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The Secret Life of Statues: Ancient Agalmatophilia Narratives

MA by Research

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Abstract

Images in antiquity had a complex and yet crucial role both within the social nexus, and also the literary imagination. The response of agalmatophilia, that is, a physically sexual response, is described in a variety of types of narrative, and is found in a wide range of (almost entirely fictional) literary sources throughout antiquity. This thesis considers the ways in which agalmatophilia was dealt with in these narratives, and why stories of agalmatophilia were told at all. Tales of agalmatophilia highlight the way in which the image could take on numerous roles in antiquity, and the importance of the existence of images for occupying a cultural space that could not be filled by anything else. In addition, the narratives combined create a picture of ancient discourses on the role and function of the relationships between images and society, as well as individuals. The thesis covers the cultural conditions that allowed images to be perceived as potential sexual partners, the ways an individual performing agalmatophilia could be described and understood, and the responsibility of those creating and responding to images. It argues that agalmatophilia narratives set up the image as existing on the boundaries of the ancient world, and as objects almost impossible to categorise, because of their unlimited potential in conceptual terms. These ideas are all considered with the aim of understanding why agalmatophilia narratives existed, what cultural space they filled, and how the stories can illuminate the multifarious role of the image in the ancient Mediterranean world.

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Frontispiece : Jean Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), *Pygmalion and Galatea* at The Bridgemen Art Library, London

Introduction

The desire to touch images can be seen repeatedly at a wide variety of times and places: signs in museums and galleries tell us specifically not to touch statues, precisely because the urge to form a complete encounter with a three dimensional representation is so great. Similarly, the desire to give life to an image comes through in the arts and cultures of a huge breadth of civilisations. The desire to create beauty, mimetic perfection, to be sexually satisfied, and to fall in love are recurrent time and again, and images fill a place in these societal and personal concerns that can be occupied by nothing else. The images may not be real, now or ever, and they may be related only through literature, and fictional literature at that, but there is a very definite existence of an image to which one might make love in the imaginations of antiquity, and one really has to ask why. The purpose of this research is to look at the narratives of agalmatophilia that occur in various forms throughout the ancient Mediterranean, and to place them within their cultural contexts, in order to assess what this might mean for how we understand the role of the image, and responses to it, in the ancient world.

Firstly, however, a brief explanation of what agalmatophilia means is necessary, as the only scholarly definition, that of Scobie and Taylor, is both out of date and inadequate.[1] Whilst it literally means 'statue love', it is commonly applied to all forms of physical sexual response to statues. This does not mean, of course, that an individual who is sexually aroused by an image in any way is an agalmatophiliac; the significance is in the *physical* nature of the response. Throughout this thesis I apply the term agalmatophilia to a physically sexual response to a sculpted image, although the nature of the image varies more than the response itself. For example, I have included Pandora in my discussion, because she has been seen (and understandably so) as an image in terms of her Hesiodic descriptions and associations.[2] Since the study is intended, at least in part, to highlight the way in which responses to images

[1] A. Scobie & J. W. Taylor (1975) p49. Their definition requires that an individual actually fall in love with, and therefore form some kind of relationship with, an image. Given the difficulty of defining 'love' on its own, this seems like an altogether unworkable definition.

[2] See below, Chapters Four and Five.

can assist in assessing their role in society, I have kept the definition as broad as is necessary to include responses to objects that may only loosely be considered sculpted, or as 'statues' in the Classical sense of the word.

It is of course necessary to accept a few basic caveats before embarking on this research: these images were not always real, and there can be absolutely no way of suggesting that the narratives about sexual responses to them derive from any factual occurrence. This does not, however, change the fact that the narratives existed; that for some reason people felt a need to talk about this kind of response, and to give it a space in their literature and even in their visual arts. We must also accept the impossibility of recreating the ancient understanding of the image; it is hackneyed to say that the ancient world was a 'forest of images', but one must assume that they formed as much a part of the landscape of the ancient city as advertising billboards do in modern-day London. This means that we cannot recreate the familiarity with large-scale, freestanding sculpture, or recreate the relationships that one had with them in ancient societies. It is commonly accepted (although rather under-researched) that images all over the ancient world had a primarily religious role, or could normally have some religious function attached to them. Whilst the idea of image-worship is not entirely alien to us, it suggests an entirely different form of interaction than that which we are currently used to. In fact, when we are considering specific images, such as the *Apoxyomenos* or the Aphrodite of Knidos, with which we are familiar (at least in copied form), any clear understanding of the relationship that was originally intended with these images is prevented through their presence in our own canon of classical works; they were not images surrounded by glass or attended by museum security guards, or re-presented by artists and scholars, whereas they are now for us.

This is not to say, however, that there were no boundaries as to the ways one ought to treat an image, and it is in part this issue that the current thesis intends to discuss. Agalmatophilia marks a point at which interaction with an image is entirely removed from the commonplace or accepted modes of interaction, and becomes something worth commenting on in detail, and writing extended narratives about, whether these are humorous, moral, or otherwise. The events might not have been real, and the relationships with the images might be entirely incomprehensible to us in so many ways. Yet there is an opportunity through narratives of agalmatophilia to begin to

analyse the ways in which the boundaries of what an image was and how it should be treated were drawn, and the social positions that the image could (or indeed could not) occupy.

I have, then, used examples of agalmatophilia narratives to begin to assess what an image was meant to be in the ancient world, what it meant to look at and then respond to an image, and what this relationship between human and image could imply. I suggest that the narratives combine to give us a very clear indication of the way in which an image exists, because nothing else in that cultural environment can fill its place. Relationships held with images are relationships that cannot be held elsewhere, but that at the same time must be had.

One of the most striking features of all the narratives describing agalmatophilia (the principal examples are laid out in Appendix I) is the desire to give a reason for the response. The agalmatophiliac may be a rapist, a madman, enthralled by beauty, obsessed with an ideal, mourning a departed lover, and so on and so forth. The attempts made at explaining the response give away a great deal about how images and responses to them could be understood, probably more so than any other aspect of the stories. I have, therefore, assessed each proposed 'motivation' separately, to demonstrate the implications that they have in common and the roles that they imply for the ancient image. Chapter One looks at images without such a referent, that are loved because they are better or greater than any living human could ever be, containing all the possible and impossible at the same time. This idea will run throughout the thesis, but through discussion of the most famous agalmatophiliac of antiquity, Pygmalion, I hope to demonstrate some of the specific ways in which this is the case. Chapter Two deals with images of dead or departed lovers, who serve as a *simulacrum* for the individual left behind, giving clear indications of the relationships between this world and others[3] that images could be seen to have. Chapter Three assesses the complex issues of investing images with some form of 'living' attributes, which is central in agalmatophilia narratives, and influences those that do not specifically discuss it. It includes a consideration of anthropomorphic religion, as well as ancient discussions on the idea of *mimesis* as an ideal goal, and technological

[3] That is, those of the dead and immortals.

methods used to give some images the appearance of life. The natural progression from this is a discussion of the way religious treatment of images might influence responses to statues generally, and Chapter Four looks at those aspects of ritual that might be combined with a general tendency towards animism in order to attempt to explain agalmatophilia. Chapter Five looks at an entirely different role: that of the creator, and what happens when the creator's primary purpose is to elicit a sexual response from those who view his image. Chapter Six considers the aesthetic form of images, not necessarily as a purposeful incitement to arousal, but as influential in sexual responses to images nevertheless. Chapter Seven looks at the specific role of agalmatophiliacs who were described as such within discourses on the individual's sexual deviance.

The chapters separately consider the various explanations given by those who sought them, primarily those recounting narratives of agalmatophilia. The combination of explanations and rationalisations within these narratives all point to the complexity and diversity of the roles of images within ancient cultures. It should be clear that precisely locating the image within ancient societies is not a practical possibility for anyone: if agalmatophilia narratives demonstrate anything, it is that the image was a complex and fundamental feature of the ancient world, and that it cannot be explained through simple categorisation alone.

Because the image does not have one place, and because the types of images and responses to them are so varied, I have drawn on a number of disciplines and methodologies in order to assess the evidence together. Whilst traditional Classics and Ancient History have largely informed my contextual understanding of the writers and images involved, I have found it enormously helpful to look at several other disciplinary approaches that allow for the study of the treatment of images in quite different ways. Anthropology (of art especially) has provided for several developed theories on how relationships with images are formed by (or form) society, and how such factors can be assessed from the evidence of responses to images within a society. Alfred Gell's posthumously published work *Art and Agency* (1998) includes detailed assessments of numerous forms of responses to images, including sexual and magical ones, which have proven very useful as a tool for considering ancient images and responses, without necessarily relying on any of the stock tools of the Classicist.

He, and others have also developed complex and modern theories of anthropomorphism,[4] which significantly allow us to look at the religious images of the ancient world without the patronising tone taken by those scholars who have considered anthropomorphic and idolatrous beliefs as somehow primitive.

Theological theorists have also contributed significantly to this discussion, especially scholars on religious art. David Freedberg's book on *The Power of Images* (1991) considers numerous examples of agalmatophilia against religious images in the Christian West, and offers different explanations for anthropomorphism and the animism that is often attached to such religious systems. In addition, such scholars have themselves begun to use psychological theories to attempt to understand why such extreme interaction with images can and does occur at various stages in time and place. I have attempted to incorporate all of these elements within my work, to look specifically at examples arising out of the ancient world. I have tried to indicate where and how I have considered these theories throughout the text of the thesis, and at the same time to demonstrate the variations needed to allow the assessments to be relevant for the study of narratives and images that have a specifically antique provenance.

I do not wish to suggest that the issue has been altogether ignored by Classicists, and some have begun to use similar methodological approaches in assessing ancient art. Peter Stewart incorporates a chapter on touching images in his book on *Statues in Roman Society* (2003), although for the most part the chapter is dedicated to *damnatio*, which is a very specific, and different, form of response to images. It necessarily raises some of the same issues, however, such as the elision of the prototype with the image, and uses much of the same disciplinary background as I have discussed above. Other Classicists such as Jaś Elsner, Richard Gordon and Nigel Spivey have acknowledged the potential mobility and life in images of antiquity, and their approaches to images in general have been useful points for consideration. Treatment of agalmatophilia in any of these scholars is understandably brief, however, and it has not been used as a tool for assessment so much as an amusing aside.

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[4] For example, P. Boyer (1996) and S. Guthrie (1993).

Classical scholarship has also developed significantly in the areas of sexuality and gender in recent years, and ideas arising from this have been useful in the consideration of issues such as beauty, nudity, and self-obsession, that are often apparent in agalmatophilia narratives. Individuals such as Richard Clarke and Catherine Johns, who have closely analysed the sexuality apparent in many ancient images, have been useful when considering the concern of how an artist or creator might purposefully elicit a sexual response, and several scholars writing on aesthetic ideals and ancient sexuality in general have also been of great use when attempting to understand what, precisely, could have attracted an individual to an inanimate sculpture.

The Classicist who has come closest to making a specific and extended consideration of agalmatophilia is Maurizio Bettini in his *Portrait of the Lover* (1999), which incorporates a vast wealth of documentation about images that were loved in various ways. His concern is more closely connected with narrative and appearance than mine is, however, and while he makes several significant observations about responses, I would like to take the approach further. His work completes itself, and mine is perhaps more of a way of posing some different questions. The study of agalmatophilia does not necessarily tell us anything about agalmatophilia, so much as expose the dangerous cognitive positioning of images within ancient society; the concerns that arose out of them; the multitude of ways in which the image could be treated or mistreated; and of how we can begin to think about the way that people respond to images affecting the way the images are then thought about. The purpose here is to extend the current understanding of how images were described in antiquity to one how they could be perceived, through the consideration of one, very specific, physical response to them.

I do, of course, rely heavily on fictional sources for this, and the instances of agalmatophilia described probably never happened. They were described nevertheless, and the fact that it was a narrative that came up time and again across broad stretches of time and place, as well as genre and language, suggests that it entered the discourse on images throughout antiquity out of some necessity. The study of agalmatophilia might not come up with any answers at all as to whether agalmatophilia ever happened, or even whether it was likely to have done, or if it did

how precisely it could be explained. I hope to show, however, that as a strong and extreme type of physical response to an image it can form part of an understanding based on response that the images of antiquity currently lack.

Chapter One: The Rejection of Live Lovers

Every act of agalmatophilia must in some way be a rejection of the love that living individuals can offer, but in some cases this is unambiguous, and points to an attitude of misogyny and possession surrounding ancient ideas of sexuality. The story of Pygmalion, as told by Ovid,[1] is one of the most important texts for any study of agalmatophilia, and this tale explicitly claims that the reason Pygmalion creates his woman is out of a rejection for women of the human world.[2] Having seen behaviour that disgusts him in the Propoetides[3] he chooses to remain unmarried, because of the vices inherent in female nature. In his isolation he carves the ivory maiden, whom he then worships and becomes involved in an intimate fantasy with. When he prays to Venus for a wife like his statue the fantasy becomes reality, and the statue comes to life. The entire action of the story is motivated by his rejection of mortal lovers and, whether one sees him as the successful artist creator or the viewer in love with himself,[4] this rejection is misogynistic and centred around a conception of human women that pervades ancient literature. The question here is whether such attitudes could in some way explain agalmatophiliac responses to other beautiful images. It is not merely an issue of gender, but also of the goals of love, possessive desires, and the flaws of humankind. Further, it is necessary to consider the implications for the role of the image in the idea of rejection, for it suggests that the image can provide something a human cannot. The act of rejection in the first place strongly pushes the argument that the image occupies a cultural position within society, and within the

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[1] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.242-93: See Appendix I: 1.1
[2] Ovid, *Met.* 10.243-5
[3] Ovid, *Met.* 10.238-246
[4] For a quick survey of the various interpretations of the character of Pygmalion see J. Elsner (1991) 153f.

social nexus, that a living human being simply cannot have for whatever reason, and this will be an additional focus of discussion in this chapter.

