

A KNIDIAN PHALLIC VASE FROM CORINTH

(PLATES 85 and 86)

LYKINOS, the principal speaker in the *Amores* of pseudo-Lucian,¹ says that he made the vessel on which he and his friends were sailing to Italy put in at Knidos, so that they might see the shrine of Aphrodite. As was appropriate in a town belonging to Aphrodite, laughter at the bawdiness and licentiousness of the products of the potter's craft they saw enlivened their tour of the town.² To judge from this passage, Knidian potters were famous for their lewd ceramics. Such pottery aroused ribald laughter among the Lykinoses of the ancient world. Other people of a less knowing and sophisticated disposition would have invested such objects with a more serious purpose and significance: they would have seen powerful devices capable of protecting the inhabitants of the house in which they were hung from evil in general, from envy, and particularly from the baneful influence of the Evil Eye of Envy.

In a drain to the east of the Odeion at Corinth Oscar Broneer unearthed a large quantity of Roman pottery, from which were mended several fine-ware vessels still unique among the Corinthian inventory.³ A plastic vase (C-27-37) from this deposit (Pl. 85) is the subject of this

¹ The dialogue is not the work of Lucian: vocabulary, style, and the avoidance of hiatus exclude that possibility; see Bloch 1907; *RE* XIII, 1927, *s.v.* Lukianos, col. 1730 (R. Helm). Its date of composition Bloch places, on no very substantial grounds, at the beginning of the 4th century after Christ. The description of Knidos, however, he believes derives in part from autopsy and in part from the *Καινὴ Ἱστορία* of Ptolemaeus Chennus (late 1st or early 2nd century after Christ), who in his turn got it from the epigrammatist of the 3rd century B.C., Posidippus (pp. 47–49). It is quite unclear whether the Posidippus who wrote the *Πέρι Κνίδου* (Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 4.53.5, 57.3 = *FGrH* F447) is the epigrammatist and, in consequence, when the work was written. So *FGrH* IIIb, p. 291; Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983, p. 347.

² *Amores* 11: κύκλῳ περιήειν τὴν Κνίδον οὐκ ἀγέλαστί τῆς κεραμευτικῆς ἀκολασίας μετέχων ὡς ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃ πόλει. Jones (1984, pp. 177–180) would place the dialogue in the late 2nd or first half of the 3rd century, mainly because its preciosity of style resembles the younger Philostratus. The passage provides further evidence because it cannot have been composed before Knidos began to manufacture plastic vases, and it seems unlikely that it was composed very long after the disappearance of the vases, since the allusion to their bawdiness would then be largely meaningless. Knidos was manufacturing and exporting plastic vases in the last quarter of the 1st century after Christ to the first half of the 3rd century. Lucian himself (*Lex.* 7) refers to Knidian drinking cups as though they were something rather special, but we are unable to find other references to Knidian ware. Since the dialogue is based on Lucian and so is probably somewhat later than his *floruit*, this confirms that the *Amores* must belong to the late 2nd or early 3rd century after Christ rather than the early 4th century as Bloch (1907) suggests. (Κνίδια κεράμια [Euboul. fr. 132 Hunter = Athen. I.28c] seems to refer only to the capacity of Knidian amphoras.)

³ Drain 1927-1 (east–west) connects to Drain 1927-2 (north–south). These are marked respectively γ and δ on *Corinth* X, pl. III. Permission to publish the two vases from Corinth was granted by the Corinth Excavations, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, which also provided the photographs. Both authors wish to thank in particular the Director of the Excavations, Charles K. Williams, II, for his interest and suggestions. Kathleen Warner Slane is also indebted to him for working facilities during 1990/1991 when part of this article was prepared. We should also like to record our gratitude for help afforded by Nancy Bookides, Assistant Director of the Excavations. The following have been kind enough to discuss the inscriptions and have offered guidance and suggestions: Christopher P. Jones, David Jordan, Lambros Missitzis, and Antony Raubitschek.

article; other unique pieces are a Corinthian imitation of a Late Italian Dragendorff 29 with impressed relief decoration and a thin-walled pitcher perhaps imported from Italy. Thirty more or less complete vessels that accompany them are local fine and coarse wares typical of the 2nd century after Christ, perhaps of its second half.⁴ This date for the deposit is also supported by numerous lamps and coins found in the fill.⁵ A coin of Septimius Severus (Megara) was found near C-27-37 at the east end of Drain 1927-1, and coins of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Lucius Verus were found further west in both drains. Although earlier material was clearly present, most of the finds can thus be dated comfortably in the second half of the 2nd century.

C-27-37, the most striking object in the group, is a moldmade vessel of Knidian fabric,⁶ from its shape apparently an unguent container. The vessel is essentially cigar-shaped, long and narrow, with an oval mouth and a rounded end.⁷ It was made in a two-part plaster mold, still quite fresh at the time this piece was produced.⁸ The two parts of the mold were joined while the clay was still wet, and the exterior joint (which runs continuously from the mouth of the vessel to the tip and back to the mouth, see Pl. 85:b, d) was pared smooth after the complete, partially dried vessel was removed from the mold. A separately made ring handle, decorated with three parallel grooves, was then attached to the upper part of the left side, and, after further drying, the vessel was slipped and fired.

The relief decoration is confined to the front of the container. Below the mouth of the vessel are a human head and torso. The bottom consists of a phallus and wings. (The form of the receptacle lends itself naturally to such a representation.) The left arm and hand of the

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⁴ Dateable pieces include several imitations of the eastern sigillata B form (Hayes 60, *EAA* Suppl. II, 1985, pp. 1–76, *s.v.* Sigillate orientali [J. Hayes]); an imported stewpot in corrugated cooking fabric of the general type of Hayes 1983, ribbed cooking-ware type 2, fig. 7; an Italian *urnetta a collarino* of the 2nd or 3rd century; and several local mugs of the same shape.

⁵ The lamps were published in *Corinth* IV, ii without indication of their context. Nos. 174 (type XI), 515 (type XXVII A), and 702 (type XXVII D), pp. 147, 183, 189, and 205, pls. XII and XXXI, were all found very close to C-27-37; only no. 702 is illustrated in the volume. From further west come nos. 555 (type XXVII A), 597 (type XXVII C), 725 and 749 (both type XXVII), pp. 187, 193, 208–209, fig. 112, pls. XXVI and XXXI.

⁶ It has a hard, gritty, light-red fabric (5YR 6/6–7/6) with a moderate amount of tiny gray inclusions and more abundant smaller white bits. A little mica is visible on the surface. Where the fabric is thickest in the back of the vessel the core is fired gray (N 6/). Over the front, most of the back, and inside the neck, there is a thin, streaky, mottled, reddish yellow slip (5YR 5/8–7/8, and redder on front) which contains slightly more mica than the biscuit. This fabric matches that of Knidian objects found at Corinth (Hellenistic stamped amphoras, lamps of the 1st century after Christ, and Knidian relief vessels of more canonical shapes). A Knidian source is therefore assured.

⁷ Total length 0.238 m., maximum width from side to side 0.086 m., thickness of biscuit 0.004 m. Thirteen joining fragments preserve the complete vessel, except the right side of the torso and one piece from the back.

⁸ The small globules of clay formed in the air bubbles of a plaster mold are visible in numerous grooves on the front (*viz.* the ridge around the phallus, the V-shaped incisions in the “scar”, and the grooves between the first and second fingers of the right hand). Although the linearity of the relief, particularly the wings, fingernails, and details of the head, gives the impression that the front was substantially retouched after it was removed from the mold, the piece is actually cast from a new or fresh mold.

figure stretch up to clutch at the throat slightly to the right of the chin; where the right arm and hand were is unclear. The head of the figure is inclined sharply towards the right. The face is rendered in some detail; the features are distorted and grotesque: The mouth is half open in rictus, and the lips are large and fleshy. The nose is long and apparently hooked; the nostrils spread out to the side. The eyebrows are bushy and lower over wide-set, bulging eyes. There are deep creases in the brow, which is knitted in a heavy frown. On the hair above the brow is set a vine wreath. Hair rises above the wreath and is represented by horizontal lines. The ears, which are exposed, are prominent, and from them dangle heavy, jangling earrings consisting of two disks or spheres with two leaflike bangles hanging below.

A mantle, indicated by incised folds, covers the figure's upper arms and also extends over the lower part of the torso. A shallow dot (an original detail) might mark the umbilicus of the undraped torso, but sets of grooves below it may be intended as drapery covering. A pair of these lines runs obliquely across the abdomen below the umbilicus; between them is a band of V-shaped incisions. Small wings, protruding on each side from the body of the vessel, are outspread just below the elbows of the figure, as though these were the figure's wings. The right-hand wing has curved lines for the down and long incisions representing the pin-feathers; the feathers of the left-hand wing are represented entirely by curved lines. The end of the vessel is in the shape of a large phallus, with foreskin drawn back and decorated with parallel chevrons.

The mold for the back was completely undecorated. A low ridge runs vertically up the middle, more or less corresponding in length to the human torso on the front. An inscription, ΟΛΟΚ[. .]ΝΟΣ, was incised freehand into the clay before firing (Pl. 85:c). It runs vertically downwards; the letters, however, are written horizontally. Although one naturally thinks that this might be the maker's name, such inscriptions on other Knidian vessels are sometimes dedications or prayers.⁹ The onomastica offer no examples of names of this form. On the other hand, there are lamps from Ephesos with the letters ΟΛ[. .] on them, presumably the first two letters of the maker's name.¹⁰ Its form suggests an adjective with the intensive prefix δλο-.

The face has a strongly masculine cast, although this may be a function of the extreme distortion of the features. The earrings suggest a woman. There is evidence for men wearing earrings in the Eastern Greek world of the late 7th and 6th centuries B.C.,¹¹ but this practice is hardly pertinent here. From Classical times on, the wearing of earrings was associated with eastern peoples such as Lydians, Phrygians, Carthaginians, and Syrians and was thought to be disgraceful in a man.¹² It is thus possible that the head is that of an effeminate or an easterner, although why such a representation should be thought appropriate in this context is a mystery. On the other hand, the grotesque head on a terracotta phallus in the Louvre,

⁹ For examples of dedications, see Bailey 1988, pp. 328–329. An example of what may be a prayer is discussed below, pp. 498–499.

