 Terracotta braid *ex-voto* from Corinth.

Source: Image courtesy of G. Bissas, after Lang, 1977, p. 29, pl. 29.

Thus it is possible that *ex-votos* consisting of real hair were destroyed periodically or whenever the cult statue or sanctuary space was cleaned, both as a way of dealing with the accumulation of tens, if not hundreds, or even thousands of offerings over time and as a means of preventing the powerful hair from falling into the hands of evildoers who would pervert the *ex-voto* for their own nefarious purposes, usually as part of love spells (for examples see Euripides, *Hippolytus* 507–18; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 3.16; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 288–9; *Papyrus Michigan* 16.757).

Hair and the Human Body

The human body was the locus of much ritual activity in the ancient world and thus it would not be surprising to see advantage being taken of the ready availability of hair, nails and teeth in both religious and magical practice (Hallpike, 1969, p. 257). Certainly, as discussed above, human hair was regularly utilised in all manner of religious rituals and as early as 1886 George Wilken suggested that the ritual cutting of hair (or ‘hair sacrifice’) served as a substitute for human sacrifice on a *pars pro toto* basis. He argued that hair was considered appropriate for the purpose because the head is the seat of the soul (see also Hallpike, 1969, p. 149). The evidence for finger- and toe-nails having been used in similar ways is less certain. One notable exception is found in the case of the Roman *flamen Dialis* whose hair *and* nails could only be cut by a free man using bronze utensils, with the trimmings of both subsequently disposed of by being buried underneath a fruitful tree (Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 10.15). Once removed, teeth seem to have simply been discarded as attested, for example, by the milk and adult teeth found in the drain of a bathhouse at the legionary fortress at Caerleon in Wales (Fagan, 1999, p. 87) and almost one hundred human teeth discovered in a drain below what is assumed to have been a dentist’s shop near the

Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum (Ginge et al., 1989; Becker and Turfa, forthcoming). However, hair, nails and teeth all seem to have been utilised in ancient magical rituals with both Greek and Roman witches believed to harvest ingredients for their spells from the bodies of both the living and the dead. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* the witch Pamphile sends her accomplice Photis to retrieve the object of her affection's hair cuttings from the floor of a barber's shop:

At the moment [Pamphile] is passionately in love with a very attractive lad from Boeotia, and she is feverishly employing all the resources and mechanisms of her craft against him ... Yesterday on her way back from the baths, she caught sight of him by chance sitting in the barber's. She told me to steal some of his hair secretly. It lay on the ground where it had fallen after being cut off. But the barber found me as I was carefully and stealthily gathering it up and, because we are in any case notorious throughout the town for our evil techniques, he grabbed hold of me and shouted at me meanly: 'You are the lowest of the low! Is there no end to your constant theft of choice young men's hair? If you do not now put an end to this criminal activity, nothing shall stop me hauling you before the magistrates!' He matched his actions to his words. He stuck his hand down my dress and felt around, and angrily pulled out from between my breasts the locks I had already managed to hide there. (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 3.16)

Other ancient witches go further still, harvesting body parts from smouldering funerary pyres and digging up freshly buried corpses in graveyards (see for example Horace, *Epodes* 5; Lucan, *Civil War* 6.434–587). Witches were particularly associated with Thessaly (Phillips, 2002) and it

is therefore interesting that the inscription and relief dedicated to Poseidon by Philombrotos and Aphthonetos (Figure 4.4) was set up in Thessaly. Additionally, in Lucan's *Civil War*, the witch Erictho not only gathers her ingredients from the dead, '[gnawing] at the pale nails of the dried-out hand', but also hovers over the living during their final moments, '[cutting] the lock from the dying adolescent' (Lucan, *Civil War* 6.507).