Ovid's Pygmalion (and indeed his statue/lover/wife) has important counterparts in ancient literature; people who reject the lovers that society provides for them and aim for something higher or nothing at all. On some levels he is a Hippolytus, who devotes his love entirely to something/someone outside the normal realms of human courtship, believing those with whom he could have relations to be deeply morally flawed. On others he is a Narcissus, being more in love with himself, or at least his own fantasy, than he is with anything that exists in the external world. He can be a Hephaistos, the ultimate creator who can turn inanimate matter (ivory/clay) into a living woman (the statue/Pandora), or perhaps an Adonis (his own great grandson), practising hierogamy with Venus.[5] There are endless ways in which to treat Pygmalion, and this thesis will discuss various aspects of his nature at different points, but for the moment it is his explicit rejection of human women that concerns us, as it is one way in which agalmatophilia was explained in antiquity.

Pygmalion's rejection of women is one of the least ambiguous aspects of Ovid's story, he observes the 'crimes of female nature', is horrified by the prostitution of the Propoetides, and tars all women with the same brush.[6] At the same time, however, it features only in Ovid's version of a story attested as much older; other accounts have no need for this angle, as the image is explicitly stated to be of Aphrodite and, as we shall see, there are some special circumstances surrounding agalmatophilia against

[5] For the Pygmalion story and Hephaistos/Pandora cf. A. Sharrock (1991a); (1991b)
[6] Ovid, *Met.* 10.243-6

images of her.[7] Such misogyny might not be surprising in Ovid's poetry, especially as Orpheus, the poet who rejected all mortal lovers after losing his wife, internally narrates this tale. As a consequence of his misogyny Pygmalion inverts a great number of situations; he creates a woman who is not a Pandora, not a vice for mankind to suffer; he reverses the logic of likeness to ask for a wife like his ivory maiden (where really art ought to replicate reality, he requests that life mimic art); he creates a beauty that nature could never achieve; he transgresses the normal boundaries of the love between a creator (parent?) and his creation (child?).[8] All this does not necessarily mean that his rejection of mortal women led automatically to his falling in love with an image of his own creation, but there *is* a certain logic to it. Firstly, as has frequently been noted, in loving this image Pygmalion is very much in love with himself,[9] for the woman comes entirely from him, and she is for the most part only his fantasy, not a real woman. Secondly, the image may not be so very different from how a woman ought to be (in Pygmalion's conception anyway) and she might in fact not be altogether different in some respects from what a woman really was.[10] Thirdly, because she is an image she has the potential to be better than a human in any case; he is certainly not the only person ever to have found in an image something he deems to be absent from real life.[11]

According to some ancient thinking, every love, no matter how externalised, is a self-love: when one looks into the eye of a beloved this 'lover is as it were a mirror in

[7] The original story seems to have come from Philostephanus' now lost *Cypriaca*, (as attested by Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 4.50f: See Appendix I: 1.2) although there may have been further versions (see generally B. Otis (1970) p418f). Ovid's Pygmalion may also be attempting agalmatophilia with an image of Venus, although the suggestion is implicit and uncertain: cf. Chapter Four, and below in this chapter.

[8] Cf. A. Sharrock (1991b); P. Hardie (2004) p22ff

[9] Cf. K. Gross (1992) p92; J. Elsner (1991) p154-6; J. Hillis Miller (1990) p6, amongst others.

[10] Cf. M. Bettini (1999) p71-3; A. Sharrock (1991b) throughout.

[11] D. Freedberg (1991) p318ff

which he beholds himself'.[12] According to this thinking, to love is to find oneself in another.[13] This is certainly true of Pygmalion, for if he looks into the eyes of his image he will see an eye that he has created, an eye that represents his own fantasy and his own desires. In the words of J. Hillis Miller, it is 'as if Narcissus' image comes alive and returns his love',[14] for the mode of loving in which one finds oneself in another is extended by both of these characters, they love only because they have externalised themselves, turned themselves into an object which they can view (and, in Pygmalion's case, touch) and love, but cannot really have. Like Pygmalion, Narcissus becomes aware that what he desires is impossible; he already has what he wants (i.e. himself), but it is precisely this having that causes the problem.[15] Pygmalion already has his statue in some respects, but the possession is not complete, for he cannot have her in the way that he wants her until Venus intervenes. Pygmalion has one advantage over Narcissus, however, for he can at least touch his image, and 'vision affords an acquaintance without complete encounter',[16] a fact of which Narcissus is painfully aware. Their similarity lies in the fact that because they have rejected the love available to them in reality, they have detached themselves from it[17] and can only love themselves and the fantasies that they create as a reflex of their own misogynistic horror.[18]

Yet Narcissus falls in love with himself, and Pygmalion falls in love with that part of himself that exists within his image. The image has taken the form of a woman.

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[12] Plato, *Phaidros* 255c-e (for discussion of which, and relation to Greek thought on love generally, see J. P. Vernant (1990) p470ff)
[13] Cf. J-P Vernant (1990) p474
[14] J. Hillis Miller (1990) p5
[15] Ovid, *Met.* 3.428f
[16] H. Kreitler & S. Kreitler (1972) p208
[17] Cf. J. Elsner (1991) p148f
[18] For this with reference to Pygmalion see K. Gross (1992) p92ff. For the way the iconography of the Narcissus story relates to these matters see V. Platt (2002) and Appendix II: 1.1.

Certainly she is a woman with many attributes that he believes it impossible for a real woman to have; she not only has the face of a true virgin,[19] but also actually is one; she has a beauty that would not be found in nature;[20] and she is unquestionably his and his alone. However, this woman may not be so very different from 'real' women, or at least the normative idea of real women. A woman in antiquity ought to be a true virgin, for while men might practise extra-marital sex with some regularity,[21] women should only ever sleep with their husbands.[22] The nature of woman, however, might mean that the virginity suggested by her face was not a virginity she had in reality. The purity of women had been open to question since the first woman, Pandora (with whom Pygmalion's statue shares many similarities) who was beautiful, but a deceptive evil.[23] Pygmalion's own perception of woman may well have strengthened this generic idea, and he counteracts the curse of female nature by creating his own that cannot deceive him nor have these flaws.[24] He is a new Hephaistos, making a woman who remains primarily an *automaton*, an animate object made from inanimate substances, but who possesses none of the natural evils endowed upon Pandora. So she has similar beginnings to mortal women, but corrects the flaws that the gods gave her.[25] Again, like Pandora, she is beautiful, and beauty was an important quality for real women to have. The female form was to some extent fetishised in antiquity,[26] and Pygmalion's statue epitomises the vulnerable feminine sexuality seen in statues such

[19] Or 'real girl' Lines 10.250-1
[20] Lines 10.248-9
[21] J. Winkler (1990) p197. The same hypocryisy existed in Augustan Rome, e.g. A. Wallace Hadrill (1993) p66.
[22] Ovid's personal opinions on this might come across as different throughout his various works, but the ideal existed as strongly in Rome as it had in Greece. Cf. J. R. Clarke (1998) p24f; for Greece and Rome: M. Johnson & T. Ryan (Eds.) 1-8.
[23] Hesiod *WD* 67. Cf. A. Sharrock (1991b) p175.
[24] A. Sharrock (1991b) p174f.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Cf. below, Chapter Six, and S. Blundell (1995) p188f; N. Boymel Kampen (1996).

as the Knidian Aphrodite.[27] It was the beauty of real women that allowed them to be perceived as art objects themselves.[28] Indeed, women ought to be seen and not heard, so it was especially important that she was easy on the eye. This objectification that the appreciation of female beauty seems to have taken, contributed further to the idea of a woman as a possession, one of the additional characteristics that Pygmalion's statue shared with real women. She belongs completely to her creator/husband, and this ownership was characteristic of the lives of the women Pygmalion might have been able to meet in reality. Woman repeatedly appears as a passive object of male sexual desire, from those comic scenes in which she must silently endure whatever attentions men give her[29] to the depictions on Greek vases in which male-female intercourse is a decidedly one-way experience.[30] Some scholars have gone so far as to say that women were 'generally posed, objectified, dehumanised and idealised as an erotic sight for male pleasure'.[31] In the way she is seen, touched, and lives, ancient woman is not so very different from a statue; she ought to possess similar attributes, and she can be treated as if she had as much right to make a decision as a woman made of marble.[32]

Pygmalion's bride therefore shares the attributes of ideal, if not real, women as characterised in ancient literature and thought, but she surpasses them somehow. His love for her is derived out of his rejection of lovers in the real world, and so for him she must hold something more. As noted above, he is not the only individual to find in

[27] See N. Salomon (1997) p198f.
[28] For discussion of which A. Sharrock (1991b) and (1991a).
[29] B. Zweig (1992) p74. Cf. Ar. *Peace* 987-9.
[30] J. R. Clarke (1998) p24ff. This is the depiction of the ideal woman whom one might want to own, while hetairai and prostitutes are often characterised by their enjoyment of sex.
[31] S. Brown (1997) p17.
[32] As Sharrock (1991b) puts it: 'the boundaries between female love objects and art objects are open to disintegration' p175.

art something that he cannot find in reality, and like Narcissus, it is only when he looks upon something that reflects himself that he can fall in love. This may in part be to do with the goal of possession that influences male sexual desire, as can be seen in antiquity in works such as Plato's *Phaidros.*[33] It may also be because of those qualities already noted; she possesses none of those vices Pygmalion, Hesiod, and numerous others associate with womankind. Or it might be because a work of art in general can offer something greater than reality. Certainly it can make a woman more beautiful than nature ever could,[34] as men other than Pygmalion might have feared, to such an extent that Libanius found it necessary to write a short treatise on '*What the Painter should do if he falls in Love with the Girl he has Painted*'.[35] Those people which were most beautiful could be described as works of art, and those moments that were most perfect, such as love at first sight, might be described as being comparable to a fine painting.[36] Where love is concerned, the written and visual arts may depict a world where love is something more than it ever can be in reality, and they may even actively question whether art is only an imitation, or if it something that transcends reality.[37] If one wanted to fall in love, one might well turn to art for inspiration, and if one wanted to know what love was like, images might begin to tell you.

For one then to fall in love with a work of art is obviously a different matter, and there must be some place that the image occupies that cannot be fulfilled within the real

[33] In which sexual desire is explained as being in some people a longing for the possession of a desirable object. Plato, *Phaidros* 204d-206e. Cf. D. M. Halperin (1990) and J. P. Vernant (1990). See also D. Freedberg (1991) p317f for discussion of sexual desire as desire for possession with relation to images.
[34] Ovid, *Met.* 10.247-9: "interea niueum mira feliciter arte/ sculpsit ebur formamque dedit qua femina nasci/ nulla potest" See Appendix I: 1.1. See also below, Chapter Six.
[35] Libanius, *Ethopoeiae* 27; see also Aristaenetus, *Epistulae* 2.10 on a painted girl of irresistible beauty.
[36] People described as statues is a cliché and has numerous examples; see e.g. the Narcissus story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (cf. n.15, above) and Chapter Six. For love at first sight as being like a painting see Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Cleitophon* 1.4.3.
[37] As in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, Cf. F. Zeitlin (1990) for full discussion and bibliography of the work.

world. It must not only be beautiful and a possession and virginal and have the potential to be loved, for all of these things can be found in reality. What position can the image occupy that another woman could not? Alison Sharrock has suggested that Pygmalion's statue occupies a position not catered for in Roman erotic literature: she is hetaira *and* wife *and* goddess *and* daughter, and she essentially fills the misogynistic gap.[38] In this sense she is certainly a woman that cannot be found in reality, and this type of role for an image is not uncommon. Images cross the boundaries that people must live within, as will be seen throughout this study, and here we find an image representing someone that has no place in the world of the living, although of course this particular image does then join this world. As noted previously, every act of agalmatophilia is in some sense a rejection of living lovers, and it would perhaps make sense if all of these images could also occupy a place in the real world that is not catered for by real people. This might not be altogether unlikely, as ideologically there were only certain places within society that people could occupy, whereas images do inherently have the power to contain the impossible.[39] Sharrock's theory about the space Pygmalion's statue might occupy, that is, a space impossible to conceive of in Roman literature and ideas of social structures, might then be extended or adapted to other images against which agalmatophilia is performed.