¹⁰ See Bailey 1988, no. Q 3060, p. 377, figs. 42, 132, pl. 102.

¹¹ On this, see Kurtz and Boardman 1986, pp. 61–62, 69. We are indebted to Aileen Ajoutian for the reference.

¹² Xenophon, *Anab.* 3.1.31; Dio Chrysostom 32.3; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh.* 3.203; Agathias, *Hist.* 3.28; Plautus, *Poen.* 980–981; Pliny, *NH* 11.136; *Sch. Dan. in Vergil, Aen.* 1.30. See also *RAC* IV, 1959, cols. 631–632, s.v. *Effeminatus* (H. Herter).

which also is embellished by distinctive earrings, is unquestionably female (see below, p. 500). In sum, it would be safest to record a verdict of *non liquet* on the sex of the head.

Whatever its sex may be, the figure on the vessel must represent Envy, normally shown as a male figure, since φθόνος is masculine (if C-27-37 is female, it represents βασκανία or *invidia*). The strangling gesture (left hand at the throat), sharply bent head, grimacing mouth and frowning eyebrows are characteristic elements of the iconography.¹³ It is then possible that the puzzling V-shaped lines below the bellybutton represent not drapery but the gaping wound that is another common characteristic of personifications of Envy.¹⁴ Although numerous representations of Envy are known on mosaics, lamps, and amulets, the Corinthian example is the first known to decorate what may be a container.

THE APOTROPAIC PHALLUS

Both the phallus and the motif of self-strangulation or choking are used to avert the Evil Eye of Envy.¹⁵ The phallus in particular was the most widely used means of warding it off.¹⁶ In Greece its use is attested from the 6th century B.C. onwards, although there is much less evidence for its employment against the Evil Eye in the Greek-speaking world and especially in Greece itself than there is in the Latin-speaking world. The phallus as an apotropaicum against the Evil Eye was known in the Roman world from at least the 2nd century B.C.¹⁷

Pliny the Elder (*NH* 28.39) says explicitly that babies wore a phallus as protection against fascination by the Evil Eye and that a phallus hung for the same purpose from the chariot in which the triumphant general rode.¹⁸ Varro, according to Augustine (*Civit. dei* 7.21), reported

¹³ See Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pp. 7–37, esp. pp. 30–31.

¹⁴ Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pp. 8, 19, 21–23, and 31, pls. 3:c, e and 4:d.

¹⁵ We are fully conscious that in using the term “Evil Eye of Envy” rather than βασκανία or φθόνος, or *fascinatio* or *invidia*, we run the risk of misleading the reader. We use “Evil Eye of Envy” partly as a matter of convenience and partly because it is the traditional way in classical studies of referring to what is in fact a constellation of beliefs that differ in greater or lesser measure from each other. What they all have in common is the conviction that envy is able to harm by supernatural means. The harm done is not necessarily always imagined to have been caused by the eye of an envious person, nor even by a person, although Bonneau (1982, pp. 23–24) places too much weight on the etymology of βασκανία (in which there is no element meaning “eye”) in her discussion of the meaning of that term. For a more balanced discussion, see Bernand 1991, pp. 102–103. Despite these qualifications, it remains the case that the eye does play an important and even a central rôle in this complex of beliefs. Michael Herzfeld has very properly insisted that the term “Evil Eye” should not be used in cross-cultural comparisons, on the ground that it lumps under one heading very different phenomena (1986, p. 108, note 3). Our reservations go a good deal further than Herzfeld’s, but an article on what is basically an iconographic theme is not the appropriate forum to press that point.

¹⁶ On this use of the phallus, cf. Jahn 1855, pp. 28–110; Wagner 1937, pp. 79–83; Herter 1938, cols. 1733–1744.

¹⁷ Lucilius fr. 78, 959 (Marx).

¹⁸ *si dormiens spectetur infans, a nutrice terna adspui in os quamquam religione eum tutatur et fascinus. et fascinus, imperatorum quoque, non solum infantium, custos, qui deus inter sacra Romana a Vestalibus colitur, et currus triumphantium, sub his pendens, defendit medicus invidiae, iubetque eosdem respicere similis medicina linguae, ut sit exorata a tergo Fortuna gloriae carnifex. Cf. Varro, Ling. lat. 7.97: puerulis turpicula res in collo quaedam suspenditur, ne quid obsit.*

that a phallus was taken through the forum of Lavinium and that a matron placed a crown on it so that there should be a good harvest and the fields be protected from fascination.¹⁹ So great indeed is the power of the phallus against the Evil Eye that in later antiquity its name is employed, in conjunction with the names of various other symbols regularly used to avert that danger, as a talisman against the Evil Eye. The formula ἵππος,²⁰ μοῦλος, ἱβίς, εὐθεῖα κωλῇ ἀνδρός, στρουθοκάμηλος, Ἀπόλλο is found on one side of a number of bronze amulets.²¹

The phallus as an apotropaic device is always erect, disproportionately large, or both. The foreskin is always pulled back or perhaps circumcised.²² The phallus is generally shown with testicles, although no testicles are shown on the phallic vases discussed here; their absence is to be explained by the shape of the vessels.²³ Perdrizet asserted that the phallus, when used as an apotropaeum against the Evil Eye, was generally represented ejaculating.²⁴ There are at least two such instances from Pompeii, painted at strategic spots on walls, and two in mosaic from Tunisia, but the motif is by no means common.²⁵ It is something of an exaggeration, accordingly, to say that the apotropaic phallus is generally in this condition; the significance of the motif is by no means clear.

Yet another common feature of apotropaic phalluses is the wings with which C-27-37 is equipped;²⁶ sometimes the phallus has not only wings but also legs. In the case of C-27-37, the leading edges of the wings face the wrong direction, if it is the phallus itself rather than the figure that is imagined to be winged. It is nonetheless virtually certain that the wings are a motif that derives from winged phalluses. The significance of the wings and legs on these phalluses remains obscure. Theories that posit a single meaning are unconvincing;²⁷

¹⁹ *sic videlicet Liber deus placandus fuerat pro eventibus seminum, sic ab agris fascinatio repellenda.*

²⁰ For ἵππος meaning *pudendum muliebre*, see Barb (1972, p. 352), who cites Hesychius *s.v.* ἵππον: τὸ μόριον καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναῖκος καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός.

²¹ Schlumberger 1892, no. 7, pp. 80–81; Seyrig 1934, pp. 6–7; Bonner 1951, no. 51 (B.M. 56324), pp. 334–335.

²² It is worth noting in this connection that the middle finger extending from a clenched fist, the so-called *digitus infamis* (Perseus 2.33), *impudicus* (*Schol. in Juvenal* 10.52; *Priap.* 56.1–2; Martial 6.70.5), or *famosus* (Porphyrius in Horace, *Sat.* 2.8.26), or in Attic καταπύγων (Pollux 2.148), which is manifestly a phallic symbol and which was used as an apotropaeum against the Evil Eye, was also known as *verpus* (*Gloss.* 2.206.49: *verpus*: δριλος καὶ ὁ μέσος δάκτυλος τῆς χειρός). This is a fair indication that a phallus which had not been circumcised or whose foreskin was not retracted was not thought effective.

²³ That the presence or absence of testicles could nonetheless be of considerable importance for the iconographical significance is suggested by a prescription for a magical amulet in *Cyranides*, which says that to render a man impotent or make him into a κίναιδος, a castrated male figure should be engraved on obsidian with his genitals lying about his feet, his hands hanging down, and his gaze directed at his private parts: ἔτι δὲ ἐς τὸν ὀψιανὸν λίθον γλυψὼν ἄνθρωπον ἀπόκοπον, ἔχοντα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τὰ αἰδοῖα κείμενα, τὰς δὲ χεῖρας κάτω ἐσταλμένας, αὐτὸν δὲ κάτω βλέποντα τοῖς αἰδοῖοις (p. 65 Kaimakis). It seems as if the author of this prescription is consciously trying to distinguish by these specifications the impotence-inducing amulet from amulets in which an ithyphallic man with testicles is portrayed holding his hands at his throat while directing his gaze upwards. The recipe in *Cyranides* makes clear, not surprisingly, that an erect phallus equipped with testicles is a symbol of virile power.

²⁴ Perdrizet 1922, p. 31. The observation is endorsed by Bernand (1991, p. 104).

²⁵ Pompeii: *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* I, p. 399, pl. 3; *Pitture e mosaici* II, p. 929, pl. 1, p. 931, pl. 4. Tunisia: Foucher 1960, no. 57.011, pp. 4–5, pl. IV:a; Germain 1969, no. 129, p. 94, pl. XLII:129.

²⁶ On phalluses in fantastic forms, see Herter 1938, cols. 1723–1728.

²⁷ For discussion, see Herter 1938, cols. 1723–1724.

the winged phallus almost certainly carried a multiplicity of meanings. Those with wings and legs may have seemed to have a life of their own and to be a more potent threat than simple, unadorned phalluses.²⁸

The erect phallus, with testicles as a symbol of virility, threatens the envious and those endowed with the Evil Eye with being bugged.²⁹ That the testicles were thought to be essential for this purpose emerges from a poem in the *Corpus Priapeorum* in which Priapus declares that he is no eunuch and that anyone who imagines that no one will know whether or not he has been bugged in some remote spot is mistaken, since he (Priapus) has mighty testicles.³⁰ The phallus thus makes an aggressive statement calculated to scare off those whose gaze might harm, and more generally, those whose intentions were malign.³¹

Doubtless some of the men and women who availed themselves of such devices will have attributed other meanings to them. The phalluses that Ammonius, son of Apollophanes, announces in A.D. 34/35 he has erected in the precinct of the goddess Atargatis in Dura-Europos, for the sake of his own safety and that of his children, would seem to reflect a syncretic conception of the significance of the device:³² their part in the cult of the goddess Atargatis, already known from Lucian's *De Dea Syria* (16, 28–29),³³ has merged with their use as apotropaic devices affording safety. Nonetheless, it is clear both from representations and from inscriptions accompanying some phalluses that ultimately the erect phallus (when used as an apotropaeum) mainly represents a threat of buggery, although it may well be that it could also signify other forms of sexual violence.³⁴

Four monuments may be cited that explicitly say the phallus is directed at the envious:

- 1) A floor mosaic from Themetra in Africa Proconsularis implies that it is mainly the capacity of the envious to cast the Evil Eye that is at issue. It shows an eye with a phallus pointing down at it, and around this image is the inscription: "What you see is for the envious; may it go well for the good and ill for the evil."³⁵

²⁸ Similarly, Jahn 1855, p. 76.