It is clear from a variety of sources that hair was considered to be an important component of the human body as a whole. Philippus of Thessalonica wrote an epigram describing the scattered remains of a man washed up on a beach and hair (or rather, the body's lack of hair) features prominently as an indication of how wrong this is: 'Here lies the head, hair-stripped and tooth-bereft, there the hand's five fingers and the flesh-forsaken ribs, apart are the feet deprived of sinews and the limbs' disjointed frame. This man in many parts was once a whole' (*Palatine Anthology* 7.383). However, while hair was certainly important, possession of it was not on its own enough. Whether male or female an individual's head of hair was expected to be healthy and attractive, so it is hardly surprising that barbers and hair-dressers seem to have proliferated (Nicolson, 1891; Bartman, 2001; Olson, 2008). However, barbers and hairdressers were not the only professionals responsible for maintaining their client's hair. Physicians circulated numerous remedies claiming not just to encourage hair-growth, increase hair thickness and darken or dye hair but also to treat more debilitating conditions such as hair-loss or dandruff (on hair-loss: Celsus, *On Medicine* 6.4; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 28.164; Galen, 12.403–5 K; Aëtius, *Sixteen Books on Medicine* 6.65; Paul of Aegina, *Medical Compendium in Seven Books* 3.1.1–2; on encouraging hair-growth: Galen, 13.432–4 K; on dandruff: Galen, 12.492–3 K; on dying hair: Paul of Aegina, *Medical Compendium in Seven Books* 3.2.1). For those for whom these remedies failed to work the one remaining option was to try to hide the affliction. Julius Caesar reportedly

first tried combing his remaining hair forward before resorting to wearing his laurel crown to cover his bald spot, while the emperors Otho and Domitian wore wigs (Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 45.2; *Otho* 12; *Domitian* 18).

As a man or a woman aged both the colour and texture of their hair would change naturally. However, the process by which hair would turn first grey and then eventually white or, worse still, thin before being lost entirely was associated not only with ageing but also with decline and then death. Philodemus of Gadara writing of the courtesan Charito, observes that although she is sixty years old ‘the long train of her black hair is unchanged’ and this is in stark contrast to his depiction of himself at the age of 37, ‘already ... white hairs besprinkle me, announcers of discretion’s years’ (Charito: *Palatine Anthology* 5.13; Philodemus himself: *Palatine Anthology* 11.41; 5.112). This process is not easy to hide either, as Antiphilus observes that ‘though you may smooth the ragged skin of your channelled cheeks and put coal-black on your useless eyes and dye your white hair black and hang around your temples curly fine crisped ringlets, all that is useless’ (*Palatine Anthology* 11.66; jokes are frequently made at the expense of older women attempting to look young by authors such as Ovid and Martial).

Molly Levine elaborated upon Wilken’s theory regarding ‘hair sacrifice’ and proposed that in antiquity hair could stand for the whole person as a metonym, observing that the Latin word *capillus* (‘hair’) is itself a diminutive of *caput* (‘head’) so the word literally means ‘little head’ (Levine, 1995, p. 85). Thus Petronius has Eumolpus sing a song that equates the loss of hair with the loss of life: ‘You see in your hair’s death a token of mortality’ (Petronius, *Satyricon* 109). His inspiration for this is that his companions Encolpius and Giton have been forced to shave their heads and faces in an attempt to disguise themselves as slaves. This loss of head and facial

hair is humiliating, serving to diminish them in not only their own eyes but also the eyes of others and necessitating drastic steps being taken to restore them to their former glory:

One of Tryphaena's maids took Giton below and decked him out in a curly wig belonging to her mistress. She even produced false eyebrows from a little box, and, tracing the curves where his eyebrows had been, repaired the damage to his features. All of his beauty was restored. Tryphaena recognised her own Giton, burst into tears, and gave him his first really sincere kiss since encountering him again. I was happy that the boy had returned to his original glory, but I had myself to think about. I kept hiding my face, because I knew that I was mutilated to no ordinary extent. Not even Lichas saw fit to speak to me. But the same maid noticed my embarrassment and took me aside to adorn me with a wig no less splendid. In fact, I was even more handsome than before, because my new hair was bright blond.

(Petronius, *Satyricon* 110)

Giton and Encolpius' loss of hair is described as 'damage' and 'mutilation'. The use of artificial hair and eyebrows to restore them to their former glory (and even improve upon it in Encolpius' case) involves not only repairing what had been damaged and mutilated and reassembling what had been fragmented but also replacing what had been lost and essentially creating something new in the process (on the relationship between parts of the body and the whole body see Hughes, 2008; Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes, 2010). The fact that the hair pieces belong to a woman does not seem to matter, at least to Encolpius and Giton, although Petronius' readers may have thought differently as men who were deemed to be effeminate were subjected to severe criticism by their peers.