Taking in the first instance this role of woman, the impossible role that the image has to fill because Pygmalion has rejected all living types of woman, it might be possible to consider how other images of the female form might suggest an unusual or

[38] A. Sharrock (1991b) p169f. The statue even becomes a mother once she has been given life by Venus.
[39] Cf. M. Bettini (1999) p72-4. This challenges the ideas he discusses at p61-5 and p187ff of 'reproduction for the worse' as the statue may in some senses seem better (or at least more inclusive) than the real human.

impossible place for a woman in society. As far as Pygmalion is concerned the ivory maiden is an impossible combination of prostitute, wife and goddess,[40] and this combination can certainly be seen in the treatment of other images. Unsurprisingly, it is a role taken by the prototype that was probably Ovid's model for the Pygmalion story: Aphrodite.[41] The goddess certainly had close association with prostitution; there were sacred prostitutes at some of her sanctuaries and cults known as Aphrodite Hetaira, she was the goddess of all forms of sexual love and had a special patronage over prostitutes.[42] She also played a special role in marriage, being the goddess given offerings by girls before their wedding,[43] and according to various myths appears to have had a husband of sorts herself.[44] Above all, of course, she is a goddess, with a tremendous amount of sexual power. It was not altogether unheard of for her to pursue mortal men, and she was romantically associated at least with Adonis and Anchises in ancient myth. Stories of agalmatophilia against images of her occasionally include such considerations in their telling: Pseudo-Lucian's unnamed Roman who locks himself in the sanctuary at Knidos is referred to as 'this new Anchises'.[45] Certainly attempting to have sexual relations with her image brings it firmly into the realms of the mortal, and so she becomes a complicated mix of powerful female roles that could never have existed in antiquity. Another goddess that we might here mention is Peace in Aristophanes' play of the same name. During the play she was almost certainly subjected to some kind of sexual attentions, probably

[40] A. Sharrock (1991b) p169f

[41] Cf. Chapter Four for how easy it would be to understand Pygmalion's statue as an image of Aphrodite, and the sources for the story clearly stating that Pygmalion was a man who fell in love with an image of Aphrodite.

[42] Cf. B. MacLachlan (1992); M. Johnson & T. Ryan (2005) p100f; Cf. Strabo 6.2.6; 8.6.20

[43] Often in the form of playthings and dolls. See K. McKelderkin (1930) for an extensive survey of the archaeological evidence and M. Bettini (1999) p216-21 for discussion.

[44] The tradition is varied, but she is associated with Hephaestus, Ares, and various mortals including Adonis and Anchises. Adonis may have been considered deified to a certain extent by his involvement with Venus, but her pursuit of him was as a mortal.

[45] Ps. Lucian, *Amores* 16. See Appendix I: 4.3

physical, and the character is once again a statue.[46] The passive endurance of the character sets her out as a hetaira, an available object for men to direct their lust at, and some scholars suggest that the character may in fact have been played by a prostitute.[47] At the same time she clearly is intended to be a potential wife/bride. In some senses her role as a goddess might be played down in Aristophanes, but her appearance as a statue and the initial setting of the play must have reminded the audience of this aspect of her role. Once again, it is possible to touch this kind of object, for it is not like touching any real woman. The image occupies a place that no living person could, and if one were unable to find the type of human one desired in the world around, then perhaps one might turn to that world of images which can contain anything possible and impossible, and which was of itself so influential.

Other types of image might inhabit other impossible places in the world, such as those images discussed in Chapter Two that replace a living human with an image of them. As will be seen, such images are the key to stepping on both sides of the boundary between life and death. All images have their own purpose, of course, and so normally occupy a place in society which humans do not, and so if an image is the target of agalmatophilia because of its existence as an image alone (that is, it need not be associated with a referent or with a fantasy of its place in society) then this unique function will probably be part of the attraction to it.[48] The idea cannot stand for all examples of agalmatophilia, however. For example: Tiberius' love of the Apoxyomenos cannot have been entirely to do with him taking the place that a human

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[46] The attentions are not absolutely certain but can be read fairly clearly from the text, cf. B. Zweig (1992) p74 cf. Ar. *Peace* 987-9

[47] B. Zweig (1992) p78. The suggestion that a prostitute could have played the character is not commonly applied by other scholars, but it remains an interesting possible interpretation of the text, and at the least implies certain attributes of the character for this to be conceived of as possible.

[48] See discussion in Chapter Six.

could not.[49] It is an image depicting a young man cleaning himself after some athletic exertion, it is admired because of its beauty, and it becomes very much a passive sex object in the eyes of Tiberius. It is difficult to imagine that the emperor of Rome could not have found some living beautiful young athletes to keep in his bedchamber had he so wished. There is, however, a way in which the statue could have occupied a place in society that a living Roman could not (or at least should not) have done. He is a representation of the ideal Classical Greek, and this may have been part of his attraction to Tiberius, who was well known for his philhellenism. Romans had their own identity to maintain, and while he might have been able to employ an individual to play the role that the Apoxyomenos took, the image itself stood for so much more. It was a famous masterpiece, associated strongly with all of the aesthetic and creative achievements of Classical Athens, and in this way it did have a place that could no longer exist in reality. It might of course have been that Tiberius was so used to getting what he wanted that taking a statue for whatever use he chose in his private bedchamber was no great decision for him to make. Here it is the cultural connotations of the statue that render it able to fulfil a role, which a real athlete could not fulfil (and that only Lyssipos' original could fulfil).[50] It remains valid to argue that it is possible to see a great number of images as occupying a position in the socio-cultural reality that could not be fulfilled by anything or anyone else. Once again, agalmatophilia therefore involves an implicit rejection of those people who could become lovers in the world of the living, and although this might be the case in several examples not mentioned specifically in this chapter, the idea that an image

[49] Pliny, *NH* 34.62; for text see Appendix I: 1.3; Appendix II: 1.2 for an image of the *Apoxyomenos*. For a fuller discussion of this particular agalmatophilia narrative see Chapter Seven.

[50] This raises questions of provenance and authenticity, which do not necessarily apply to the other images in agalmatophilia narratives; although for the role of the creator and creative process see below, Chapter Five. It is not clear from Pliny what it is that angers the populace so greatly (that is, whether it was the fame, authenticity, or traditional associations of the statue, which could not be replaced by a copy) only that the substitution is not satisfactory for some reason.

often occupies a place not catered for in reality will run throughout this thesis, and the rejection that this involves should be borne in mind whenever this comes into consideration.

In rejecting life, of course, the agalmatophiliac is accepting the image; he or she makes a space in his or her own world for this new type of lover.[51] This acceptance is important in the Pygmalion story, for once his bride comes to life she is placed firmly within the realm of reality, and this has only happened because of the extent to which he saw her to exist in that world in any case. What is at stake for stories of agalmatophilia generally is the way in which an image is moved away from a position where it may cross one or more boundaries and into one where it is placed in the world of humans. This can be done in a number of ways, and agalmatophilia itself is certainly not necessary for this transition to occur. The way in which one views an image can change the role that it has, and it is possible to view it in such a way that the onlooker becomes part of the image, or the image becomes part of the onlooker's world. This can also happen in imaginative terms, whereby the mode of viewing progresses into a conscious consideration of the way in which one might interact with an image. As the final progression, it may happen physically, in a situation where a viewer's response is active, through touch, violence and, of course, agalmatophilia.

The ability of the image to contain so many different facets, which cannot be simultaneously contained within one living human, make it possible to explain why it is a prevalent issue throughout the descriptions of agalmatophilia. It is a clear indication of art's ability to contain the impossible, and in terms of its role in marking

[51] And indeed vice versa. That is, the agalmatophiliac attempts to make a space in the world of images for themselves.

the boundaries of human possibility, it demonstrates one of the ways in which agalmatophilia can be a useful response to assess with regards to art and creation in general. Rejecting human lovers and turning to images must then be an entirely negative way of explaining agalmatophilia: it is not safe. It might be understandable, and it might always in some way be present in its narratives, but there is no way it can be seen as an acceptable way to behave. It is only one of the reasons that agalmatophilia might be considered so dangerous, but it perhaps provides a clue as to why it is a response to images that is written about with relative frequency. In reality the act is dangerous, punishable with death,[52] negative for image and viewer. In art, literary or otherwise, it can be satisfied, the surface happiness and success of the Pygmalion story provides a truly fantastic conclusion, and does one of those things that art is so important for: it allows the impossible to happen.

[52] As in the case of the Roman in Ps-Lucian, *Amores* 14-17

Chapter Two: The Kolossos, and other Dead Images

The rejection inherent in every act of agalmatophilia need not always take the same form, and in some instances a rejection occurs that is a direct consequence of the loss of a specific loved one. Much as Orpheus, the narrator of Pygmalion's story in the *Metamorphoses*, rejects lovers after the loss of his wife,[1] other individuals remain committed to one lover even once they are dead or departed. Some of the most straightforward stories of agalmatophilia are explained as being the replacement of a dead or absent loved one with an image of them. These examples clearly envisage the elision of the prototype with the image so that the image may replace the individual to an extent great enough to comfort the lover. The sexual content of these stories is not always explicit, as often they are focused upon affection itself, but in a few of these tales the sexual activities are clear. Agalmatophilia may be seen in these cases, then, as an extension of the desire to use the 'deceptive and futile solace'[2] that images provide to the bereaved.

There are three main stories that relate the replacement of a lover with an image for which part of the purpose is sexual. The first is that of the daughter of Butades, whose lover was replaced by a clay image that was sculpted using his shadow as a model, thus becoming the first human image to be made of clay.[3] The second is perhaps the most famous, the tale of Laodamia and her image of Protesilaos, which in some versions was destroyed by her father when he discovered that she was having intimate

[1] See above, Chapter One, on Orpheus' rejection and its relevance to the Pygmalion story.

[2] Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 40.1: "imagines nobis amicorum absentium iucundae sunt quae memoriam renovant et desiderium falso atque inani solacio levant". Which relates directly to the negative affect images that are intended to console may have.

[3] According to Pliny *NH* 35.43.151, see Appendix I: 2.1; a similar version of the same story can be found in Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 17.2

relations with it.[4] The third relates a promise made by Admetus to his dying wife Alcestis that he would have an image of her made that would lie in his bed for him to embrace after her death.[5] They present a variety of details about the treatment of an image, and can be compared with the treatment of 'historical' images of dead lovers, to consider ways in which an image may in some way replace an individual lover, and what qualities the image must be imbued with for this to be so.

In some ways it could almost seem logical to replace a deceased lover with an image in the cultural contexts of antiquity. J. P. Vernant has shown that the kolossos of archaic Greece had an incredibly close connection with the dead, greatly extended beyond merely standing at his grave.[6] The kolossos could be buried in a tomb in the absence of a corpse, thus replacing the dead man entirely in order to allow for the proper transition between life and death to take place. If it stood above the grave it could be seen as the double of the man buried there, not as an exact likeness, but as a representation of the dead in the realms of the living; an image that is not quite alive and not quite dead that may cross this boundary. Bettini has extended this, to consider the way an image might help to bring someone back from the dead in a literal sense.[7]

In addition, it seems that having an image made of a dead lover for consolation of the bereaved may have been relatively common (although sleeping with the image was probably not). Examples such as Allius, Polla and Cornelia Galla, who all had images

[4] This version is that of Hyginus, *Fabulae* 104, see Appendix I: 2.2. Variants on this story can be found at Apollodorus, *Epitoma Vaticana* 3.30; Ovid, *Heroides* 13; and the lost *Protesilaos* of Euripides (fr. 655 in Nauck). As well as some visual representations, such as a sarcophagus now in the Vatican (Figure 1 in Bettini): see Appendix II, Fig. 2.1.
[5] Euripides, *Alcestis* 328ff 'An image of you shaped by the hand of skilled craftsmen shall be laid out in my bed.' (Tr. D. Kovacs). See Appendix I: 2.3
[6] J. P. Vernant (1983) for extensive and convincing discussion of this concept. See also M. Bettini (1999) who comments on the same issue at p12-3
[7] M. Bettini (1999) p25. Alcestis is eventually able to return to earth, and Laodamia is visited by her Protesilaos.

made of their deceased spouses, describe ways in which these images could, to a certain extent, be treated as if they were at least part of the lover, as is in part attested by funerary inscriptions.[8] They could be presented with gifts, spoken to, and garlanded, as if they were somewhere in between a living being and a divine image. Polla, especially, seems to have attached some kind of ritual replicating Bacchic practices in worship of the image, which was kept within the tomb.[9] For Seneca, such images served only to point to the absence of the individual represented, and to distort the grieving process somehow,[10] an idea which could perhaps be seen in Ovid's description of Dido telling Aeneas of the image she, a notoriously inconsolable widow, keeps of Sychaeus.[11] Certainly in modern times such behaviour could (and for one man in Hungary did) lead to a diagnosis of mental instability on the part of the bereaved.[12] Yet a different impression might be suggested by the 'historical' examples of such behaviour, and by darkly amusing stories such as that of Perseus giving Andromeda her lover-turned-statue as a memory of him.[13] In other references it was believable to some ancient authors that such a way of preserving an individual could be institutionalised and even divinely sanctioned. Herodotus relates that the Ethiopians habitually covered their dead in plaster and decorated them in order that

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[8] Allius: *CIL* VI.3795: "Effigiem pro te teneo solacia nostri / quam colimus sancte sertaque multa datur/ cumque ad te veniam mecum comitata sequetur" ('Instead of you, I hold an image, my consolation, which I venerate devotedly, and which I crown with many garlands' tr. M. Bettini (1999) p26) with commentary of N. Horsfall (1985). Polla: Statius, *Silvae* 2.7.120ff: "at solatia vana subministrat/ vultus, qui simili notatus auro/ stratis praenitet incubatque somno/ securae." ('It is your face reproduced in a golden semblance that offers her an empty solace; it shines above her bed, standing vigil over her safe slumber.' Tr. M. Bettini (1999) p32). Cornelia Galla: *CIL* VIII 434: "Dulcia restitutuens veteris solacia vitae/ marmoreos vultus statuit, oculos animumque/ longius ut kara posset saturare figura./ hoc solarem erit visus." ('And renewing the sweet consolations of the past, she placed this face in marble, so that her eyes and soul could yet sate themselves with the sight of his dear features. But this is a comfort for the eyes only' Tr. M. Bettini (1999) p28).