²⁹ Cf. Fehling 1974, pp. 18–27; Jocelyn 1980, p. 38. On loss of status in Athens from submitting voluntarily to buggery, see Dover 1978, pp. 98–105. On the humiliation inflicted by *pedicatio*, see Adams 1982, p. 124.

³⁰ 15.2–7: *quicunque attulerit manus agello, | is me sentiet esse non spadonem. | dicat forsitan hoc: "tibine quisnam | hic inter frutices loco remoto | percisum sciat esse me?" sed errat: | magnis testibus ista res agetur.*

³¹ Bernand (1991, pp. 104–105) takes the phallus to be a symbol of aggression.

³² Welles in Frye *et al.* 1955, no. 1, pp. 128–129: Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλοφάνου ἀνήγειρεν τοὺς φάλλους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τέκνων σωτηρίας.

³³ Cf. Rostovtzeff 1937, p. 204.

³⁴ Herter in his comprehensive article on the phallus (1938, cols. 1683–1684) argues that the apotropaic power of the phallus is a function of the creative force that it basically symbolizes. It is probably a fruitless enterprise to seek an original meaning for the phallus from which all others derive. Such reductionist enterprises tend to obscure the multiplicity of meanings that surround such symbols. Plutarch's assertion that the strangeness of apotropaea draws the eyes of the envious away from the objects needing protection (*Quaest. conviv.* 681f) has been adopted by some scholars as an explanation for the use of the phallus as an apotropaeum, while others, following a lead provided by Pollux (7.108), have argued that the phallus was intended to arouse laughter or shame and thus divert the attention of the envious (Wagner [1937, p. 80] combines both explanations; further bibliography in Herter, *loc. cit.*). It may well be that Plutarch's explanation has some force, but it should be borne in mind that he draws attention to this aspect of apotropaea because it suits the theory he is propounding: the Evil Eye is a stream of harmful particles emanating from the eyes, which is especially dangerous if the eyes are able to press hard on an object.

³⁵ Foucher 1957, p. 178, fig. 13: *invidiosibus quod videtis B(ene) B(onis) M(ale) M(alis).*

- 2) From the north of England comes an inscription with the words “a penis for the envious”; to the right of these words is a large phallus.³⁶
- 3) From Dalmatia, there is a stone shaped as a phallus that has inscribed on it “this for the envious.”³⁷
- 4) Of uncertain provenance, a ring without a representation of a phallus on it has inscribed around it: “Dindaris, may you live. A penis for the envious.”³⁸

To these may be added an inscription from Saturnia in southern Etruria that almost certainly had a phallus, now lost, carved on the wall above or below it. It says: “Envious one, who cast your gaze here, for you this is the punishment that lies in wait.”³⁹

These monuments leave little doubt that the phallus represents a threat to the envious. Four other objects help define the character of the threat. Pride of place here should go to a Late Roman bronze amulet with a leonine phallic monster engraved on it; above this beast are the words “enjoy good health, emulate, but do not envy,” and below it is “a drill (τρύπανον) for the rectum of the envious.”⁴⁰ The phallus in this context represents the threat of anal penetration, that is, buggery. This act is graphically represented on a block found at Ephesos; carved in relief is a creature with a phallic body and animal legs bugging a man with the tail of a beast, who bends forwards. The assaulted figure must be some sort of envious demon.⁴¹ From Egypt there is a terracotta figurine in the form of an ithyphallic boy on the top of whose outsized phallus rests an eye; inscribed on its base are the words, “I have given the eye of the envious one a thorough drilling (ἄπετρώπησα).”⁴² In this case, the Evil Eye itself is threatened with buggery. Finally, from Moesia Superior comes a roof tile on which is inscribed “envious ones, whoever shits on this will be bugged.”⁴³ The expression of envy

³⁶ Collingwood and Wright 1965, no. 983: *[i]nvidiosis mentula[m]*.

³⁷ *CIL* III 14964: *invidis hoc*.

³⁸ *CIL* III 10189.16: *Dindari, vivas. et invidis mentla*. For the formula name + *vivas* on rings, cf. Marshall 1907, no. 626, p. 105, pl. XVII (*Olympi vivas*); no. 651, p. 109, fig. 97 (*Mibi vivas*).

³⁹ *CIL* XI 7263: *(s)tatio loc(i) felix. (T)utela, Her(c)ules, Fides, Fortuna hic. invide, qui spectas, hec tibi poena manet*. On the loss of the phallus, see Huelsen 1904, pp. 152–153; Svennung 1960, p. 977. For the figure of sexual assault with the phallus as *poena*, cf. *Corp. Priap.* 13, 23, 35, 51.3f, 27f, 63, 67; for the expression *poena manet* used of the threat of assault by the phallus, cf. *Corp. Priap.* 13: *percidere puer, moneo: futuere puella: | barbatus furem tertia poena manet*. The parallelism between the poem and the inscription makes Huelsen’s supposition virtually certain.

⁴⁰ Schlumberger 1892, no. 4, pp. 78–79: ὑγιένετε ζηλοῦ μὴ βάσκαινε· τοῖς βασκάνοις κατὰ προκτοῦ τρύπανον.

⁴¹ Keil 1926, cols. 74–275, pl. 58.

⁴² Weber 1914, no. 131, p. 100, pl. 12: ὀφθαλμὸν ἀπετρώπησα τὸν τοῦ βασκάνου. On τρυπᾶν meaning “to screw”, see Pfeiffer on Callimachus fr. 689 Pf; and for the word used of the penalty of *pedicatio* that Priapus inflicts on thieves, cf. *API.* 243.6. In Latin, *inforare* (Plautus, *Curc.* 401–402) and *perforare* (*Carm. Priap.* 76.3) are used in the same way. See Adams 1982, p. 150.

⁴³ *CIL* III 14599¹: *invidi qui civis hoc cacafit anus: eris*. Originally published by Ladek, Premerstein, and Vulic (1901, no. 69, col. 151), who gloss *hoc* by *huc*, *cacafit* by *cacabit*, and *anus eris* by *fututus*. The last phrase would be more accurately rendered by *pedicaberis*. At the bottom right-hand corner of the tile, to the right of the last line of words, and filling the remaining free space, there is a horizontal phallus pointing to the right.

The function of this roof tile is uncertain, but parallels from elsewhere suggest that it may have warned against desecrating a grave by defecating on it. Defecation or urination on graves: Petronius, *Sat.* 71.8; *CIL* IV 8899, VI 2357 (= *CLE* 838), 3413, 13740. Graves protected against envy: from Anatolia there is the formula δς προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον οὕτως ἄωροις περιπέσοιτο συμφοραῖς (instances collected by Gibson [1978, pp. 16–20]); from a Jewish grave of the 6th century after Christ at Auch in Provence: *oculi invidiosi crepent*

in this instance manifests itself not in casting the Evil Eye but in defecating on something. Nonetheless, the penalty with which the envious are threatened remains the same.

Another category of evidence that demonstrates the meaning of the apotropaic phallus comprises single phalluses, phallic monsters, or men with phalluses accompanied by the words $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$, or *et tibi, et tibi sit*,⁴⁴ and sometimes with further expressions of aggression:

- 1) From Beirut, a stone block on which is a square with raised borders; within the square is a phallus that has a bell hanging from its neck on a string as though it were a camel or some other beast.⁴⁵ Two smaller phalluses are attached to the larger one. On the border are inscribed the words $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, and below them in the square, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$.⁴⁶ The inscription may be interpreted as follows: "it (*sc.* the phallus) will strike you a blow, envious one; you too."⁴⁷
- 2) A mosaic from the so-called House of the Evil Eye at Antioch-on-the-Orontes⁴⁸ shows a dwarflike figure whose exaggeratedly massive member is directed back through his legs at an eye, which is also being attacked by hostile birds and beasts and being pierced by a trident and a sword. From the back of the dwarf's head on each side protrude phalluses, which also point towards the eye. Above the dwarf's head are the words $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$. He himself has his back to the eye and faces forward, as though to avoid the eye's harmful gaze. The eye is of the type known as the much-suffering eye ($\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\pi\alpha\theta\eta\varsigma$ $\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$), which if engraved, according to the text known as the *Testament of Solomon*, was supposed to neutralize $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\alpha\nu\iota\alpha$.⁴⁹

(*CIJ* I 438, no. 671); for Priapus protecting a grave: *custos sepulcri pene destricto deus | Priapus ego sum. mortis et vitae locus* (*CIL* VI 3708, 5173 [= *CLE* 193]). For discussion of the significance of phalluses as grave markers and of phallic amulets in graves, see Herter 1938, cols. 1728–1733 and *RAC* X, 1979, col. 16, *s.v.* Genitalien (H. Herter). The suggestion of Ladek *et al.* (*loc. cit.*) that the roof tile was placed with inscription to the outside on the roof of a building to warn fellow citizens against soiling the building cannot be discounted entirely, but it fails to take account of the many uses to which roof tiles could be put. On warnings in general against soiling by defecation or urination, see Fehling 1974, p. 34; *RAC* X, 1979, col. 21, *s.v.* Genitalien (H. Herter).