It is clear that an intact body was important if not fundamental. Any deviation from the norm was viewed with suspicion, with physical imperfections being considered sufficient cause to disqualify someone from holding a priesthood or even result in their being excluded from one already held if they suffered injury during their tenure (Plutarch, *Roman Questions* 73). However, body parts that were lost could be replaced with prostheses, with one notable example of this coming in the form of Marcus Sergius Silus' right hand lost in his second military campaign during the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7.28.104–5). It was replaced with an iron one that he used to hold his shield and he continued to fight using his left hand to wield his sword. The use of prostheses can be seen as dovetailing with these concepts of repair, reassembly, replacement and the creation of something new (on prostheses in the ancient world see Bliquez, 1996).

Although individuals born with a disfigurement or disability could be subject to assumptions that they were being punished for their (or their ancestors') transgressions, those who acquired one during life through some sort of heroic activity could use it to their advantage (on disfigurement and disability as punishment in the ancient world see Vlahogiannis, 1998; 2005; on using a wound to one's advantage see Leigh, 1995). One notable example concerned the right hand of Gaius Mucius, lost in a failed attempt to assassinate Lars Porsena the king of Clusium in 508 BC, after which Gaius Mucius was known as Scaevola, 'the left-handed man' (Livy, *On the Foundation of the City* 2.12.1–13.5). In circumstances such as these where a missing body part and its subsequent replacement became overlaid with meanings and associations it is possible that the prosthesis in question might be dedicated as a votive offering in its turn and might perhaps on occasion be intended to serve as an anatomical *ex-voto* itself. An example is found in *Papyrus Gissen* 20 (Hermopolis, AD 117–18) which details how a shrine is to be maintained by

a manufacturer of artificial limbs, *ὁ κωλοπλάστης* (*kōloplastēs*), which could have served a dual purpose as anatomical votive offerings (Draycott, 2014). Is there evidence of ‘false’ or even ‘artificial’ hair being used in this way? The poet Myrinus writes an epigram in which he presents Statyllius (who he refers to dismissively as ‘the effeminate’) dedicating ‘his borrowed curls, nard-greasy’ along with items of clothing and footwear to the god Priapus shortly before his death presumably as a means of easing his passing (*Palatine Anthology* 6.254). Thus it is possible that wigs and hair pieces were dedicated as *ex-votos* in sanctuaries, as in addition to dedicating locks of their own hair people also dedicated items involved in hairdressing such as head-dresses, hair-nets and hair-pins. Several epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology* imagine such scenarios: upon becoming an adult woman Timarete dedicates her dolls, ball, tambourine and child’s head-dress, while upon achieving a legal marriage Alcibië (the name perhaps chosen to evoke the famous courtesan) dedicates her hair-net to the goddess Hera, and Philaenis dedicates a purple hair-net, ‘protector of much-braided hair’, to the goddess Aphrodite (*Palatine Anthology* 6.280; 6.133; 6.207). Certainly, wigs and hair pieces were deposited in tombs and graves as grave goods in the ancient world. A number of hair pieces dating from the Predynastic Period through the Late Period have been recovered from ancient sites in Egypt including extensions, braids, wigs and their storage boxes (Fletcher, 2002; 2005). There are somewhat fewer examples dating from the Greco-Roman period including several hair pieces from Les Martres-de-Veyre in France (Audollent, 1923) and from Rainham Creek in Britain (Allason-Jones, 2005, p. 133). A wig made from hair-moss has been recovered from the Roman fort at Vindolanda and a similar object has been recovered from Newstead, both in Britain (Allason-Jones, 2005, p. 132). The use of such items as grave goods indicates that they were considered to

be necessary in the afterlife, perhaps a continuing means of repairing and reassembling their owner's damaged and mutilated body in a similar way to extremity prostheses.