[9] Statius, *Silvae* 2.7.129 Cf. M. Bettini p32-4

[10] Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 40.1

[11] Ovid, *Heroides* 7.99ff

[12] A Hungarian who kept a wax image of his wife and treated it as if it were she was reported in *The Daily Mail* 7th July 1927. Cited by H. J. Rose (1927) p58

[13] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.227ff

some part of them could be preserved physically in the mortal world,[14] and one story about Dionysus tells that following his murder his heart was preserved and placed within a statue by Zeus.[15]

All of these ideas about replacing loved ones with images of them can be drawn together to suggest that such possibilities certainly existed, and that while it may not have been the healthiest way to deal with bereavement, it was one which could be at least partially understood. Bettini has considered many of these examples, and has confirmed the suggestion that the image and the dead person were intimately linked by some additional linguistic and visual evidence. Firstly he points out that words such as *eidolon*, *simulacrum*, and *imago* can mean an image by an artist, an image in a dream, or some kind of phantom or ghost.[16] In addition, Vernant has used Greek terms to corroborate his theories about the role of the kolossos as a link between the living and dead with the ability in Greek literature to readily associate the kolossos with the terms *psyche*, *eidolon*, *oneiros*, *phasma* and *skia*.[17] The point here is that the image and the dead person may be to a certain extent linguistically interchangeable, and so for them to be emotionally and spiritually interchangeable as well is not so far-fetched.

Alfred Gell has explored the possibility for this to occur with any sort of image that has a definite prototype,[18] although mostly with reference to religious images. The basic points remain the same, however, for the image of the person is certainly

[14] Hdt. 3.24. This is suggestive, perhaps, of Egyptian mummy cases, which the Greeks would have seen in Egypt.
[15] Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanum religionum* 6.1ff (=fr. 214 in Kern)
[16] This final use can be seen in the words of Helen at Troy in Euripides' *Helen* 31ff
[17] J. P. Vernant (1983) p308-9 and *passim*. For eikon, see also R. L.Gordon, (1979) p10
[18] A. Gell (1998) esp. p66ff; for the tradition of connecting image sympathetically with original see also E. R. Dodds (1951) p293 and D. Freedberg esp. 27ff and 54ff.

associated with the dead individual and that individual alone in these cases. Gell suggests that this situation is possible in any society, not just in those where culture-specific beliefs explain the association of image with individual to a degree that allows it to be regarded, not merely as representation, but as part of them. It is possible, where an image has a clear prototype to which enough spiritual (which could here perhaps be replaced with emotional) connection is attached, that the personhood of the prototype can fully invest the index (that is, the image) in artefactual (containing something of the prototype) form, 'so that to all intents and purposes it becomes a person, or at least a partial person'.[19] The anthropological theory here fits well with ancient discussions and explanations: it is possible to believe that someone who used to exist in the world of the living may be present after their death within an image, either wholly or partly, whether because the nature of society permits this to be the case (as with the kolossos), or because the associations made with the prototype allow the image to become artefactual (as explained for by anthropological theories).

Both anthropology and the ancient sources suggest a further explanation for ways in which the image and the dead may be seen to be closely connected. The use of voodoo dolls, volt sorcery, or envoutement, in antiquity is now fairly well known. Some brief mentions have been made by both Bettini and Vernant as to the way in which a kolossos may be used in certain rituals to mark the transition between life and death, but other images could be used for the same, or rather more mysterious purposes. One of the most common uses of dolls in magic, perhaps even their original purpose[20] was for the laying of ghosts. It was often necessary to have an image of the dead, or an image made with some connection to them (perhaps with their hair or

[19] A. Gell (1998) 66-8, cf. p96
[20] D. Ogden (2002) p245f

nails in the clay), in order to put a ghost to rest, essentially in order to allow it to leave the world of the living altogether.[21] The dolls can also be used for the reverse processes. Bettini suggested that Alcestis' return to the world of the living may in part have been facilitated by the existence of her image, and while this is not clearly the case in Euripides, it was possible to conceive of a magic in which an image could be used to at least draw up a ghost. This is made clear in Lucian,[22] who therefore allows us to suggest that certain types of particularly potent images could be used either to send the dead to where they belonged, or to draw them back from there. In addition, it is interesting to note that the idea of ghost laying using images was by no means confined to literature: an inscription from Cyrene suggests that it was a legitimate and useful method of laying down those ghosts that troubled an entire city.[23] This is one example of the way in which magic and religion are difficult to divide entirely, where the magic is used alongside the invocation of a deity for assistance, demonstrating the way in which magic could potentially be as institutionalised as what is more easily accepted as religious ritual.[24] Whether the magic actually worked is quite a different matter. What is at stake here is the fact that the image and the dead might be closely connected in the understanding of ancient societies; the image had a power with relation to the dead that is highly relevant to the stories above, in which a lover is replaced by an image.[25]

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[21] See, for example, Thuc. 1.134 and D. Ogden (2002) p124; 245-6

[22] Lucian, *Philopseudes* 13-15, which describes the animation of dolls to fetch individuals, D. Ogden (2002) p255-6 notes that this idea was strongly rooted in actual magical practices as indicated by *PGM* XII.14-95 (= Ogden #245).

[23] The so-called 'Cyrenian Foundation Decree', *SEG* ix 4 for which see C. Faraone (1993) with text, discussion, and bibliography.

[24] C. Faraone (1993) p78.

[25] An image may also be magically used to draw an individual that is not dead, but absent, as, for example, in Theocritus, *Idyll* 2 where Simaetha uses voodoo to recover the errant Daphnis; a similar story occurs at Virgil *Eclogues* 8.64-109.39. These types of example will be looked at further in Chapters Four and Five.

Dolls are an element in other magical methods associated with the dead, including necromancy. In this type of magic the doll is once again closely connected with the boundary of where the dead belong, and with where they do not. The key source example is Heliodorus, in which an old woman of Bessa in Egypt uses a voodoo doll in magic to reanimate the corpse of her dead son.[26] The tale is fictional, obviously; and in general the ways in which magic was or was not performed in antiquity are quite unclear. The literary imagination, however, provides one way of considering how such images could be understood, and in many ways this tale of necromancy is not very different from numerous others.[27] Of course, the idea of raising the dead is relevant here too: if we recall the statement of Gell regarding just how much an image may be seen to become a person, and if the person in question is dead, then any contact with the image can be seen as contact with a dead individual. The image may be seen to be playing the same part as the reanimated corpse: it is the presence of a dead individual in the realm of the living. The image and the corpse do, after all, share a certain number of attributes; they are in some way the person represented, but not quite; they cannot move; the way in which they function relies almost entirely on the associations people have with them; and they cannot speak. Even the reanimated image ought not speak, as is clear from the distress of the corpse when made to do so in the Heliodorus passage.[28] In fact, often descriptions of necromancy focus on the physical presence of the person, not on their feelings or words; when they are reanimated, corpses are still little more than a physical presence of an individual who in reality is somewhere else, a presence which serves to highlight an absence, much like an image.

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[26] Heliodorus, 6.12-5

[27] See, for example, Horace, *Satires* 1.8; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4.45; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.159-352; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.5-19

[28] Cf. D. Ogden (2002) p201

In considering these ways of thinking about images in order to attempt to understand certain aspects of agalmatophilia, there is one major point which remains unexplained: sex. It may all seem perfectly reasonable to have a deep emotional connection with an image that looks like a lost lover, and it also makes sense to wish to be in the presence of this image, or even to speak to it.[29] Even the idea that this image has some power or spiritual connection to the actual dead individual is relatively straightforward given the societies concerned. However, complications arise when we consider how the images in our story are treated; if one has sex with an image that plays this kind of role in replacing the dead, is one in effect performing necrophilia? Perhaps it may be necrophilia with some qualifications. If one wishes to have sex with an individual who is dead, rather than to achieve the sexual gratification derived from the fact that the partner is a corpse, then having sex with their image might not be so very different from having sex with their dead body.[30] In literary terms the behaviour might indeed belong to the same trope: prosopopoeia, which ascribes living human attributes to the absent, inanimate, or the dead.[31] The same refusal to apply reality standards is used in similar ways to corpses and images in more than one type of behaviour; for example, neither corpse nor image needs to eat, yet an image may be presented with food as an offering, and funerary practices may have included pouring liquid foods into a corpse's mouth.[32] Once again, necrophilia seems to have been at least moderately frequent in ancient literature, and certainly some mentions relate to the desire for a specific individual. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Meroe and Panthia reanimate the dead Socrates in order for Meroe to have sex with him, after which he returns to the

[29] After all, such behaviour is hugely common at gravestones, which are our own markers of the absence of the dead.
[30] Theoretically, in any case: there are of course certain practical differences.
[31] Summarised as 'a cover up of absence' by J. Hillis Miller (1990) p4
[32] E. R. Dodds (1951) 136; N. Spivey (1995) p443f

realms of the dead.[33] Here she combines those magical abilities to bring the dead into the realm of the living (where they do not belong) and the desire to have sex with an individual who is absent. The same may be said of Herodotus' Periander,[34] although he is in fact responsible for the individual being a corpse in the first place, and plays rather more on the idea that the corpse is the completely passive representation of someone who no longer exists. Again, the corpse may be likened to an image, for they too have no choice if someone wants to copulate with them, and it is for this reason that there is a duty not to, and that when it happens it is for the most part wrong.[35] Necrophilia might not have been the hobby of the average citizen, but it was possible to believe that it happened on numerous occasions, even to believe in societies where it was relatively common, as seems to be the case when Herodotus describes Egyptian necrophilia.[36]

Overall, we have an impression of the way in which an image and a dead person could be closely linked, the way in which that image or dead person ought to be treated, and the way that boundaries can be crossed and extended to allow for the literary imagination to come up with examples of weird and wonderful associations with them. As far as agalmatophilia is concerned, such an explanation can only be attached to these very specific examples where the replacement of person with image is both literal and obvious. The explanation only works if the image is very closely connected to the existence of a person with whom someone has a special connection, for they do still know that the image is just an image, and not the individual, so their

[33] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.5-19
[34] Hdt, 5.92: The Periander case is more complex than this, and differs in its treatment of the necrophilia and necromancy, yet the combination is striking.
[35] This, of course, does not apply to all categories of person that have no choice (e.g. living slaves), it presumably makes a difference that Melissa was Periander's wife, whom he therefore had a duty of care towards.
[36] Hdt, 2.89.1-2

emotional connection must be powerful enough to overcome this boundary. It seems that these individuals are to be pitied for their tragic loss, and their own state of mind must account for the way in which they can treat an image so much as though it were not a boundary marker between life and death, but an actual living human. It is still not acceptable behaviour, of course; those extreme, mythical examples noted initially, do not seem to entirely condone the act. Laodamia throws herself onto the pyre where her lover's image is being burnt, as a direct consequence of her intimate relations with it. For Butades' daughter there seem to have been no negative consequences, and Admetus is saved from having to carry on relations with the image because his dead wife returns to him. It seems that this is perhaps the most acceptable form of agalmatophilia, and the kindest explanation that one can attach to it.

Chapter Three: The Life in the Image

While an image can be seen at times to represent the dead in the realm of the living, it technically retains all of the features of a non-living object. Yet those who treat them as specific individuals often invest the images in question with some form of life-quality, and this is not an isolated process relevant only to those images that represented a dead or departed individual. The idea of a 'living' image is developed in various ways through the narratives of agalmatophilia, whether it be the explanation for the response (that is, the image seemed to be alive and therefore a viable sexual partner) or a consequence of it (as in the case of Pygmalion's ivory maiden who comes to life in part because of his love for it.

The myth of an image coming to life is a strong one, which has continued in imagination and the arts up to the present day. While an image does not need to come alive for agalmatophilia to be a response to it, there are certain ways in which the perception of an image as in some way alive can contribute to a physical sexual response. As a trope in our sources it most commonly occurs with reference to animals, which apparently could be fooled by the naturalistic appearance of an image to such an extent that they attempted to mate with it.[1] While naturalism and mimesis was often regarded by our sources as the highest achievement of art in antiquity,[2] it is not altogether plausible that any human believed an image to be alive and therefore a potential sexual partner. However, by having intercourse with an image an individual

[1] See, for example, the tale of Pasiphae, in which the bull believes it is having sex with a cow, when in fact it is Pasiphae concealed within the image of one (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.14-33; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1.289-326; Eur. *The Cretans* fr.11). Also a few non-specific references in Clement of Alexandria, IV.51P and the references in the *Greek Anthology* (see below, Chapter Seven) to bulls trying to have sex with Myron's bronze heifer. Bronze mare at Olympia: Aelian, *Historia animalium* 14.18.
[2] J. Isager (1991) p91; 137ff

could certainly be seen to be attempting to bring it into the realm of the living, and it is useful for our understanding of agalmatophilia to consider the ways in which ancient images might have been perceived as in some sense alive. This is perhaps most clearly seen in the tale of Ovid's Pygmalion, in which the statue does in fact come alive, and has consequently been read by some scholars as the story of the successful artist whose image is so realistic as to become real.[3] The position of the image within ancient society was incredibly complex, for a number of reasons, and as agalmatophilia forms part of the discourse about this role it is relevant to see how far it contributed to imaginative discussions about where exactly it could be positioned within society. Much of the evidence for images appearing to be alive is discussed in other chapters, and where it is covered elsewhere I do not intend to repeat myself, but the life of images is clearly a significant factor in understanding agalmatophilia as a response, and needs close scrutiny.[4]

Those tales which relate animals attempting to have intercourse with an image can often be found amongst anecdotes relating the achievement of a particular artist in making their works seem alive, and demonstrate the way in which this was seen as an important goal in antiquity. The famous anecdote relating a competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasius,[5] in which birds attempt to eat painted grapes, and an artist tries to draw a painted curtain, is amongst numerous references to the ways in which an artist's skill could fool spectators (human or otherwise) into believing that images

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[3] For references to such a reading of Pygmalion, see J. Elsner (1991) p154-5

[4] For those images that might specifically be seen as placed between the worlds of the living and dead see Chapter Two. See also Chapter Four for the way in which ritual interaction with an image might encourage it to be seen as in some way possessed with life.