⁴⁴ On these formulas, see Engemann 1975, p. 34; Robert 1978, p. 326 with note 11. Henri Seyrig (in Tchalenko 1958, App. II, p. 26) argues that $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, when it occurs in the formula $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, is a mistake for the dative $\sigma\omicron\iota$. Both formulas make perfectly good sense; $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ means "may you also suffer ill"; while $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ means "to you too". So also Guarducci 1974, p. 325, note 1. Sometimes added to the formula are the words $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\upsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}$; cf. *IGLS* 1429, 1444; Seyrig, *op. cit.*, App. II, no. 24, pp. 25–26. The nature of the ill that the formula $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$, or *et tibi* threatens will vary with circumstances; in some cases it will promise retribution in the precise form taken by the evil to be warded off. It is hard to believe that the formula is meant to warn the envious that they too will be visited by the Evil Eye, as Robert (1978, note 11) has suggested.

⁴⁵ For bells as apotropaica, see *RE* VIA, 1937, cols. 1408–1409, *s.v.* Tintinnabulum (G. Herzog-Hauser); Delatte 1954, pp. 254–276. For bells dangling from phallic monsters: Museo Nazionale, Naples, RP inv. nos. 27831, 27837, 27855, 27873, 27835; illustrated in Grant 1982, pp. 140–142.

⁴⁶ Mordtmann 1885, p. 165.

⁴⁷ On verbs of hitting and piercing as figures for sexual congress in Aristophanes, see Henderson (1975, pp. 170–173), who suggests (no. 309, p. 171) that $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ may have such a sense at *Com. Adesp.* 798 (Kock) = [Lucian], *Amor.* 53. This is almost certainly so. See also Adams 1982, pp. 145–149 on words meaning "strike" and the like for sexual congress in Latin.

⁴⁸ Levi 1947, pp. 28–34, pl. IV.

⁴⁹ P. 19.38–40 McCown (not earlier than 2nd century after Christ).

- 3) From Durazzo (Dyrrachium),⁵⁰ a very large marble block⁵¹ (to judge from its proportions part of the wall of a house) shows in relief Mercury advancing to the left with his head turned to the right.⁵² He is wearing a *petasos* and loincloth below which hang large testicles; a massive phallus emerging from his loins ends perhaps in the forepart of a horned beast. A second huge phallus comes from his buttocks and rises to the level of his shoulders, there to be borne on a stave resting on his shoulders.⁵³ The phallus dangles over the stave so that its glans faces the spectator; the god holds the stave with both hands. A dog springs forward to the left from in front of Mercury's right foot; inscribed between the god's legs are the words *et tibi*.
- 4) From Akrai in Sicily, a stone plaque in relief shows a winged lion whose head and tail are phalluses; it is inscribed $\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$.⁵⁴
- 5) From Egypt, a double phallus with $\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ above it.⁵⁵
- 6) From Kfar Deria in the region of Antioch, a cistern made from a block of rock; inscribed on it is a phallus and to the left of the phallus, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Degrand 1901, p. 181; Picard 1927, p. 27; Herter 1938, col. 1728.

⁵¹ Height more than 1.80 m.; width more than 0.60 m. (right side broken); thickness 0.50 m. It is difficult to see how such a large block can have been part of a doorway as Picard (1927, p. 25) supposes. With it may be compared the phallus set into the brickwork of the outer wall of a Pompeian house (illustrated in Grant 1982, p. 30).

⁵² Representations of Hermes and Mercury were used to ward off evil in general. A recently published inscription on a statue base from the Cilician Gate that calls upon Mercury to drive away clouds of locusts with his wand makes this clear: *tuum enim simulacrum hoc in loco stat | ponendum ad proventum frugum et ad salutar[e] | remedium locorum et nationum harum* (Varinlioglu 1988, pp. 59–64, vv. 3–5). Ithyphallic Mercurys with fantastic phalluses are known from Delos and Pompeii: a marble relief from a Delian shop shows a Mercury whose enormous phallus ends in the head of a ram, on which the god rests his left hand (*Délos* IX, fig. 89, p. 193). A bronze lamp from Pompeii is an even closer parallel: it consists of Mercury riding as it were on two phalluses, one emerging from his loins, the other from his buttocks; the glans of the former phallus is decorated with rams horns; two bells hang from the front phallus, three from the rear, and one from each of Mercury's feet (illustrated in Barré 1862, pl. 46, pp. 197–201). Iconographically related to the lamp is a bronze *tintinnabulum*, also from Pompeii, that has Mercury riding on a ram represented naturalistically except for an enormous phallus (Museo Nazionale, Naples, RP inv. no. 27855; illustrated in Grant 1982, p. 141). A bronze statue of Mercury 0.27 m. in height shows an ithyphallic Mercury from the sides of whose head emerge two enormous horizontal phalluses, their ends hung with bells, while two additional phalluses sprout from the top of his helmet (Museo Nazionale, Naples, RP inv. no. 27854; illustrated in Grant 1982, p. 134).

⁵³ A relief from Delos shows a man facing backwards towards a giant phallus issuing from his buttocks and curving up behind his back to emerge above his shoulders; he grasps the glans with his left hand; a smaller, but still preternaturally large, phallus emerges from his loins to face forwards; his right hand is raised above his head and holds a phallic monster, which faces in the direction of the phallus that runs up his back (Marcadé 1973, no. 5, pp. 332–333, fig. 5). A badly preserved painting below the stairs of a shop in Pompeii (I, 6, 12) shows a male figure with one phallus coming from his groin, which points towards the *Via dell' Abbondanza*, and another emerging from his buttocks, which is directed at the door leading into the back of the shop. Both phalluses are ejaculating (*Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* I, p. 399, pl. 3).

⁵⁴ *IG* XIV, 233. Description from Herter (1938, col. 1725).

⁵⁵ El-Khachab 1956, p. 119, pl. I:1.

⁵⁶ *IGLS* 579, where the phallus is interpreted as an amphora and the inscription read as $\kappa\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}$; the correct interpretation is given by Seyrig (1934, p. 26).

The evidence of the last three pieces is less specific concerning the nature of the threat, but the body of material as a whole strengthens the theory that the phallus threatens the envious with buggery in retribution for the harm they might do.

Some further light is shed on the intent of the formula $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ by two rectangular marble panels from Delos, which show in relief two phallic monsters with phalluses as heads confronting each other. Between and below the monsters on one panel are the words $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\ |\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \sigma\omicron\iota$,⁵⁷ on the other panel, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \sigma\omicron\iota\ |\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota$.⁵⁸ The relationship of the plaques to each other is a mystery. The inscription is most simply interpreted as one phallic monster speaking to the other and telling his fellow that for the one in the eye he has received he will repay him with the same. The two plaques, accordingly, suggest very strongly that when $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ accompanies the representation of a phallus it means $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \sigma\omicron\iota$. The formula in such a context is then the equivalent of the *hoc invidis* that we find on the stone phallus from Dalmatia (p. 489 above).

An apotropaic lintel inscription from Hifsin, where the road from Damascus divides for Jerusalem and Nawa, puts into words the threat implied in representations of phalluses accompanied by $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ (etc.):⁵⁹ ΠΥΓΙΣΘΝ ΚΕ ΣΥ = $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\sigma\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$.⁶⁰ It seems unlikely that this is a challenge to the envious to bugger, with the threat that they will get twice as much back if they do, as the original editor suggested. It should rather be construed as a threat to the envious that they will meet with buggery and is reinforced by the formulaic $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}$. The aorist imperative is not to be construed literally as a command but as a threat. As such it will have a force equivalent to the words $\pi\upsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\omega\ \sigma\acute{\epsilon}$ written retrograde on a gold ring of unknown provenance, which should be interpreted as a threat directed at the envious.⁶¹ Here the threat is the same as that found on the ring with the words *et invidis mentulam* on it;⁶² and this time it is expressed visually in the form of a phallus on the bezel of the ring.⁶³

A number of poems in the Planudean Anthology and in the *Corpus Priapeorum* also shed light on the meaning of the phallus as an apotropaem. It is true that in these poems Priapus' function is to protect gardens from thieves, but that does not mean his phallus does not have the same significance as phalluses directed primarily against the Evil Eye. In three poems in the *Corpus Priapeorum*, the phallus is conceived of as a weapon. Two of them (9 and 20) make play with the idea that just as other gods have their particular weapons, so also does Priapus have the phallus as his weapon. In the third poem (11), Priapus warns thieves that the harm he does them will be done with neither a club nor a sickle but that they will be pierced through and stretched out by a foot-long pole that will take the creases out of their anus.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Marcadé 1973, no. 1, pp. 329–330, fig. 1.

⁵⁸ Marcadé 1973, no. 2, pp. 330–332, fig. 2.

⁵⁹ Mouterde 1959, no. 6, pp. 63–66 = Robert and Robert 1961, no. 785, p. 251.

⁶⁰ On $\pi\upsilon\gamma\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$, see Bain 1991, pp. 67–70.

⁶¹ *Catalogue of the Collection of Ancient Rings E. Guilhou*, Sotheby's, 12.xi.1937, no. 402. The interpretation of the intent of the inscription is that of Robert and Robert 1973, no. 552, p. 208.

⁶² Note 38 above.

⁶³ Cf. Marshall 1907, nos. 254–257, p. 44 (not illustrated), which are illustrated in Johns 1982, second plate between pp. 64 and 65; apotropaic gemstones for rings: Fossing 1929, nos. 35, 34, pl. I; Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, no. 408b, p. 156, pl. 72; *eadem* 1973, no. 537, p. 163, pl. 90. On rings that ward off noxious creatures and the Evil Eye, cf. *Sch. in Aristophanes, Plut.* 884.