The Importance of Hair in the Ancient World

In antiquity the appearance of an individual's hair transmitted many complex and intertwined messages about him or her to the world at large, informing observers of their sex and/or gender, age, ethnicity, marital status and even profession (Levine, 1995, p. 80). Although the specifics varied according to territory, men and women were generally subject to different sets of expectations with regard to how they dealt with their hair. Thus the men of Classical Athens were expected to cut their hair short (and men who did not, such as Alcibiades, were regarded with suspicion), while the men of Classical Sparta not only grew their hair long but also maintained and styled it, while Spartan women cut their hair upon marriage and subsequently kept it short (Athenian and Spartan men: Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 22.1; Herodotus, *Histories* 7.208–09; Spartan women: Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 15.3). Roman men were likewise expected to keep their hair short and were subject to criticism if they did not, while women were considered sexually unattractive if their hair was cut short (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.8). Hair played an important part in the ageing process and the accompanying markers, with boys cutting their hair or shaving their faces for the first time to mark their transition to manhood and girls wearing their hair long and loose until marriage or the birth of their first child at which point they began to tie it back and cover it up with veils (adolescent Athenian boys cutting their hair: Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.37.3; adolescent Spartan boys growing their hair long: Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 22.1; boys shaving their facial hair for the first time (*depositio barbae*): *Palatine Anthology* 6.242; Petronius, *Satyricon* 29; Juvenal, *Satires* 8.166; Suetonius, *Caligula* 10; *Nero* 12; Cassius Dio,

Roman History 48.34.3; girls with free-flowing hair as the mark of a virgin: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.413; girls changing their hair upon first childbirth: *Palatine Anthology* 6.201). Hair was also used as a way to differentiate between ‘civilised’ Greeks and Romans and ‘barbaric’ ‘others’ such as Britons who according to Julius Caesar and Propertius plastered their hair, beards and moustaches with woad (Julius Caesar, *Gallic War* 5.14; Propertius, *Elegies* 2.18.23–32) and Africans, with the latter accordingly subjected to criticism that not even members of foreign royal families were exempt from (see Cicero’s criticism of King Juba of Numidia’s hair and beard: Cicero, *On the Agrarian Law* 2.59; see Aldhouse-Green, 2004a, pp. 315–18; 2004b, pp. 334–45 on the Roman (mis)use of hair as a means of denigrating defeated ‘barbarian’ foes). It was also possible to identify an individual’s profession by their haircut or style. Greek priests wore their hair long while Egyptian priests and priestesses shaved their heads and bodies (Herodotus, *Histories* 2.36), and Roman Vestal Virgins cut their hair short and arranged it in the traditional *seni crines* hairstyle consisting of six braids covered with a *reticulum luteum* and *flammeum* (Festus, *Glossaria Latina* 454.23 L). The wife of the *flamen Dialis*, the *flaminica*, wore her hair in the archaic *tutulus* hairstyle (in which the hair was piled up on top of the head in a cone-shaped bun with locks brought forward onto the crown of the head and tied with *vittae*) and was forbidden from combing it in the months of March and June (Ovid, *Fasti* 3.393–8; 6.226–34). Individuals in mourning were marked out because of the state of their hair, with both Greek and Roman men and women growing their hair and neglecting to style it (Aeschylus, *Suppliant Women* 6–7; Herodotus, *Histories* 2.36).

Discussion of ancient hairstyling and styles is highly pertinent to the study of anatomical votives as one of the most common components of votive deposits is the head or half-head, whether male or female, adult or child (Steingraber, 1980; Söderlind, 2005). The prevailing

interpretation of these head and half-head *ex-votos* is that they are *pars pro toto* representations and that since they are all rendered on the same scale and in the same style as anatomical *ex-votos* they must represent mortals rather than deities (Turfa, 1994; 2006a). This would seem to account not only for the stylistic differences between them but also indicates an attempt to personalise them through the selection of particular colours of paint for the purpose of decoration or even deliberate alterations and mutilations to the face or head itself (Aldhouse-Green, 1999, discusses votive heads from Fontes Sequanae which have been adapted to show particular pathologies). This begs the question were these heads and half-heads perhaps deliberately selected and then offered by people who intended them to serve as substitutes for themselves (Bartoloni and Benedettini, 2011, pp. 786–7)? This in turn raises the related question of whether the hairstyles featured on full-length figurines should be viewed likewise? Is it possible to relate with any level of confidence the hairstyle worn by a head or half-head *ex-voto* to the hairstyle of the supplicant who offered it?