[5] Pliny, *NH* 35.66

were real objects.[6] Narratives of agalmatophilia can sometimes be seen as part of these discussions, especially those that refer to the works of artists who famously came the closest to achieving mimetic perfection.[7] Once again, Ovid's narrative of Pygmalion's story suggests that the lifelike appearance of the image contributed to the sculptor's feelings for it, with the famous line 'ars adeo latet arte sua' ('the art which conceals its own art').[8] The image does not seem to be an image; it seems to be alive. This is one of the great risks of mimetic art, which did not have to be seen as such a high achievement, even in antiquity. Plato, for example, has a great deal to say about the illusory quality of mimetic art, although he does not necessarily imply that its main risk is people actually mistaking the image for a real living thing.[9] His opinion does not seem to have been consistently shared by others, and most references to mimetic art are complimentary. Some of the passages in which agalmatophilia is mentioned, however, are by early Christian authors, who have specific reasons for warning their readers against the dangers of mimetic art, which heightens their concerns about idolatry. The Christian perspective occasionally uses agalmatophilia specifically as one of the dangerous factors about idol worship, and implies that mimesis is indeed a form of trickery by which to fool those who do not realise how far from being alive an image must be. For several reasons, however, mimesis itself is unlikely to be suffieicent to make a person think that an image is alive,[10] and so it is useful to consider others ways in which ancient images could be produced (or were imagined to have been produced in some cases) so as to appear to be alive.

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[6] Examples of such references can be found throughout Pliny's chapters on art (e.g. *NH* 35.88; 35.95; 35.103.) For which see esp. J. Isager (1991). Similar sentiments are expressed in a variety of ancient sources, for example: Cic. *inv.*2.1-3.2, 2; Vitruvius, 7.5.1; 7.5.4; Quintillian, 12.10.3-9; and the references above (this chapter, note 1) to animals.

[7] See for example Myron's Heifer as described at *AP* 4.IV.4, and the bronze mare at Olympia as described by Aelian, *Historia animalium* 14.18.

[8] Ovid, *Met.* 10.252. See Appendix I: 1.1 for full text.

[9] See C. Karelis (1975/6) for a discussion of Plato's concerns about mimesis and references, especially the arguments made in *Republic* X.595a-602b.

[10] See discussion below.

It has already been noted that there was no simple way of classifying an image in antiquity as simply alive or not. Some images, especially cult images, were considered, potentially at least, alive, and others were designed so as to give the appearance of possessing some of the characteristic features of living beings, such as movement, speech, or vision. There appears to have been no universal way of viewing cult images with reference to whether they might be the same as the god, contain some of the consciousness of that god, or be simply an image containing no life whatsoever. Insofar as it was at least possible to conceive of an image of a deity as 'alive', however, it is important to consider here the way in which this might have been done and, given that the viewing of divine images was the paradigmatic viewing of antiquity, how this might have affected the way in which other images could be viewed.

Religious attitudes towards images in antiquity were obviously informed by the anthropomorphic nature of ancient religion, an issue which many classical scholars have felt particularly uncomfortable with, often seeing it as somehow 'primitive', and therefore problematic for the study of civilisations which are considered to have been relatively 'advanced'. These ideas are much less popular now than they used to be, and there is a growing acceptance of anthropomorphism as a significant factor of ancient religions. In addition, anthropologists have demonstrated the ways in which the attribution of life to that which inherently has none can be part of religious worship in any society without it implying any sort of primitivist explanation. Previous anthropological arguments that explained such modes of understanding through suggestions of 'childhood animism' no longer tally with the psychological

evidence, which rather implies that the 'animism' previously perceived in children was a result of linguistic developments lagging far behind ontologically intuitive distinctions.[11] It is suggested by anthropologists such as Alfred Gell and Pascal Boyer that in fact animism and anthropomorphism are entirely ontologically counter-intuitive, that is, that across broad cultural and experiential divides intuitive ontological principles make distinctions between the animate and the inanimate.[12] Further, it is important to bear in mind that in the precise sense that anthropomorphism is a counter-intuitive phenomenon, it does not have to be any less 'real': conviction of the actuality of anthropomorphism does not make it less counter-intuitive, and indeed the fact that religious phenomena can be both counter-intuitive and perceived as true may be an important factor in their sustained cognitive investment.[13]

This type of understanding can quite clearly apply to ancient religious beliefs and the images associated with them. While some later sources attempted to rationalise animistic beliefs with similar theories to childhood animism, their conclusions are generally intended to deride paganism in general, and have no basis in the actuality of ancient religious practices.[14] These practices can be seen to provide the necessary cognitive and cultural frameworks for the modern theories of anthropomorphism as counter-intuitive to apply, at the same time as allowing for a belief system in which an image was seen in some way as invested with the life of the deity, which it

[11] S. Guthrie (1993) argues the former (i.e. the existence of childhood animism), but see now A. Gell, (1998) and P. Boyer (1996), whose arguments significantly inform my discussion on animism in antiquity.
[12] P. Boyer (1996) p84
[13] P. Boyer (1996) p92f
[14] For example Lactantius (*Divinae institutiones* 1.22.13), quoting Lucilius as saying that children before they can speak believe that all bronze statues are alive and human beings, and that this is the same way in which adults might believe there to be intelligence inside images of the gods. Quite how he knew what children thought before they could speak is anyone's guess.

represented.[15] Some references seem to state explicitly the presence of the divine within the cult image: Horace's fourth *Ode* purposefully confuses the statue of Venus with the divinity, making it appear that her marble form has sensory perception;[16] as Ovid narrates the rape of the Vestal Virgin Silvia, the images within the temple physically reacted with horror to the event;[17] the poems of the *Priapea* are narrated by Priapus in such a way as to make it perfectly clear that the god and the deity are intended to be the same thing.[18] In addition, statues of the gods may be tied down to prevent them from moving away from their pedestals, an act of binding that may have formed part of ritual and which implies that the images were certainly intended to be seen as alive.[19] Aside from the ritual aspects of religion, there were features of the production and form of religious images that further imply a context in which images were intended to be seen as alive. In addition to the intended achievement of mimetic perfection, there appears to have been a conscious development of techniques with which to provide images with signs of life, such as movement and speech.

The mythic origins of the idea of *automata*, or moving images, are evident in the tales of divine creation, as well as those surrounding Daedalus. The anonymous first woman appears essentially as an *automaton* in Hesiod's *Theogony*[20] and has been described to all intents and purposes as a sister to Hephaestus' golden robot maidens as seen in the *Iliad*.[21] Literary imagination also seems to have conceived of the ages of man as described in archaic literature as being literally made of bronze, silver, and

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[15] For a fuller discussion of ritual practices and their significance for agalmatophilia see Chapter Four.
[16] Horace *Odes* 4.9-20, 21-2, 22-8
[17] Ovid, *Fasti* 3.45-6
[18] For the *Priapea* see below, Chapter Four, and for texts see Appendix I: 4.2; Cf. Livy, 5.22 on the nodding of the statue of Juno at Veii.
[19] Paus. III.336-7
[20] Hes. *Theog.* 205; 22; 229
[21] *Iliad*, 18.418. Cf. J. Strauss Clay (2003) p123

gold. This is most famously attested in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, which describes the bronze man, Talus, as being a survivor of the bronze ages of man.[22] Daedalus' creations are at various points said to have been able to move of their own accord, or have other signs of life attributed to them,[23] and this aspect of narratives about Daedalus has been seen as part of the wider discourse concerning the limits to which human creation ought to extend.[24] Some ancient authors suggest quite rationally that Daedalus' images could not in fact move, but that such inventions were attributed to him because of his innovative style and use of increased naturalistic appearance.[25] Once again mimesis and the ability to see an image as alive seem to merge, although it was not necessary for an image to look remarkably like a human for it to be believed to possess divine qualities.[26]

However, it was not only in myth that images could possess some of the characteristics of living humans. There is a significant amount of evidence suggesting that images could be made to move or speak, and indeed display other signs of life that can only have contributed to a perception of them as somehow alive.[27] In cult contexts images could be made hollow so as to appear to actually speak oracles, or to

[22] Apollonius, *Argonautica* IV.II.1636ff Talus is alternatively said to have been a gift from Hephaestus to Minos in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* III.xv.8, which claims that the bronze man was filled with a vital fluid.
[23] Eur. *Eurystheus*, fr. 372 in Nauck, says that Daedalus' statues could see; Aeschylus, *Theoroi e Isthmiastai* (fragment) on Daedalus' statues being able to do everything but speak. A lost comedy by Aristophanes entitled *Daidalos* seems to have had as its theme statues that moved off their bases. A fragment of a comedy by Philippos (quoted by Aristotle, *De Anima* 406b18-19) claims that Daedalus made a statue of Aphrodite move by filling it with mercury.
[24] R. L. Gordon (1979) p9
[25] Aristotle Fr. 191, reported in Aelian, *Varia Historia* II.26
[26] Numerous aniconic *xoana* were associated with the divine far more closely than many other images, and indeed anthropomorphic images are not necessary for an image to be construed as divine or alive. In some senses an aniconic image can become iconic by virtue of being imbued with animistic qualities, for discussion of this cf. A. Gell (1998) p98ff. With reference specifically to ancient images and *xoana* see N. Spivey (1995) p450ff
[27] For a fuller, and rather more patronising, account of the archaeological and literary evidence for moving or speaking images, specifically within religious contexts, see F. Poulsen (1945). See Appendix II: 3.1

move or sweat in response to questioning.[28] Practical means of producing the appearance of life and movement certainly existed, and were not solely applied to those images which were most clearly located within a cult context. Puppets, marionettes, and dolls could have fully articulated joints, as is evidenced through archaeological finds as well as literary references.[29] One famous example of ways in which moving images could be manipulated to encourage a powerful response is described by Appian:[30] a wax image of Caesar, sporting 23 stab wounds, which was moved by machinery, was displayed during Antony's funeral speech, apparently inciting the crowd to the violence that ensued.

Secular images could also be conceived of as possessing a certain amount of power or life. The two aspects of an image are quite significantly different: those images that seemed to be alive are often simultaneously those described as mimetically perfect, whereas those perceived as powerful are often associated with the individual represented (the prototype). For example, a poem from the Greek Anthology describes the victory monument made by Myron for Ladas that one might believe was actually about to jump into the air.[31] This brings in another aspect of imbuing an

[28] For numerous references see F. Poulsen (1945) but for example a statue of Apollo in Hieropolis that moved and sweated (Lucian *On the Syrian Goddess* 36); a head described by Hippolytos (*Refutatio omnium haeresium* IV.41) as being made with a windpipe inserted into it for the purpose of pronouncing oracular truths; an Apollo at Magnesia with miraculous powers described by Pausanias (10.32.4).

[29] For discussion of dolls and other jointed toys see K. McKelderkin (1930), including a survey of some of the archaeological evidence. See Appendix II: 3.1. For other moving images see N. Spivey (1995). Examples of literary evidence for the technology behind such images include: Heron, *De Automatis*, and Vitruvius, *De arhcitectura* 9.8.5 and 10.7.4 which both refer to *sigilla* operated by hydraulic pressure.

[30] Appian, *BC* 2.147 For discussion of this passage in relation to the power of images see A. Gregory (1994) p93-4

[31] *AP* IV.5.4. Myron is one of the most popular artists with whom to associate anecdotes of mimetic perfection. He is described by Pliny (*NH* 34.58) as being exceptionally skilled at representing realistic content in bodily forms, but not inner feelings. It seems perhaps his sculptures might then have looked as though they could move, but not really have been alive. This type of projection of life on to images is what R. L. Gordon (1979) p10-11 describes as at once asserting and denying that an image is alive

image with life that is immensely significant for responses to images in general, and for agalmatophilia specifically: the elision of prototype with image. In some senses all representations of an individual must be more than an image in the straightforward sense; each image that represents someone can be seen as part of that person, or the existence of that person outside of the space that they actually occupy. This has already been discussed to a certain extent as far as the gods of the ancient world were concerned, yet the complexity of whether an image was imbued with the qualities of the prototype it represented is not fully explained by the religious roles of images alone. The philosophical complaints about mimesis noted above[32] often centre around the issue of how much the artist is intending to deceive the viewer into believing that the image they regard is actually the prototype it represents. Other discussions from antiquity concern the way in which an image relates to the original, whether it is a reflection, painting, sculpture, or even memory.[33]

The issue is pertinent for every type of response to images, for there is an interplay between the prototype (signified) and image (signifier) in every observation of an image; the way in which one responds to an image may be a direct consequence of how one would respond to the prototype, an inversion of that response, an extension of a repressed response, or conversely the way in which an image is treated or presented can have very real effects upon the prototype. In essence, a viewer blurs the boundary between the signifier and signified by in some way involving the image within the reality that it represents. This occurs throughout history, despite the fact that the viewer is aware of the status of the image as 'art', and means that when this

through attributing certain qualities of 'life' (movement, speech etc.) to an image, but never allowing them all to be present at once.