⁶⁴ 11.1–4: *presso nec fuste nocebo, | saeva nec incurva volnera falce dabo; | traiectus conto sic extendere pedali, | ut culum rugam non habuisse putes.*

The harm that the phallus as a weapon threatens is primarily *pedicatio*, generally of a violent and alarming form.⁶⁵ Priapus threatens to ram his phallus deep into his victims,⁶⁶ right up to the hilt.⁶⁷

Although *pedicatio* is the main threat, in the *Corpus Priapeorum* a differentiation is made in the punishment Priapus threatens depending on the nature of the offence and on the offender. *Pedicatio* is the penalty for a first offence, *irrumatio* for a second, and *pedicatio* and *irrumatio* for a third delinquency (35.1–5).⁶⁸ On the other hand, if the thief is a girl or a bearded man rather than a boy, other penalties are in order: *fututio* for the girl and *irrumatio* for the man.⁶⁹ This neat division may be little more than a literary conceit. It may not have occurred to most people to make any such differentiation. We should in any case bear in mind that women also could be and were subjected to *pedicatio* and *irrumatio*.⁷⁰ Five spells and a recipe for a spell from Egypt, all of which are to prevent another man from enjoying a woman's sexual favors, specify both *fututio* and *pedicatio* and in three of the spells, *irrumatio* or *fellatio* as well.⁷¹

The evidence of the *Corpus Priapeorum* suggests that the phallus represents a threat of *pedicatio* for boys or youths, *irrumatio* for older men, and *fututio* for women. There is, however, no hint of such a differentiation in the monuments that have been cited here. It is hard to know what to make of this. One solution would be that fear of the Evil Eye has no very clear focus and is a nonspecific anxiety about malicious beings. To infer from the threat of *pedicatio* as the primary message of the phallus that young males were the main suspects would certainly be rash, just as it would be rash to conclude that because the envious in apotropaic inscriptions are always addressed in the masculine singular or plural vocatives, males are always the objects of suspicion. The explanation offered here is that grammatically the masculine gender is used generically to apply to both men and women.

That a phallus may represent a hostile threat specifically aimed at the Evil Eye is to be seen also on mosaics and lamps, where the phallus is among the manifestly dangerous and hostile creatures and instruments attacking the much-suffering eye. One mosaic of the much-suffering-eye type, from the threshold of a Roman villa at Sousse in Algeria, shows the eye encircled by two snakes, which attack it from above; between the heads of the snakes is a large phallus boring down on the eye, also from above;⁷² the glans of the penis appears also like the head of a snake. The mosaic from Antioch-on-the-Orontes (p. 490 above) is a more complex example of the same theme. Finally, on the discus of a *Firma Lampe* (late

⁶⁵ *APL* 240, 241; *Corp. Priap.* 6.4–6; 11.1–4; 15.1–7; 25.1–7; 28.1–5; 31.3–4; 51.3–4; 76.3; 77.8.

⁶⁶ *Corp. Priap.* 6.4–6; 11.1–4; 25.1–7; 28.1–5; 51.3–4.

⁶⁷ 25.6–7: *intra viscera furis ibit usque | ad pubem capulumque coleorum.*

⁶⁸ Cf. 28.3–5: *pedicabere fascino pedali | quod si tam gravis et molesta poena | non profecerit, altiora tangam.*

⁶⁹ 22.1–2: *femina si furtum faciet mihi virve puerve, | haec cunnum, caput hic praebeat, ille nates; 13.1–2: percidere puer, moneo; futuere puella; | barabatum furem tertia poena manet.*

⁷⁰ On the former, see Dover 1978, pp. 100–101. Spartan maidens, before they married, were supposed to have had anal intercourse (Athenaeus 13.602d). Young Roman brides might in their inexperience and fear ask for it (Martian 11.78; *Corp. Priap.* 3). Cf. also *APL* 3.49, 6.17.

⁷¹ *Fututio* and *pedicatio*: *PGM* 4.352–353: μη βινηθήτω, μη πυγισθήτω; *SEG* XXVI 1717.8; Martinez 1991, lines 8, 22. *Fututio*, *pedicatio*, and *irrumatio*: *SEG* XXXVIII.1837.21–22: μη βινηθῆ, μη πυγισθῆ, μη [λαι]χασθ[ῆ]; SB 7452.9–10: ὅπως μη βινηθῆ, μη πυγισθῆ, μη λεικάσῃ; Martin 1928, pp. 56–64: μήτε βινηθῆναι, μήτε πυγισθῆναι, μήτε ληκάζειν.

⁷² Gauckler 1910, no. 73, p. 32. Cf. Perdrizet 1922, p. 31.

1st century after Christ and later, probably Italian), arranged clockwise around the filling hole, are a scorpion whose pincers embrace the filling hole, a phallus, a frog, and a snail.⁷³ The filling hole here clearly takes the place of an eye.

But neither the assumption that envy manifests itself solely in the Evil Eye nor the assumption that the phallus is directed only at the Evil Eye of Envy should be too easily made. The roof tile from Moesia Superior (pp. 489–490 above) that shows a phallus and threatens with *pedicatio* the envious who defecate on something in its vicinity confutes both assumptions. Whoever had that inscription written clearly imagined that the envious might try to demean by soiling with their excrement whatever it was he wanted to protect.⁷⁴ Other inscriptions warn against even more direct expressions of envy that seek to destroy, by straightforward physical means, envied objects or the possessions of a person who has aroused envy. In the bottom right-hand corner of a poster from Pompeii is the prayer that any envious person who erases the poster may become sick.⁷⁵ In the inscriptions set up by Antiochus I of Kommagene in connection with his establishing a *hierotherseion* for Mithridates Kallinikos at Arsameia on the Nymphaeion, various categories of persons who might harm the monument are specified; among them is the man who conceals the hatred of his envy and whose eyes waste away at the sight of the goods of others. That man is threatened with a variety of punishments, if he should direct words of hostile intent, a mind hating what is fair, or an envious hand against Mithridates' foundation.⁷⁶ Grave inscriptions from central Anatolia threaten with unseasonable misfortunes those who bring a hand heavy-laden with envy against the tomb.⁷⁷ The danger that the Mithridates inscription and those from the graves try to guard against is that someone out of envy should deface the tomb.

THE MOTIF OF SELF-STRANGULATION

The representation on the top part of C-27-37 of a person choking himself is also apotropaic in intent. The left hand clutching the throat, the mouth grinning in rictus, the bulging eyes, and the head twisted towards the right are all part of the iconography of choking. The closest parallel is provided by a bronze statuette, probably Alexandrian, from the Demetriou Collection in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (inv. no. 447).⁷⁸ It is an ithyphallic grotesque: both hands clutch his throat, his mouth shows a grinning rictus,

⁷³ Jahn 1855, p. 100, pl. IV:1; in addition to the gem cited by Jahn on which a snail and a phallus are combined, there is a bronze *tintinnabulum* from Herculaneum in the form of a winged phallus emerging from a snail's shell (Museo Nazionale, Naples, RP inv. no. 27831; illustrated in Grant 1982, p. 140).

⁷⁴ For the topos of the ultimate humiliation envy inflicts taking the form of turning the statues of a great man into chamber pots, cf. Strabo 9.1.20; Diogenes Laertius 5.77; Juvenal 10.56–64.

⁷⁵ CIL IV 3775: *invidiose qui deles aegrotos*.

⁷⁶ φωνήν ἐπιβουλον ἢ νοῦν μεισόχρηστον ἢ χεῖρα προσφέρη βάσκανον ἡμετέροις καθιδρύμασιν (Goell and Dörner 1963, lines 217–221, p. 56). Dörrie in his commentary on the inscription (1964, p. 112) takes these to be three different forms of magic-working and supposes the βάσκανος χεῖρ to be a magical gesture or touch.

⁷⁷ See note 43 above.

⁷⁸ Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pl. 4:a, b.

his nostrils flare open, his nose ends in a hooked point,⁷⁹ and his head and body are twisted to the right.

The keys to the interpretation of the fairly large class of representations mainly of men with their hands at their throat, either throttling themselves or choking, are a passage in Silius Italicus describing *Livor* and a mosaic from Kephallonia portraying the figure of Φθόνος. *Livor*, according to Silius, is to be seen in the Underworld compressing his own throat with both hands (13.584),⁸⁰ he is in the company of various other unhappy forces. On the mosaic a young man clutches his throat with both hands and is attacked by four great cats.⁸¹ The accompanying epigram (*SEG* 19.409) identifies him as a representation of Φθόνος in his self-inflicted misery:

ὦ Ω Φθόνε, καὶ σο[ῦ] τήνδε ὁλοῆς φρενὸς εἰκόνα γράψε
ζωγράφος, ἦν Κράτερος θήκατο λαινέην,
οὐχ ὅτι τειμῆεις σὺ μετ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι θνητῶν
ὄλβοις βασκ[α]ίνων σχῆμα τόδε ἀμ[φ]εβ[ά]λου.
Ἔστ[αθ]ι δ[ὲ] πάντεσσιν ἐνώπιος, ἔσταθι τλήμων
τηκεδόνος φθονερῶν δεῖγμα φέρων στύγιον

This image of Φθόνος is a way of representing the extreme unhappiness the success of others engenders in the envious man. The envious man was thought to choke or burst with his suppressed and frustrated rage.⁸² A further indication that the motif of a man strangling himself symbolized Envy and was designed to ward off the Evil Eye is seen in representations of men strangling themselves, surrounded by the same menagerie of birds and beasts that attack the much-suffering eye.⁸³ There is little room for doubt that one

⁷⁹ A similar nose is the salient feature of a Knidian plastic vase shaped in the form of a man's face; it was found in the houses east of the Theater at Corinth. See Williams and Zervos 1986, no. 9, p. 143, pl. 31. We are indebted to Guy Sanders for this observation.

⁸⁰ *Hinc angens utraque manu sua guttura Livor*. The inspiration for the passage as a whole is Vergil, *Aen.* 6.273–283, although no mention of *Livor* is made there. Claudian, *In Ruf.* 1.32–33 provides a parallel for Silius' inclusion of *Livor* among the pests of Erebus and for his description of *Livor*'s anguish: *Livorque | secundis anxius*. For the limitations of a purely lexical approach to the interpretation of iconography in literature, cf. Spaltenstein 1990, p. 255 on 13.584: "(Sil.) propose une imagination pittoresque et suggestive qui semble unique (du moins, il n'y a pas de parallèle pour 'livor' dans le TLL 7,2,1549,65, sinon Claud. 3.32)."

⁸¹ Kallipolitis 1961–1962, pp. 12–18, pls. 3–5; Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pls. 1:a, b, 2:a.