Were votive heads and half-heads specially selected in order to represent the specific individual who dedicated them? Male votive heads from Etruria are generally depicted bareheaded (*capite aperto*) whereas those from Rome and Latium are generally depicted with *velum* (*capite velato*), perhaps a reflection of differing religious practices in these different regions (Söderlind, 2005, p. 359; this issue is explored more thoroughly and critically in Glinister, 2009). Female votive heads are considerably more varied due to the variety of hairstyles and hair coverings that could be worn by Greek and Roman girls and women depending on their stage of life (La Follette, 1994; Sebesta, 1994; Bartman, 2001). Thus a votive head of a young freeborn girl would depict her with her hair braided and tied with a *vitta* (Nonius Marcellus, *De compendiosa doctrina* 236 M). One of a bride or Vestal Virgin would depict her

with her hair arranged in the traditional *seni crines* hairstyle (Figure 4.6) (Festus, *Glossaria Latinae* 454.23 L; Propertius, *Elegies* 4.3.15; 4.11.33; on the *seni crines* as a bridal hairstyle see Torelli, 1984, pp. 33–7). Jean Turfa has suggested that this terracotta half-head *ex voto* should be identified as a bride based on this specific hairstyle (Turfa, 2005, pp. 245–6, n. 272).

[Insert Figure 4.6 here – portrait]

Figure 4.6 Terracotta half-head *ex-voto* from Caere, British Museum inv. 1955, 0914.1.

Source: Image courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

However, some stages of life are represented much less frequently and some not at all, perhaps due to the comparatively small numbers who successfully achieved them. Thus in theory an *ex-voto* depicting a matron might be expected to show her with her hair dressed with *vittae* and covered with a *palla* (Plautus, *The Braggart Soldier* 790–93), while one of a *mater familias* or the *flaminica Dialis* might show her with her hair arranged in a *tutulus* (Varro, *On the Latin Language* 7.44) and one of a widow might show her having exchanged her *palla* for a *ricinium*. However, it is also possible that *ex-votos* such as these might be dedicated not as representations of the girls and women who were presenting them but as representations of the people that they wished to become, a girl wanting to marry and become a bride or a matron wanting to become the *mater familias*. It is also possible that a head or half-head *ex-voto* might be an attempt to capture a supplicant precisely as they were in that particular moment, such as in the case of a stone head from Fontes Sequanae which depicts a woman with a fringed napkin draped over the crown of her head, this cloth having been interpreted as a cloth impregnated with sacred water from the sanctuary's spring (Aldhouse-Green, 1999, p. 71, pl. 32).

Conclusion

Real, false and artificial hair *ex-votos* all served important purposes with regard to ritual and healing practices surrounding the ancient body as well as how it was viewed and experienced both by its owner and by those around him or her. However, these purposes were not necessarily the same. Based on the wealth of literary, documentary and archaeological evidence for the dedication of hair *ex-votos* it would appear that real hair was the norm and was to a certain extent privileged over both false and artificial hair as it enabled and facilitated a deeper – and perhaps even lifelong – connection with the deity. Real hair *ex-votos* were dedicated for a variety of reasons such as birth, puberty, citizenship, marriage and so forth, whereas false hair *ex-votos* seem to have been dedicated at the point at which they were no longer considered necessary, such as at the end of a man or woman's working or sexual life, assuming they were not going to be utilised as a grave good at the end of the man or woman's life. Artificial hair *ex-votos*, on the other hand, seem to have served as replacements for real (and perhaps on occasion even false) hair *ex-votos*, offering both durability and security. With regard to the dedication of head and half-head *ex-votos* it would appear that hair played a crucial role in the head or half-head's ability to represent the supplicant successfully both as they were under normal circumstances, and even in one particular moment, as well as how they wished to be in the future.