[32] See the discussion on Plato above. Cf. also Aristotle, *Poetics* 1448b-9; *Rhetoric* 1.11.1370a21-70b23 which consider the relationship between the object and the copy.

[33] Cf. M. Bettini (1999) p48-9; 72; 187-8

subconscious elision of prototype with image occurs, it is almost impossible to prevent the investment of the signifier with some of the qualities of the signified.[34] Anthropologists also note the importance of this type of elision, considering, for example, that the way in which relations with an object exist independently of its form (the relationships exist and therefore the form exists to take its role)[35] means that, for representative images, the elision of prototype with image can occur without anthropomorphic images, and is indeed a reason for the existence of the image in the first place. In a practical sense, the image mediates personhood, rather than possesses it, but the personhood of those involved with the image (artist, prototype, recipient) can to all intents and purposes mean that the image becomes, at least in part, a person.[36]

With relation to the way in which one responds to an image this elision is clearly central, and since instances of agalmatophilia occur against representational art, the issue is of vital importance. Firstly, when one touches an image one might well be (or believe oneself to be) in some way touching the prototype. Secondly, the elision might not occur to this extent, but might in any case be seen to affect the prototype in some way. One can be capable of being aroused by an image in part because it is perceived as alive, and this seeming can be seen at various points to allow sexual relationships to ensue.[37] In narratives of agalmatophilia this appears to be the case at least some of the time: Pygmalion's image could be taken for a living person by himself, the narrator, and potentially the reader. Other narratives appear to have included similar ideas: Onomarchus is reported to have written in his '*The man who*

[34] For a full discussion of this throughout history see D. Freedberg (1991) esp. p320ff
[35] A. Gell (1998) p102f; 59f; 8
[36] A. Gell (1998) p98 puts this into a neat example: The Chinese ambassador in London does not look like China, but in London, China looks like him.
[37] D. Freedberg (1991) p319f

fell in Love with a Statue"[38] that the image seems to understand his words, to blush, to have a light in her eyes, but yet she never returns his affection in reality. The understanding implied in this tale is recurrent in many aspects of ancient treatment of images, especially with the treatment of religious images, to which one could pray in full expectation that they (or the god they represent) will understand the words spoken to them.[39] Hence if one treats an image as if it is alive, one might also be treating it as the prototype it represents: one's actions could have the full intention of affecting the signified, thus removing the possibility that the image can be seen in its entirety as inanimate and dead, for its role even as a mediator implies some kind of communication that ought not to exist between stone and humans.

This type of elision, along with the related assumption that things which resemble each other are the same, forms in fact the basis upon which much sympathetic magic is believed to work.[40] Once again, the use of images in magic can provide clues as to the multitude of ways in which an image could be seen as more than simple representation in antiquity. Most relevant at this point are those images used in erotic magic, for the sexuality of a living image must exist in ideas of agalmatophilia. These images work in much the same way as those used in magic designed to achieve other ends,[41] and demonstrate how an image need not be ineluctably reduced to the role of symbol, for representation is often an important factor, and the image once again is not merely a symbol of someone or something, but becomes that person or thing.[42] In anthropological terms, the way in which erotic magic using representational images works, can be described as a reversal of the causal nexus linking an image to a

[38] Reported by Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 2.18
[39] Cf. R. L. Gordon (1975); E. R. Dodds (1951)
[40] Cf. D. Freedberg (1991) p246ff; A. Gell (1998) p102ff among others.
[41] Including, for example necromancy, as discussed in Chapter Two.
[42] On symbols and representation see D. Freedberg (1991) esp. p325f.

person.[43] So, while the normative relationship is that the representation takes the form that it does because of what it represents, in magic the association is literally exploited, meaning that what happens to the index (image) also happens to an individual who is in this situation victim, agent, and patient in relation to the index. In antiquity this sympathetic principle can be extended to reanimation magic, in which the 'life' of the doll image can give 'life' to a corpse.[44] This preliminary to the discussion of the enlivening of an image for the purposes of erotic magic is particularly important for demonstrating the way in which the image need not be seen as a passive agent in any way whatsoever; it can be taken to have the primary active role in social relationships, thus enlivening it to a greater extent than would be possible even with the technologically manipulated images mentioned above.

Of the ancient magic for which we have evidence, erotic magic appears the most frequently and possibly the earliest.[45] It also commonly features the use of dolls and images to enhance the efficacy of the spell. It appears that the most common image to use for such purposes was an Eros doll, which could be animated to retrieve a lover, or the binding of an image of a lover to prevent them from being drawn to anyone else.[46] The use of erotic magic may, in turn, be linked to other ancient explanations for agalmatophilia; it is often performed by sex-crazed women or unnecessarily jealous lovers, and the sexual deviance of the individual is hence brought to the fore in such behaviour. In these narratives the individual agent of the action does not necessarily perform any sexual act with the image-index itself, but as the image and

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[43] A. Gell (1998) p102-3
[44] See Chapter Two.
[45] C. Faraone (1993) p61ff and *passim* on the abundance of indications of erotic magic in the earliest Greek evidence.
[46] Seen in Ovid *Am*. 3.7.27-36, 73-84 and cf. D. Ogden (2002) p126f

the prototype must in essence be the same in order for the magic to succeed, the definitions are once again blurred.

All of the narratives that are discussed in this chapter have a great significance for discussions of any response to ancient art, whether it be sexual or not. Because agalmatophilia is such an extreme form of behaviour, it can be used to demarcate the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable treatments of art. It is used in order to demonstrate the problematic nature of delineating any such boundary at all, for the numerous examples show that what might be acceptable in some circumstances cannot be so for others. For example, mimetic art might be relatively harmless if one simply mistakes a piece of *trompe l'oeil* wall painting for real architecture, for example, but mimetic representation creates problems and dangers when it allows an individual control over another through the control of their image. If it is not altogether impossible for an image to seem remarkably like life; if some forms of life (especially animals) cannot actually differentiate between flesh and stone; if images cannot actually be seen as alive or dead, but as some ill-defined intermediary between different levels of existence, then how exactly is one to decide where the differences ought to lie between how one treats a living human and how one treats a stone one?

Mimetic art and the ability to mistake art for reality were discussed as a problem in antiquity,[47] and it certainly poses problems for how an image ought to be treated. R. L. Gordon[48] has suggested that in fact attributing various signs of life to an image managed to demarcate it from life more effectively: by allowing an image the attributes of life (seeing, speaking, moving etc.) separately, one can be all the more

[47] See esp. above on Plato
[48] R. L. Gordon (1979) p10f

assured that an image does not ever possess all of the qualities that make something actually alive. Yet the stories tell us something different: sometimes statues actually can come alive, and they can also be treated as living creatures through the act of sex. The prior issue has been discussed above, but here I wish to make a note on the way in which one can treat an image as if it were alive, and hence further blur and distort the boundaries that existed for the nexus of social relationships between the viewer and the image. In touching an image several things can be said to have happened. Firstly, the consciousness of touching is highlighted when an individual touches an image, and in a sensory respect suggests that the viewer is being reciprocally touched.[49] Secondly, by having physical contact with a statue one can in some senses reinforce the illusion of animation to a greater extent than even the skill of the artist might have achieved in the first place: a person who interacts with a statue can in a sense activate this illusion of life through their own responses. Thirdly, when these physical responses are extended to sexual intercourse, there must be little to say that the image is not alive after all. This might seem an exaggerated comment to make, and indeed it is. However, given the anthropological considerations outlined above, in a very real cognitive respect the image must actually be that which it is perceived to be, rather than what it actually is.[50] So the image that becomes a lover becomes alive.

There are, naturally, problems with suggesting that the fact of an image appearing to be alive could of itself create a cultural sphere in which agalmatophilia was likely to occur. After all, we are now surrounded by enormously lifelike images, even to the extent that our own ontological capacities are deceived[51] and there does not appear to

[49] H. Kreitler & S. Kreitler (1972) p207
[50] See the discussion above on the arguments of A. Gell (1998) and P. Boyer (1996).
[51] I think, for example, of waxworks, which are not always easy to distinguish from real humans, especially at a distance.

be any significant number of people who engage in sex with them.[52] However, in antiquity, mimesis was complemented by the complex status of the image, meaning that one had no right to assume it either alive or dead. While the matter is complex, not least because in all probability it varied considerably between individuals, as well as depending on geographical and temporal situations, it is one of the key factors in all of the examples of agalmatophilia. Furthermore, it is a theme that has recurred throughout history in the literary and figurative imagination: indeed there seem to have been few points in time where the story of an image coming to life did not exist.[53] In a civilisation where images were both prolific and vital for the maintenance of normal societal structures, it need not be any surprise that such narratives appear with some frequency. It must be considered, therefore, that, whether it can be seen as an explanation or not, the narratives of agalmatophilia with their inexorable links to the animation of images form part of a complex and fluid discourse on the problematic nature of images within ancient societies.

[52] Of course some people seem to (see numerous examples at www.statuemolesters.com/gallery) but it is certainly not a widespread fetish. See Appendix II: 3.2.

[53] For numerous examples and discussion see, for example: K. Gross (1992); J. D. Bruce (1913); P. F. Baum (1919). The examples are too numerous to count, as are the cultural environments from which they came.

Chapter Four: The Worshipper's Embrace

The possibility that a religious image may be perceived as alive is not the only way in which agalmatophilia against representations of deities might be explained. Although images of the divine have been given considerable attention elsewhere in this thesis, there are a few features specific to this kind of statue that may contribute to an understanding of agalmatophilia in general. It has already been observed that religious viewing was the paradigmatic viewing of images in antiquity, and many scholars have observed that the primary function of images in antiquity was in some way or other religious.[1] Yet it remains to be seen how agalmatophilia narratives might fit into this kind of viewing, aside from the issue of imbuing the image with some kind of life. In this chapter, therefore, I will consider those narratives in which an image of a deity is specifically involved, and use them to assess some of the ways in which 'normal' treatment of religious images might have been seen as a partial explanation for the response of agalmatophilia.

One ancient source does in fact specifically claim that ritual is the justification behind an act of agalmatophilia: Lactantius (1.20.36) states that Roman brides offered their 'first fruits' to statues of Tutinus on their wedding night.[2] The reference is the only one of its kind, and we may assume it to be a purposefully inaccurate portrayal, useful for the author's anti-idolatry message.[3] It does, however, reflect both the trope of attempting intercourse with the ithyphallic image of Priapus found in both Greek and Latin poetry, and also the very real physical interaction that a worshipper may have

[1] Although the same scholars often go on to ignore this fact, e.g. J. Pollitt (1974)
[2] The deity is one commonly associated with Priapus, represented by ithyphallic sculptures.
[3] For the text see Appendix I: 4.1. Lactantius' general purpose fits into much Christian anti-idolatry discourse of his period.

had with divine images that could include embracing and kissing.[4] The Priapic verses are generally comic, and cannot be said to narrate reality, yet there are several poems of this kind dating from at least as early as the Hellenistic period.[5] They are generally narrated by the god himself (from the perspective of his statue), who is sometimes subject to sexual abuse by lascivious women, or inflicts penetration as a punishment for trespassing or theft from the grounds he guards.[6]

While the poems are not generally considered amongst great ancient works, and may now be relatively unknown, it is not unlikely that they could have inspired Lactantius' comments: the known authors of *Priapea* include some well-known Latin names, including Horace and Virgil,[7] and some have considered the collection of Latin works now known as the *Priapea* to be Ovidian because of their complexity and the obvious poetic skill with which they have been written.[8] In addition, there may have been visual depictions of women attempting intercourse with Priapus' statue in various collections of pornographic images, including the famous works of Elephantis.[9] The only explicit visual depiction of agalmatophilia that survives from antiquity depicts a Priapus-style ithyphallic herm, although the perpetrator is a fictional character: a Pan with apparently female attributes.[10]

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[4] See below for Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.94 on the kissing of a statue of Hercules, as well as discussion of the iconographic and literary tradition of embracing statues for sanctuary.

[5] Cf. W. H. Parker (1988) who refers to *AP* 6.292 (Hedylus, 3rd C BC); 9.338 (Theocritus (3rd C BC); 9.437 (Theocritus, 3rd C BC); 16.236 (Leonidas of Tarentum, 3rd C BC). See Appendix I: 4.2 for texts of a selection of *Priapea*. The earliest surviving *Priapea* are third century BC, but Athenaeus quotes from a *Priapea* by Xenarchos written in the fourth century BC.