⁸² Choking: Galen, *De compos. medic.* (Kühn 13.406, *Comm. in Hippocr. nat. hom., praef.* 13 CMG 5.9.1); Libanius, *Or.* 1.207, *Decl.* 5.32, 30.18, 38.22, 51.27; Eusebius, *Comm. in ps.* PG 23.533, 537; John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matth.* PG 57.453, *In illud: Coll. Iud.* PG 59.528; mosaic inscription from baths at Sullethum in Tunisia (Beschaouch 1968, p. 61): *en perfecta cito baiaru(m) grata voluptas | undantesque fluunt aq(uae) saxi de rupe sub ima. | nisibus hic nostris prostratus labor anhelat. | quisquis amat fratrum veniat mecum(que) laetetur*. Bursting: Philo Judaeus, *In Flacc.* 29; Dio Chrysostom 43.2; Lucian, *Tim.* 40; Aelius Aristides 50.69 (Keil); Libanius, *Or.* 1.207, 29.13, *Decl.* 29.28, *Prog.* 9.4.11; Eunapius, *VS.* 6.2.3; Himerius 45.44; Julian, *Ep.* 82 446a; Eusebius 10.4.14, *Comm. in ps.* PG 23.1328; Asterius, *Hom.* 7.10.2 (Datema); Vergil, *Ecl.* 7.25–26; Ovid, *Rem.* 389, *Ep. her.* 15.223; Martial 9.97.1–2; *CIL* IV 8259.

⁸³ Two lamps from Ephesos: Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, p. 25, pl. 5:a, b = Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 1925/V and Walters 1914, no. 1325, pp. 198–199, pl. XXXVI (now = Bailey 1988, no. Q 3099, p. 381, pl. 104, figs. 26, 144). Two lamp fragments from Jerash: Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, p. 25, pl. 5:c, d = Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum 38.1791–1792, Iliffe 1945, nos. 146–148, pp. 23–24, pl. VIII. Fragments of three terracotta relief plaques from the Athenian Agora: Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, p. 25,

symbolic representation of Envy has been substituted for another. An agate amulet in the collection of Henri Seyrig shows a man strangling himself as he is being attacked by birds and beasts; around the edge of the amulet are the words $\varphi\theta\acute{o}\nu\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\tau\upsilon\chi\tilde{\iota}$.⁸⁴

The idea represented visually in C-27-37 is given verbal form in apotropaic inscriptions and graffiti expressing the wish that the envious may burst. In the Greek East the wish takes two forms: the more or less formulaic $\delta \varphi\theta\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu} \rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\tau\omega$ ⁸⁵ and the same wish for $\delta \varphi\theta\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}$ expressed with some part of the verb $\lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu/\lambda\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$.⁸⁶ In the Latin West the verbs *rumpere* and *crepare* are employed to express the same wish. The wish is found twice on mosaics from North Africa⁸⁷ and once on a Jewish gravestone from Auch in Provence.⁸⁸

OTHER WAYS OF PRESENTING THE MISERY OF ENVY

Objects with the motif of self-strangulation or choking belong to a larger class of apotropaic devices that show the physical effects envy was supposed to have on those who succumbed to it. Representations of men or women tearing their abdomens open with both hands or being lacerated by great cats stand for the internal wounds the envious inflict on themselves.⁸⁹ Emaciated and skeletal figures show the wasting caused by the unrelieved misery of envy.⁹⁰ These motifs were often employed in conjunction.⁹¹ The rationale behind their use was the expectation that to throw in the face of the envious the consequences of their vice would in some way deter them.

The underlying thought behind these representations of the envious in physical torment and behind inscriptions expressing the wish that the envious may burst is that anguish is a necessary concomitant of $\varphi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ /*invidia*. With relatively minor variations, ancient definitions of $\varphi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ /*invidia* make unhappiness ($\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta$ /*aegritudo*) caused by the good fortune of others the

pl. 6:a-c = *Agora* VI, nos. 1065, 1066, p. 80, pl. 30. Fragment of a mold for a plaque from the Kerameikos: Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, p. 25, pl. 6:d. Relief from Xanthos: Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pp. 25-27, pl. 7:a, b = Smith 1900, no. 956, pp. 59-60.

⁸⁴ Bonner 1950, no. D 148, pp. 97, 277, pl. VII.

⁸⁵ Deir el-Meyyāsh (Syria): $\delta \delta\epsilon \varphi\theta(\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}) \rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\tau\eta (\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\tau\alpha\iota)$ (Dussaud and Macler 1901, p. 183; Perdrizet [1900, p. 293] expanded the abbreviation to $\varphi\theta\omicron[\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma]$, but the examples of the formula that have come to light since suggest $\varphi\theta[\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}]$). Breiké (Syria): $\delta \varphi\theta\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu} \rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\tau\omega$ (Dunand 1934, no. 77, p. 51). Mampsis (Palestine): $\delta \varphi\theta\alpha\nu\omega\tilde{\nu} (\varphi\theta\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}) \rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\tau\omega$ (Negev 1988, no. 248, pp. 114-115, photo 141, fig. 16; correct interpretation by Feissel [1990, no. 954, p. 612]).

⁸⁶ Rome?: $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \text{Ζε}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \text{Σ}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma: \beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma \lambda\alpha\chi\eta\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$ (Perdrizet 1922, p. 293). Dura-Europos: $\delta \varphi\theta\omicron\nu\omega\tilde{\nu} \lambda\alpha\chi\iota\sigma[\theta\eta]$ (Welles in Frye *et al.* 1955, no. 31, p. 153). Nessana (Palestine): $\delta \varphi\theta\omicron\nu(\omega\tilde{\nu}) \lambda\alpha\chi\epsilon\sigma(\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega)$ (*Nessana* I, no. 106, p. 177).

⁸⁷ Ain-Témouchent (Algeria): *invida sidereo rumpantur pectora visu* (de Pachtère 1911, no. 318, p. 75). Cherchell (Algeria): *lege et crepa* (*ibid.*, no. 441, p. 106).

⁸⁸ Cited note 43 above.

⁸⁹ On the figure of the envious wounding themselves and on apotropaic renderings of that image, see Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pp. 13-15 and 21-22, with pls. 1:a, b, 3:c, e.

⁹⁰ On wasting and emaciation in the envious and on representations of it, see Dunbabin and Dickie, pp. 15-16 with pls. 2:b, 3:a, b, 4:a, b.

⁹¹ Emaciation and choking: Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pls. 2:b, 3:a, b, 4:a, b; choking and tearing open abdomen: pls. 1:a, b; 3:d, e.

essence of the concept.⁹² Whether or not it is a wholly satisfactory definition hardly matters for present purposes. What is important is the emphasis placed on the unhappiness associated with φθόνος/*invidia*. This concern perhaps reflects the preoccupation that ancient moralizing displays with this aspect of envy. Rather than concentrating on the malice inherent in envy most ancient moralizing prefers to dwell on the disadvantages of succumbing to envy.⁹³

One rhetorically effective way of bringing out the self-inflicted misery the envious impose on themselves was to say that at least φθόνος harmed or hurt its possessor more than anyone else.⁹⁴ The conceit was encapsulated in an epigram of the Hellenistic period (*AP* 11.193), which had it that while φθόνος was an ill, it had something good about it in that it caused the eyes of the envious and their hearts to waste away:

ὁ φθόνος ὥς κακὸν ἐστίν· ἔχει δέ τι καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ:
τῆκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίην.

The epigram, or a version of it, is used as an apotropaem on a gravestone from Lyon⁹⁵ and on a pillar that was part of a church in Dokimeion in Phrygia.⁹⁶ The description of the wasting effect envy has on the eyes of the envious will no doubt have encouraged the use of the epigram as an apotropaem against the Evil Eye of Envy.

The combination in one object of apotropaic symbols based on very different rationales is common. Many of the representations of men choking also have a phallus; the bronze figurine from the Demetriou Collection (pp. 494–495 above) is a clear example.⁹⁷ The Knidian plastic vase studied here is essentially a representation in a different form of the combined motifs of choking and phallus found in figurines. The motifs were undoubtedly combined in the conviction that the apotropaem would be all the more potent and that one could not be too safe.

THE CORINTH VASE: PARALLELS

A second, fragmentary phallic vessel from Corinth (Pl. 86:a) is probably related to the first. C-34-2547 is a single fragment from the lower top and left side of a vessel made in the same way and on the same scale as the other container.⁹⁸ Its fabric is not, at first glance,

⁹² Cf. [Plato] *Def.* 416; Xenophon, *Mem.* 3.9.8; Aristotle, *EN* 1108b 4–5, *Rhet.* 1387b 22–25; Cicero, *Tusc.* 4.16.

⁹³ Cf. 15.13; Menander, fr. 538 (Körte³); Lucretius 3.75–77; Horace, *Epist.* 1.3.56–59; Seneca, *Dial.* 9.2.10–11).

⁹⁴ Cf. Carcinus, fr. 8 (Snell); Isocrates 9.6; Philemo, fr. 131 (Kock).

⁹⁵ *IG* XIV 2533.

⁹⁶ Perdritz 1922, pp. 291–292.

⁹⁷ A terracotta figurine from Smyrna, now in the Louvre, shows a man choking himself; there is a hole for what must have been an oversized phallus (Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pl. 2:b = Besques 1972, no. D 1211, pl. 241:b). Another terracotta figurine, purchased in Cairo, shows an emaciated man with his hands raised to his throat; an oversized phallus stretching down between his legs is directed at an eye that lies at his feet (Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, pl. 3:b = Graindor 1939, no. 49, p. 131, pl. XVIII).

⁹⁸ Preserved length 0.123 m., width 0.044 m.

typically Knidian because it is too dark and the slip is unmottled,⁹⁹ but detailed comparison with C-27-37 suggests that it is of the same fabric and therefore also Knidian. The context is not dependable but may be 2nd century.¹⁰⁰

Once again, only the front of the vessel appears to have been decorated with relief. The tip was a phallus, the detail subtly modeled rather than incised as on the first example. On the shaft above is a panel defined by a ridge paralleling the foreskin and by a concave ridge on the left side. A braid pattern in relief echoes the lower edge of the panel. Above the braid, the panel contains a T-shaped object like a fishtail, coming obliquely downwards to the left; above this going obliquely up to the left is the end of a phallus. This design is difficult to reconstruct. The T-shaped object might be the foot of a bird with a spur extending from the heel.¹⁰¹ A phallus-headed bird with similar spurred feet appears beside a figure of Envy on two lamps from Jerash.¹⁰² The phallus and the feet may then be the remains of a phallic bird.