[6] For the texts of a selection of the *Priapea* see Appendix I: 4.2. For discussion of the poems see commentary of W. H. Parker (1988) esp. 10ff

[7] Cf. W. H. Parker (1988) p16

[8] W. H. Parker (1988) p32-6 discusses the issue of the authorship of surviving *Priapea*, and demonstrates quite clearly the manner in which the style and technical composition of the poems suggest an author of considerable skill and talent.

[9] W. H. Parker (1988) p38; 72. Cf. *Carmina Priapea (CP)* 4.

[10] See Appendix 2: 4.1 for the image, which is on a Roman sarcophagus. Cf. C. Johns (1982) p96-8, Plate 23.

Hence, although the ritual described by Lactantius was probably not actually practiced, it was nevertheless an act that appears within ancient imagination with relative frequency. One might suppose that it was simply because of the physical characteristics of the image: Priapus does, after all, have an excessively large and erect phallus, which might lend the image to more agalmatophilia narratives than most.[11] There are also many other humorous poems about the god that do not involve agalmatophilia,[12] and so it may be that he was a deity about whom one could write humorous verse and that agalmatophilia lent itself to a certain kind of '*Carry On*-style' comedy scenario. In any case, these poetic treatments of agalmatophilia are quite unusual, because of the narration from the perspective of the image, and because some of them do indeed suggest that there is some kind of religious purpose to the act.[13]

The *Priapea* also refer to other physical interaction with the image of Priapus that may seem a little more plausible, for example the placing of wreaths on the phallus of the image as an offering associated with prayer. Images of devotees placing wreaths on the phalluses of herms can be found on Greek vase paintings,[14] and while there need not be any sexual reading of such an act, it begins to bring in the idea of interaction with images that formed part of worship, and that is not always so far from explicit sexual interaction as scholars might wish to think. The phallus itself was a powerful symbol in antiquity, and was considered in Greece and Rome to have

[11] For the appearance of Priapus see Appendix 2: 4.2, a Pompeiian wall painting of the deity. For discussion of the various representations and styles of Priapic images see P. Stewart (1997)

[12] For a summary of the types of *Priapea* and the contents of them see the discussion and tables in the introduction of W. H. Parker (1988).

[13] In the sense that the agalmatophiliac may have hoped for some kind of favour on the part of the god because of it. See, for example, *CP* 16; 40; 50; for text see Appendix I: 4.2. For discussion see W. H. Parker (1988) p2-5; 10; 13; 15; 24; 30

[14] See e.g. Berlin V.I.3206 (Appendix II: 4.5); Philadelphia MS2440 (Appendix II: 4.6); Tampa 86.221 (Appendix II: 4.7).

apotropaic qualities. As such it could be worn as an amulet, carried as a charm, or carved into the walls of houses for protection.[15] While it may have been symbolic, rather than necessarily sexual, any depiction of an erect penis simply does have some kind of sexual association attached to it, whether it be the primary purpose of the image or not.[16]

This is not the only way in which sexuality, sexual images, and religious power and worship may have been associated in antiquity. Some of the other significant associations of sexuality and worship are found with relation to another deity against whose images agalmatophilia is quite frequently described: Aphrodite, a goddess to whom extreme sexual power was attributed. I have already noted those narratives in which the statue of Aphrodite was the victim of agalmatophilia, as well as some of the ways in which her worship might be associated with sexual activity. For example, the instances of sacred prostitution, which seem to imply various ways in which women in antiquity might use their sexuality in order to worship the goddess.[17] In addition there is of course the fact that in worshipping the goddess one might be said to be worshipping sexuality itself, as well as the consideration that certain images of her seem to have been particularly evocative of sexual responses. In a number of the narratives describing agalmatophilia against images of her the line between proper worship and improper contact is purposefully blurred, illustrating perhaps how unmarked the rules affecting how an image ought to be treated could be.

[15] For the phallus as apotropaic in antiquity see C. Johns (1982); J. R. Clarke (1998); E. Keuls (1993) all with extensive literary and visual references, but not necessarily convincing arguments.
[16] Cf. D. Freedberg (1991) p324 on the erotic associations of certain parts of the body (especially the genitals) having at least some sexual associations in all societies.
[17] The references come from various times and places, and for a full collection of them see 'Sacred Prostitution and Aphrodite'. But see esp. Strabo, 6.2.6; 8.6.20. See also M. Johnson & T. Ryan (2005) p100-1

The detailed and explicit narrative found in Pseudo-Lucian of the well-known story of a youth who fell in love with the Aphrodite of Knidos incorporates many aspects of worship on the part of the besotted man, as well as by Charicles and his friends who hear the tale in her sanctuary.[18] The Roman Knight in the tale appears at first to simply be a devoted worshipper, for his love initially takes a form inseparable to onlookers from ritual practice: he uses priestly methods of divination such as rolling dice; he spends hours gazing intently at the image; he speaks to the image as if in prayer; he brings offerings to the statue like any other devotee might. Yet his behaviour is, to those in the know, actually the behaviour of an obsessed lover: he uses the divination to find out his lover's feelings for him; he looks intently upon the love that he finds so beautiful; he begs his beloved for an answer, for a response to his desires; he lavishes gifts upon her to bring favour upon himself in the hope she will love him in return.[19] The acts are the same, yet they could be applied equally to any devotee, or to any obsessed young man whose love is unrequited. The boundaries between how one treats a mortal and how one treats a statue are once again blurred beyond recognition through the agalmatophilia narrative. It is this aspect of worship that Ovid plays on when he has Pygmalion devote similar attentions to his ivory maiden.[20] Other aspects of the story as told in the *Amores* highlight further ways in which the treatment of an image of a deity could be confused with the improper behaviour associated with agalmatophilia. The way in which the image is consciously designed for focused viewing; the adoration of an image in general; the act of

[18] Ps.-Lucian 14-17. For full text see Appendix I: 4.3. The story is told by various authors but this is the most detailed account. Cf. J. Elsner (1991) p154-6 and above, Chapter One.
[19] Ps. Lucian 15-16.
[20] Ovid, *Met.* 10.259f. Many scholars note the treatment of his statue as how one might treat a lover *or* an image of a deity, but few combine this. But see now A. Sharrock (1991b). The narratives are surprisingly similar in many respects, and some scholars have quite reasonably associated Pygmalion's ivory maiden with Aphrodite. I will assess this more fully later in this chapter.

embracing and indeed kissing: all occur in the story without any particular consequence or extended comment. They are features that could be associated with the worship of images in antiquity, and yet they all contributed to the way in which the image was abused.

The focused viewing is of course highlighted by the way in which Charicles and his friends (as well as any other viewers) are able to look at the image from the front and the back: this sculpture was particularly famous for having been designed to be seen from all angles, and many modern scholars have commented on this aspect of its attraction.[21] The Roman Knight is also noted to have gazed at the image with particular intensity, and that this was naturally mistaken for devotional activity.[22] Yet this kind of concentrated attention that is specific to worship does activate a special kind of response. The viewing is intensified by concentration, and as such creates the impression upon the viewer of also being looked at by the image, the act of worship helping to provide the illusion of reciprocity.[23] Of course all images are designed to be looked at, but the divine image demands this concentrated and ideologically powerful viewing, which can potentially encourage a perception of the image as somehow alive, capable of cognitive understanding and reciprocal vision. Again, because this is a divine image, it does not matter whether the viewer knows for a fact that stone cannot see, because it need not be pragmatically believable to be perceived as true.[24] The viewing can be deceptive in additional respects that are discussed elsewhere in this thesis: the image may seem real because of the mimetic achievement

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[21] As discussed below, Chapter Six.
[22] Ps. Lucian, *Amores* 15
[23] For discussion of the reciprocity of viewing between devotee and image see D. Freedberg (1991) 242-4; 292; 389; 202; 84-6 who notes especially the tendency to highlight the eyes of an image using precious stones or glass. Cf. N. Spivey (1995) p453f
[24] For images as alive see Chapter Three, especially the discussion of divine images and animism and ontologically counter-intuitive phenomena as wholly believed aspects of religion in many societies.

of the artist who made it, and as Pseudo-Lucian states, one might have believed the flesh to be real.[25] This image of Aphrodite then shares further attributes with Pygmalion's ivory sculpture, which did not, in fact, seem to be a work of art at all, but a real woman.

The adoration of the image has similar consequences for the narrative of agalmatophilia as viewing, for the watching of this image is part of the form the adoration must take. The worship of the image must, however, contribute further, for it must be acknowledged that in fact this image, along with other divine images, was intended to be adored, worshipped, perhaps even loved. This is not the place to discuss whether ancient forms of worship included any kind of internalised devotion or not,[26] yet it seems clear to me that divine images were set up with a purpose that emanated from the gods: they were designed for worship, which is a kind of love, whether this be only the demonstrative aspects of it or the internalised emotion of it. It is naturally very difficult to separate the two kinds of love in any case, and it was certainly impossible for the Knight of Pseudo-Lucian's story. The simulation of love, the physical acts of adoration and worship, are necessary for the proper completion of religious activities, and the agalmatophiliac may be seen to be extending this to its extreme end.[27]

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[25] Ps. Lucian *Amores* 13 (see Appendix I: 4.3) see also Chapter Three, and compare Pygmalion's image at Ovid, *Met.* 10.250

[26] For which see e.g. H. S. Versnel (1981) but the scholarly debate continues, and no one argument is conclusive.

[27] On the difficulties of dissociating spiritual love from sexual love see D. Freedberg (1991) esp. p322-4 with reference to images such as Bernini's *Ecstasy of St Teresa*, and the relationships described by various Christian scholars as having been developed with images of the Virgin Mary. Cf. P. F. Baum (1919) for an interesting selection of tales involving the betrothal of individuals to images of the Virgin Mary in Mediaeval literature.

The clearest similarity between the behaviour of the agalmatophiliac and the behaviour of the worshipper is the physical response of embracing or kissing an image. The viewers in the *Amores* both embrace and kiss the statue, and whilst the response is described with humour it is not so extreme as to be offensive, as the behaviour of the Knight clearly was. There are many well-known examples of devotees embracing statues of gods from ancient literature and visual arts, most often depicting women clasping at a cult image for sanctuary.[28] While the situation is an extreme one, and not necessarily representative of daily physical interaction with images in antiquity, it was nevertheless acceptable. Images were not 'untouchable' in any straightforward sense, and embracing a statue in this way was a powerful way of protecting oneself: those who killed or abused an individual who was embracing a divine image were performing an irreligious act and were likely to be punished.[29] Even kissing an image could form part of proper behaviour towards it. Although there is not a great deal of evidence for this as part of worship, there is a reference in Cicero[30] to a statue of Hercules that was kissed with such frequency by its worshippers that part of its chin had all but worn away.

Although these references may seem to account for only a small selection of responses to images in antiquity, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that physical interaction with divine images was not at all uncommon. There are numerous examples of images being washed, clothed, spoken to, painted, carried in processions,

[28] The most common example is that of Cassandra at Troy, for which see e.g. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Appendix II: 4.8 for a vase painting depicting the scene. For the implications for the study of ancient images of the Cassandra motif see B. Cohen (1997) p80-1

[29] For the 'untouchable' nature of statues in modern society see K. Gross (1992) p59ff and H. Kreitler & S. Kreitler (1972) p206f. The implications that punishment has for the power associated with the image are basically clear, for further discussion see, for example, M. Bettini (1999) p70f.

[30] Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.94

fed, and any number of other forms of contact.[31] While this is not the place to discuss the implications of these in their entirety, suffice it to say that images of gods were not untouchable. There appear to have been rules governing the ways in which they were touched, however, and while these rules remain far from clear, it seems likely that they included not attempting to have intercourse with divine images. This is in any case implied in the narrative in the *Amores*, where the young man is essentially punished for his infraction with death.[32] The narrative naturally fits into the extreme limits of how one may treat an image, especially a divine one, and when the rules seem so unclear with regards to those forms of touch, embrace or kiss which are allowed, it is nevertheless very clear which acts are not permissible.[33]

Naturally there are exceptions to this rule, but they are predictably complicated. There is more than one story of a man falling in love with an image of Aphrodite, and we know of yet more that do not survive. Some are incredibly brief, and do not explicitly mention the consequences, although the tale is generally made either humorous (as in Pseudo-Lucian) or as a warning against idolatry (as in Clement of Alexandria). Then there is the Pygmalion myth, one with an already complicated tradition and associations even before Ovid set to work on it with his special talent for ambiguity and manipulation. Essentially the story seems to be about a king of Cyprus named Pygmalion, who fell in love with an image of Aphrodite and married it.[34] Some scholars have read into this a tale of institutionalised hierogamy between the

[31] There are too many references to list them all here, but see for example *CIL* 6.9797; 12.533; 8.9052, 13-14; Juvenal 12.86-90; Pliny, *NH* 21.8-9; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.133-4; Cic. *Ver.* 2.4.94 See also P. Stewart (2003) p262ff and N. Spivey (1995) *passim*.
[32] For his suicide as divine punishment see M. Bettini (1999) p70f who uses specific methods of assessing a narrative through its outcome to shed light on the tale, and compares the narrative to that of W. Jensen's *Gradiva*. For the punishment of the act of agalmatophilia in various narratives see below, Chapter Seven.
[33] See D. Freedberg (1991) p320-1 for the tale of a boy reprimanded for kissing a Madonna in the incorrect fashion, and the implications this might have for the study of response.
[34] Philostephanus, *Cypriaca* cited by Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 4.50P. See Appendix I: 4.4.

king/priest of Cyprus and the island's patron goddess, and a myth of it that developed into various forms.[35] Whether such a strain of myths existed in Cyprus or not, the idea of man in love with an image of Aphrodite does seem to have gained a certain amount of popularity, and seems to have been the model for Ovid's narrative as found in the *Metamorphoses*.[36] While the ivory maiden of Ovid has no name there are obvious parallels between his story and those that explicitly involve images of Aphrodite. Some of these have already been commented on in this and other chapters, but they deserve special attention at this point, for once again this narrative in particular highlights many of the important issues surrounding agalmatophilia as a response to images in antiquity.