There is little doubt that the two vessels from Corinth should be closely associated. The similarity of form, technique of manufacture, and date, and the identity of source and subject make this clear. A few more examples of closely related forms can be adduced.¹⁰³ A similar vessel, now in Cracow, with a bearded mask at the top and a naturalistically detailed phallus below, may also be Knidian (Pl. 86:b, c).¹⁰⁴ It has a laurel band similar to that on C-34-2547 marking the foreskin, and on the back is inscribed what may be a prayer: ΣΩΣΙΟΙΚΟΣΙΣΠΙΕΤΑΙΧΟΣΗΚΑΛΗ. The inscription runs vertically down the back of the vessel in the same fashion as the inscription on C-27-37. The mask might be identified as Priapus.¹⁰⁵ The vessel is slightly shorter and narrower than the examples in Corinth, and the handle is moldmade like a lamp handle, but it must belong to the same type. A fourth vessel of the same general shape, with a phallic end but decorated with floral garlands and of a slightly different fabric, is in the New Archaeological Museum in Izmir;¹⁰⁶ in technique of manufacture and details of the handle it is close to C-27-37. A Knidian fragment from Benghazi with handle and vine wreath in relief should also belong to this form, although its phallic end is not preserved.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁹ Hard-fired, light-red fabric (2.5YR 6/8) with a moderate amount of small white and gray inclusions and a greater amount of tiny white bits (possibly lime), one fleck of gold mica visible on the interior surface. A low-luster red slip (2.5YR 5/6–5/8) totally covers the exterior surface so far as it is preserved.

¹⁰⁰ C-34-2547 was formerly MF-4184. The vessel comes from behind the South Stoa. The context pottery, marked North of School, box 918, is mostly Roman to the middle or the second half of the 2nd century but contains also some Byzantine sherds (12th/13th century), which are most likely to represent a pit or robbing trench unrecognized during excavation.

¹⁰¹ We owe to Charles Williams the suggestion that the T-shape is a foot.

¹⁰² Dunbabin and Dickie 1983, p. 25, pl. 5:c, d = Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum 38.1791, 1792.

¹⁰³ A small, two-handled phallic rhyton with a Priapus head in the Beugnot collection is only distantly related, because it is clearly a drinking vessel. Cf. *CVA*, Musée de Compiègne [France 3], pls. 18 [116]:20 and 30 [128]:1; it seems likely to be earlier than the type discussed here (4th century before Christ or Hellenistic).

¹⁰⁴ *CVA*, Cracow, Musée Czartoryski [Poland 2], pl. 14 [68]:9 a, b, p. 17, inv. no. 1239 (now MNK XI-1239).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Breccia 1930, inv. no. 9625, pl. LI:5, discussed under no. 215, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ No. 4685, on display with objects from Iasos and presumably found there. We thank Katherine Dunbabin and Elizabeth Gebhard for first bringing this piece to our attention.

¹⁰⁷ Kenrick 1985, B497.1, p. 333, fig. 63 and pl. XXI from the early 3rd-century deposit 84. Kenrick identifies the shape as a cylindrical mug, but its dimensions and its handle appear to match C-27-37. Another phallic vase, probably of Knidian manufacture, is mentioned by Bailey (1979, p. 266, note 2).

The function of such phallic vases emerges most clearly from the vase in Cracow. The inscription on the back (Pl. 86:c), although difficult to interpret, casts direct light on the function of the vase. The one word that can be securely deciphered, σωσλοικος, is sufficient to indicate the purpose of the vessel: protection of the house. Apollonius Sophistes in his *Lexicon Homericum* says that Apion (fr. 133 [Neitzel 1977]) understood σῶκος, an epithet applied to Hermes in Homer, to derive from σωσλοικος (s.v. σῶκος).¹⁰⁸ Although this is in all likelihood a false etymology,¹⁰⁹ its inspiration would almost certainly have been the protective ithyphallic herms that stood outside houses.¹¹⁰ There is, then, in Apion's explanation an indication that σωσλοικος might have been used of apotropaic devices designed to protect houses.

The lamplike shape and size of the handle suggest that the Cracow vessel was meant to be suspended or perhaps hung on a nail.¹¹¹ The ring handles on C-27-37 and on the Benghazi example may easily have served the same purpose rather than being intended to help one hold the vessels. Similar handles (one with a link of a terracotta chain still preserved) occur on a number of masks with (winged) phalluses suspended within the mawlike mouths; these have been found in Pompeii and at other nearby sites.¹¹²

Holes for suspension are found on almost all the apotropaic figurines discussed above.

The face on the front of the vessel in Cracow belongs to a category of faces or masks that seem to have been thought to scare off evil. Such faces are characterized by wide, staring eyes and open mouths. Although the iconography of the face is specifically inspired by representations of Priapus, it probably did not matter greatly to those using the vessel whether the face was that of Priapus, Bes, or Silenus. All that mattered to them was that shaggy-headed ithyphallic deities scared off evil. There is the evidence of Pliny the Elder that what he calls *saturica signa* were set up in gardens and the forum as protection against fascination by the envious.¹¹³ *Saturica signa* presumably encompasses statues of shaggy-headed

¹⁰⁸ Similarly Hesychius, s.v. σῶκος: σωσλοικος, σάουκος.

¹⁰⁹ So Chantraine 1968–1980, s.v. σῶκος.

¹¹⁰ So also Neitzel 1977, pp. 202, 208.

¹¹¹ A similar suggestion may be advanced concerning L-70-28, a moldmade lamp in the form of a winged phallus with testicles, for which see Wiseman 1972, no. 12, pp. 20–21, pl. 9. An ordinary moldmade lamp handle on its top suggests that it would have been suspended horizontally, and a filling hole immediately in front of the handle shows that the vessel was intended to function as a lamp. Traces of glaze on the interior suggest that the glans was glazed, although the remainder of the vessel is unglazed. It comes from the outdoor pool of an Early Imperial bath, with destruction debris which clearly included the decorations of the courtyard; one wonders whether it, too, may not be part of the bath furnishings. If so, it would have protected the bathers from the dangers of the Evil Eye, a force greatly feared in baths in Late Antiquity and probably earlier also. See Dunbabin 1989, pp. 33–46 and esp. pl. XV:a, b for the use of ithyphallic figures in mosaic to protect the threshold of the baths; see also Johns 1982, p. 64.

¹¹² Museo Nazionale, Naples, RP inv. nos. 908 Santangelo, 27859, 125169; illustrated in Grant 1982, pp. 128–129. Also *Eros in Pompeii*, p. 118, top (no. 125169); p. 116 (no. 27859), and p. 118, bottom (inv. 908 Santangelo) are similar. These masks are equipped with suspension rings. The inspiration for the mask with an oscillating phallus as tongue will in part have been figures of Bes with their large phalluses and tongues impudently stuck out. The mask was unquestionably an apotropaum, *pace* Grant (1982), who suggests that the object was a birdbath and that the phallus would have acted as a float when the cavity was filled with water.

¹¹³ Pliny, *NH* 19.50: *horto et foro tantum contra invidentium effascinationes dicari videmus in remedio saturica signa quamquam hortos tutelae Veneris assignante Plauto*.

ithyphallic deities in general and does not just refer to Priapus, one of whose concerns was the protection of gardens.¹¹⁴

The motif of a human head equipped with wings forming the top of a phallic vase finds parallels in a figurine in the Louvre,¹¹⁵ and in one or two pieces in Alexandria;¹¹⁶ all are probably of Egyptian manufacture.¹¹⁷ The figurine in the Louvre has only recently been published, although Perdrizet referred to it some 70 years ago and correctly divined that the broken tube from which a female head emerged, with wings protruding on each side of the vessel at shoulder level, must have ended in a phallus.¹¹⁸ The Alexandrian vessel, of which only the head and wings survive, is of the same dimensions (p.L. 0.115 m.) and general design, though differing in detail.

The Louvre figure is broken off just below a pair of stubby wings, which, like those on C-27-37, face upwards towards the head and not downwards towards the end of the phallus. Round lines form the upper downy feathers, while vertical incisions below them represent the pin feathers. The chokerlike garland that separates the phallus from the head is only on the front. Two narrow ridges visible on the front of the tube evidently signify the enlarged veins of an erect penis. On the back of the head incised lines of hair spiral into a central bun. In front, the hair is marcelled into a series of waves on either side of a central parting, and a corkscrew curl dangles below each ear; there is no trace of a high "beehive" or braid behind the waves. The corkscrew tresses below the ears recall the hairstyles of Livia and Agrippina senior, as seen on coins, but the marcelled waves also appear on Fayum portraits of the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. The woman wears solid dangling earrings in both ears, and a row of pearls decorates the central parting. The woman has a prominent Adam's apple. The mouth of the figure is odd: the teeth are carefully detailed between the open lips, and the tongue is hanging out to the left (viewer's right). In profile, the nose is definitely hooked. The eyebrows do not meet evenly over the nose.

Like the piece in Corinth this terracotta was made in a two-part vertical mold. The handle on the back is moldmade in the same shape as a lamp handle but is very small (0.007 m. high).¹¹⁹ Rather than being pierced horizontally, it is pierced obliquely (as for a

¹¹⁴ So Herter 1932, p. 207, and on Priapus' protective functions, pp. 201–216, and specifically against the Evil Eye, pp. 232–233; similarly Grimal 1943, p. 46 and Wrede 1972, pp. 139–140. On the apotropaic use of images of Silenus and Satyros, cf. *RE*, ser. 2, III, 1927, s.v. *Silenos und Satyros*, col. 42 (A. Hartmann).

¹¹⁵ Formerly in the Musée Guimet. Dunand 1990, inv. no. E20905, no. 821, p. 275.

¹¹⁶ Breccia 1934, inv. no. 22297, pl. XCVII:544, no. 385, p. 56; inv. no. 22305, pl. XCVII:546, no. 386, p. 56.

¹¹⁷ Kathleen Slane wishes to thank Mme. Françoise Dunand, Mme. M.-F. Aubert, and Mme. Elizabeth Delange for their kindness in allowing her to examine this piece. The clay of the figure is not Knidian but probably, as Dunand has suggested, Egyptian. It is fired gray on the interior with a deep maroon core and a reddish brown exterior surface (neither the gray nor the maroon is near the color of Knidian). The fabric is very gritty, and the temper is poorly sorted. Mica is visible on the exterior surface, and there is no slip. The diameter of the tube is 0.034–0.035 m. (smaller than C-27-37), and its preserved length is 0.126 m. The original should have been roughly the same length as C-27-37, that is, 0.238 m.

¹¹⁸ Perdrizet 1921, no. 512, p. 168. Two terracotta phalluses from the Collection Fouquet equipped with wings and surmounted by an ass's head encouraged Perdrizet to conjecture that the Louvre figure was phallic in form. These come from Lower Egypt, are half the size of C-27-37 (0.114 m.), have a brown fabric covered with a rose-colored slip, and have suspension rings at the rear.

¹¹⁹ This is a point of comparison with Egyptian lamps.

piece of string), so that if suspended, the figure would slant to the viewer's right (showing the grimacing side of the face).

The face on this figure is not as grotesque nor as distorted as that of C-27-37, although the features are by any other standard extremely contorted.¹²⁰ The most striking similarities with C-27-37 are the wings protruding from the body and the phallic lower end. Other significant points in common are the hooked nose with flaring nostrils, the earrings, and the creased and frowning brow. It is clear that such winged phalluses surmounted by grotesque faces were manufactured in at least two centers in the early Imperial period, one in Knidos and one in Egypt.

CONCLUSIONS

All the vessels discussed in the previous section are long and narrow, too narrow for those that have a mouth to have been used conveniently as drinking vessels. Nor is the tip of any of them pierced to serve as a rhyton. The narrow form suggests viscous or solid contents and is akin to that of unguentaria. The decorative repertoire includes Priapus, vine wreaths, and floral garlands, as well as apotropaica such as the figure of Envy and perhaps a phallic bird. Although these Knidian phallic vases are clearly related to the wider class of Knidian relief vessels of the late 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ, the phallic vessels have a different decorative repertoire (sharing only vine and floral garlands) and seem to be the only shape of this class that was not able to stand. On the other hand, the Egyptian pieces lack any opening and are properly classed as figurines.

If the Knidian vessels were intended primarily as receptacles, what connection could there have been between their decoration and their contents? It is possible that the natural phallic shape of the vessel led the potter to decorate it first as a phallus and then with various other apotropaic devices. While the desire to embellish should not be discounted entirely as a motive, the specific iconography of the two vessels from Corinth and the vessel in Cracow suggests a more definite purpose for them and for their contents as well. It is possible that the contents were either apotropaic or diagnostic, that is, the decoration reflected the use of the contents.¹²¹ Another possibility is that they were associated with a luxurious way of life that might arouse envy and that the decoration was meant to afford protection against such a danger. The devices will then have performed a similar rôle to that of the eyes on eye cups. It should not be too readily assumed, however, that such vases were primarily containers.¹²²

¹²⁰ Breccia (1934, *loc. cit.* [note 116 above]) categorizes the Alexandrian heads under the heading *Deformazione spinta all'estremo*.

¹²¹ In modern Greece, when the necessity arises of determining whether an attempt to banish the Evil Eye has been efficacious, holy oil from the village church is poured into a glass of water while prayers are said. If or when the oil floats on the water, the spell is gone. It is probable that similar diagnostic techniques existed in antiquity, although none is attested in our literary sources.

¹²² A most clear-cut instance of vessels whose only purpose was magic is the bowls dating from the 4th to the 6th centuries after Christ from Mesopotamia and Iran that have spells inscribed within them in concentric circles. These have been found *in situ* lying face down. (Cf. Naveh and Shaked 1985, pp. 124–198, pls. 14–31.) There are vessels from the region around Cologne and one from Pompeii whose function seems primarily to have been magical. (Cf. Amand 1955, pp. 186–201; Renard, pp. 202–240; Elia 1960, pp. 5–6, pl. II:1, 2.)

The phalluses in the Louvre and in Alexandria which are surmounted by winged female grotesques closing off the mouth of the tube can only have been intended as apotropaea to be hung at some strategic point. Such devices are a variation on the apotropaic phalluses carved in relief on the exterior walls of houses and the large bronze phalluses evidently meant to be suspended at the entrances to houses or rooms. The Knidian vases may also have been hung, probably at the entrance to a house or room as protection against the Evil Eye.

One should not assume that the Evil Eye was feared with equal intensity at all times and in every corner of the Roman Empire. There were no doubt periods and places in which people felt more keenly conscious of the danger of the Evil Eye. The devices that were used to ward it off will also have varied somewhat. Even when these allowances are made, it is surprising how little recognizable evidence exists from the Greek mainland and Aegean islands for any period, including that of the Roman Empire, for belief in the Evil Eye. The explanation for this anomaly is unclear. Currently, there is more evidence from Corinth (two phallic Knidian vases, one phallic lamp, and one small bronze phallic amulet) than from anywhere else in Greece (with the exception of Delos) for belief in the Evil Eye. It seems on the whole unlikely that objects from the 2nd century after Christ are vestiges of the beliefs and practices Italian colonists introduced at the end of the 1st century B.C. and at the beginning of the 1st century after Christ, although it may be that the greater contact Corinth, in contrast to the rest of Greece, continued to have with Italy helps explain the difference. It seems more likely that, because goods from the eastern Mediterranean were transshipped through Corinth, it was more open to influences from that area than were other Greek cities. Whatever the explanation, a visitor entering some Corinthian houses would have seen nothing markedly different from what could be found in Ephesos or Smyrna. It would seem, then, that Corinth in the 2nd century after Christ shared the beliefs of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean.

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KATHLEEN WARNER SLANE

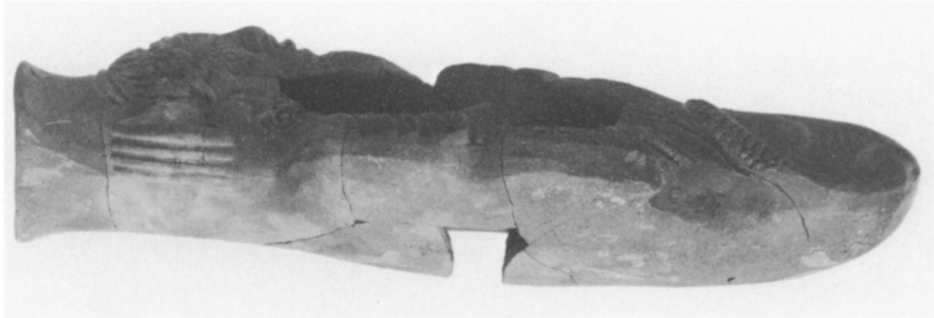
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI-COLUMBIA
Department of Art History and Archaeology
109 Pickard Hall
Columbia, Missouri 65211

M. W. DICKIE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO
Department of Classics
M/C 129, Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680



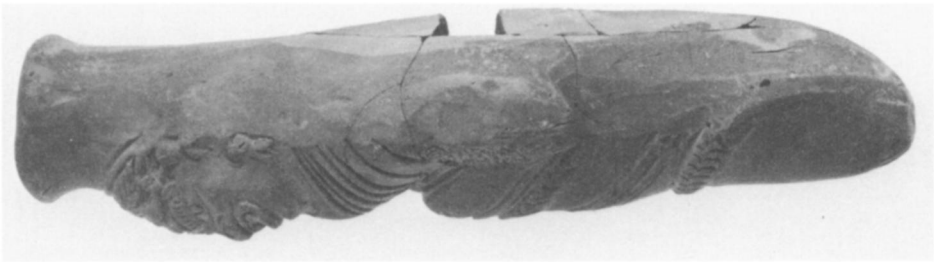
a. Front



b. Left side



c. Back



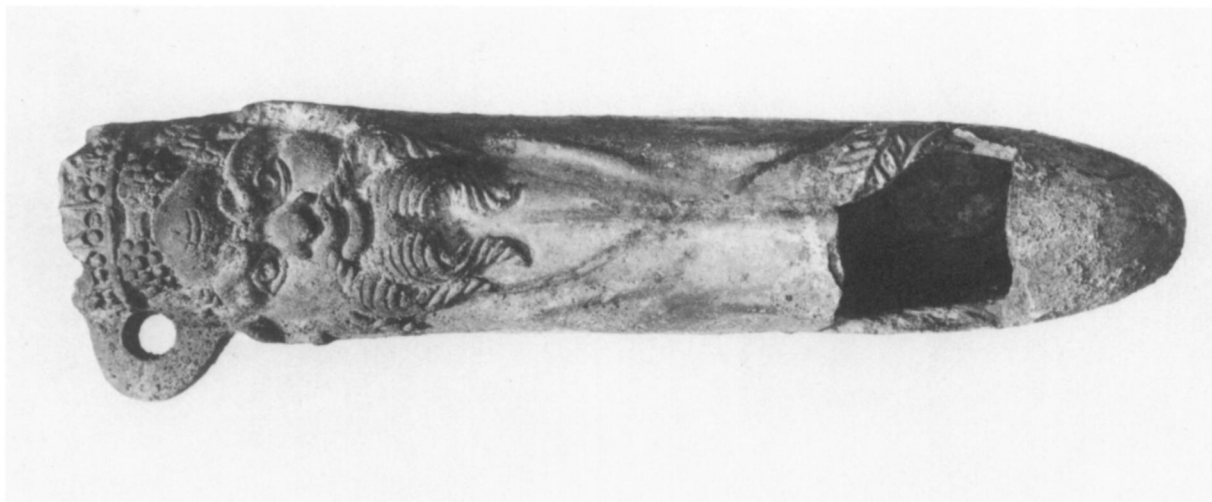
d. Right side

Corinth C-27-37. Scale 1:2

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a. Corinth C-34-2547



b. Cracow MNK XI-1239, front



c. Cracow MNK XI-1229, back

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