The most obvious reason for seeing Pygmalion's bride as an Aphrodite is the literary tradition, in which the king who fell in love with the image of the goddess was called Pygmalion and was from Cyprus.[37] In addition, the goddess is significantly bound up with the story as Ovid narrates it: it is she who allows the union to take place as a consequence of prayers made at her festival; it is her island on which the events take place; it is the prostitutes that she turns to stone who motivate Pygmalion's self-imposed isolation from women.[38] Furthermore there is the statue itself, a nude female form that must be associated by the reader with the nude form of Aphrodite as seen in the Knidian statue and in other visual representations throughout art history. As Clement of Alexandria states quite explicitly: a naked female statue is an Aphrodite.[39] For the ancient and modern reader the image made by Pygmalion is so close to an

[35] See B. Maclachlan (1992) p152f.
[36] For the various versions of the Pygmalion story see above, Chapter One. See also J. Elsner (1991) p154-6
[37] See note above.
[38] Ovid, *Met.* 10.270-9, 243-6
[39] Clement of Alexandria, *Proptrepticus* 50.1 For this passage see Appendix I: 1.2. For the same reading of this passage in relation to the Pygmalion story see J. Elsner (1991) p157.

Aphrodite that it might as well be one.[40] As Elsner has pointed out, the union between man and statue is only in fact possible because it does *not* become an Aphrodite: Pygmalion, the sculptor, is the only person who sees his image, and if anyone else were to do so it would be an Aphrodite by virtue of iconographic association: who else could it be? Of course, the reader does 'see' the statue, and so it remains at least partially an Aphrodite in conceptual terms. The association is not ignored by Ovid, who must have intended for his readers to make the connection, hence his clear acknowledgement of her involvement of the tale. Yet the union is made possible by her very absence in the image.

The details of the narrative also point to the statue as somehow divine. As observed previously, the treatment of the image is much the same as the sanctioned treatment of divine images: Pygmalion brings the statue those kinds of gifts that one might dedicate to a cult statue, and his words to her mimic the prayers offered to Aphrodite at her festival. Even the robing and disrobing of the image had its parallels in ritual practices.[41] The element that jars with cult practice is, of course, the marriage and the sexual union that ensues.[42] It is this aspect of the story that makes it particularly unusual in narratives of agalmatophilia, for it has a successful conclusion for the agalmatophiliac that is not generally seen in the other stories.[43] It is presumably the divinely sanctioned nature of the marriage that allows for this success, and it must be

[40] See Appendix II: 4.3-4 to compare images of the Aphrodite of Knidos and the statue created by Pygmalion as artists imagine her to appear.
[41] As noted above, see, for example, *CIL* 8.9052, 13-14; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.133-4.
[42] Although see above for the idea of institutionalised hierogamy on Cyprus, as suggested by B. MacLachlan (1992) p152f.
[43] Although the 'success' can and has been variously read at different times by different readers, it remains that Pygmalion's prayer *is* answered, and at least as far as he is concerned the story has a happy ending.

Aphrodite who provides this sanction, not just because of the nature of the prayer, but also because of the nature of the image.

Attention has already been drawn to the ways in which Pygmalion's bride is an almost perfect target for agalmatophilia in the sense that she transgresses so many boundaries as to become a lover who was impossible in reality, an image that takes its form because life could not provide for it.[44] It is worth commenting here on the way in which all images of Aphrodite might provide for this sort of viewing, and might therefore provide an additional perspective on why her image was one of the most popular about which to create agalmatophilia narratives. She is certainly a goddess, which is itself something mortal men could not realistically aspire to making love with. She is also a prostitute, *and* beautiful, *and* powerful *and* explicitly, openly sexual.[45] This is certainly a female form that could not have realistically existed in the ancient world. Perhaps most notably, however, she was a female whom one might look upon naked, in public. Some scholars have seen this as problematic, describing her famous image in Knidos as vulnerable and afraid or ashamed of the fact that she has been seen. They explain this through her nakedness and through the pose seen in copies of the image, from which it is clear that the goddess is aware of being viewed, and either hides or points to her genitals, or both.[46] This seems to me absurd: The female form that stood in front of worshippers at the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Knidos was emphatically not a nude woman, but a nude goddess. Her nakedness, her sensuality, her awareness of being watched, and the arousal felt by observers, from

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[44] See above, Chapter One.
[45] She is also, in various traditions a wife (of Adonis, Anchises and others) and a mother (of Cupid, and Aeneas).
[46] N. Salomon (1997) p197; 203-5; 207-8; 211; S. Blundell (1995) p193-5; R. Osborne (1994) p82-3.

Pseudo Lucian's Knight to Rodin in *L'Art*, serve only to highlight her power.[47] She was, after all, a sexual goddess: at the same time as having power over sexuality, she can also be said to have drawn power from it.[48] One might suggest that if a viewer was confronted with such overwhelming beauty, sexuality and power, an explanation might be sought for why some people did *not* fall in love with it, rather than why they did.

Overall, when it came to religious images, there were diverse responses that were both possible and also acceptable, whilst the boundaries of where acceptability and profanity lay were not necessarily clear to all. The ideas of divinity, the life present (or not present) in the image, would have been conceptually combined with an understanding of how one would respond to an image in ritual, or even non-ritual, standard behaviour. The complications specific to religious images and the ways in which they were interacted with, illuminate yet another aspect of the agalmatophilia narrative, and demonstrate the ways in which images occupied a very specific place in society, and one that could not be occupied by any living substitute. Ideas of accepted and unacceptable interaction with images are perhaps at their most explicit with reference to religious images, for they were amongst those to which the highest duty of care was attached. With these images, an individual not only crosses the boundary from mortal to stone, but also from human to divine, a transition that would be impossible without the existence of the image in the first instance.

[47] A. Rodin (1911) p59-60: Paul Gsell and Augustin Rodin are walking around a copy of the Knidian Aphrodite: "Durant cette rotation, je continuai à noter dans la forme générale du ventre une foule d'imperceptibles ressauts. Ce qui de prime abord semblait simple était en réalité d'une complexité sans égale. Je confiai mes observations au maître sculpteur. Il hochait la tête en souriant. 'N'est-ce pas marveilleux?' Répétait-il. 'Convenez que vous attendiez pas á découvrir tant de details. Tenez!...voyez donc les ondulations infinies du vallonement qui relie le ventre à la cuisse... Savourez toutes les incurvations volupteuses de la hanche...Et maintenant, là...sur les reins, toutes ses fossetes adorables.'

[48] This was said of goddesses in antiquity, perhaps most famously Hera's manipulation of Zeus in the *Iliad*.

Chapter Five: 'Making Love', the creation of images for sexual arousal

The boundaries that are so apparently transgressed with acts of agalmatophilia against consciously religious images must in part exist for all images and their place in the social nexus. However, there must be some images that are intended to provoke a crossing of these boundaries, as in some cases there certainly seems to have been an intention at least to arouse. The ability and desire of artists to progress and to transgress boundaries has already been touched upon at various points throughout this thesis, but here I wish to focus specifically on that idea, and develop an understanding of its implications for agalmatophilia as a response.

In each case of agalmatophilia there must be an image, and for that image a creator, and in turn that creator must have had some purpose behind making the image. This chapter will deal with those images for which sexual intercourse was the (or a) main motivation behind the creation. This also lends an opportunity to consider the role of the creator in manipulating ways in which his image might be responded to, especially given that the most relevant examples explicitly refer to some of the creators *par excellence* of the ancient world. As well as those examples that explicitly deal with images made for physically sexual purposes, I will make consideration of those images to which any sexual response was clearly intended, whether to the image itself or transferred to another individual.

Two images stand out in our sources as being specifically made for the purpose of having sex with. One is Pandora, described most famously by Hesiod, whose role is

complicated and varies from text to text.[1] However, in the *Theogony* at least she is described very much as a statue, and in most versions she is made of clay.[2] In her role as the first woman she is also certainly intended for man to have sex with, for she marks the point at which man can recreate his own species, rather than the god-made 'trial and error' type experiments that mark the generations of man in the *Works and Days*.[3] The second is the heifer made to encase Pasiphae in order to allow her to have intercourse with her beloved bull.[4] In this story it is technically the bull that is the agalmatophiliac; but the image was made in order for a human being to have sex, and the story is vitally important when considering the way in which images could be used to ensure a sexual response. These tales have more in common than might be initially apparent, and of great significance here is the fame and superiority of the craftsmen/artists involved, as well as the way in which these stories were continually understood to be warnings against the evil nature of woman that might not be revealed by her exterior.[5] They are also the types of myth that ancient writers attempted to explain, and they provide significant clues as to the way in which agalmatophilia might have been perceived.

There is absolutely no doubt as to the sexuality of Pandora; it is where much of her power lies. She is the first woman, and once again we find an image that is someone who cannot really exist, for no woman could ever have been her as she is represented in any of our texts: she is a product of divine *techne* who resembles an immortal

[1] Hesiod, *Theog.* 570ff; *W&D* 61ff. Pandora is not named in the *Theogony*, but the anonymous first woman/wife is always associated with her. Cf. J. Strauss Clay (2003) p102
[2] *Theog.* 205; 224; 229; *WD* 61-7 cf. J. Strauss Clay (2003) p119
[3] *WD* 69-82. Cf. *Theog.* 161-2 and J. Strauss Clay (2003) 85ff
[4] The story of Pasiphae and the bull is told with varying emphases but similar basic elements by Euripides (*The Cretans*, Fr. 11 *GLP*), Ovid (*Ars Amatoria*, I.289-326), Virgil (*Aeneid* 6.14-33; *Eclogue* 6.45-60) Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* III.xv.8).
[5] Especially in Ovid's *Ars*. See Chapter Six.

goddess, a respectable maiden, and at the time a seductive object of painful desire; in the *Theogony* this is emphasised by the fact that she receives no name, and hence is literally unclassifiable.[6] That she is little more than an image seems clear at least in the *Theogony*, where her creation is very clearly in the mode of artistic creation, and in which she has no voice and thus no inside from which a voice could emanate; she is in essence the parallel of Hephaistos' robot maidens.[7] Her existence will eventually find its place in society; like man one purpose of her creation must be to establish the cosmic order.[8] She will indeed serve this purpose partly by allowing man to reproduce himself, thus separating men's lives from those of the gods. This is also marked by the suffering of mankind, which as their fate marks them in opposition to the gods; and it is a suffering that she will be in part responsible for. As the prototype for human woman she represents a beauty on the outside so great as to attract gods and men,[9] and an inner nature that stands in complete opposition to this; it would become the motif of love poets for centuries.

Of significance for us is the role and intentions of her creator(s). Again, versions differ, but she appears to have been made at the instigation of Zeus, either by the gods of craft (Hephaistos and Athena) alone, or with some contribution by additional deities.[10] In any case her creation is due to both divine power and the will of Zeus. As an image made by the gods it might be permissible for her to be also designed as a

[6] J. Strauss Clay (2003) p124. She observes that in the *Theogony*, a composition given over almost entirely to names and naming, her anonymity stands out greatly, and associates her most closely with the anonymous monsters.

[7] J. Strauss Clay (2003) p123-4 suggests that this is further highlighted by the description of the monsters on her diadem at l.584. For Hephaistos' robot maidens see *Iliad* 18.418

[8] In many Near Eastern Creation stories man is created in order to worship the gods (i.e. to maintain a hierarchy) and occupy the position between gods and animals. This is true also of Hesiod's description of the making of the generations of man, cf. J. Strauss Clay (2003) p85ff on the making of men in the Hesiodic texts.

[9] She may in fact also have had sex with Zeus in the *Catalogue of Women*, although the state of the text makes this uncertain. Cf. M. L. West (1985)

[10] Hes. *Theog.* 575-84; *W&D* 60-79

sexual object, much as Pygmalion's bride can come to life because of the explicit intervention of Venus.[11] She is, furthermore, *supposed* to make man suffer. It is intended that they will have sex with her, certainly, and so the transgression that normally occurs when agalmatophilia takes place might not be present, but that does not mean in any way that they escape suffering for it. As the (brain)child of Zeus she owes her existence to the great creator of her world, and it might be expected that her very presence transgresses all sorts of boundaries. Insofar as the story of Pandora is one of creation it does a number of things: it demonstrates with certainty that the gods can create in the same ways that man does;[12] that images are created to fill gaps in the world not occupied by human beings already living; and that no image exists only as an exterior. While she may not have an explicit interior in the *Theogony*, when it comes to the *Works and Days* she is described through qualities assessed subjectively;[13] she is what one wishes to make of her, and because of this she does, as one might say of most Greek art 'delight and deceive'.[14]

Another paradigmatic creator of the ancient world is Daedalus, a human artist whose creations are superior to those of other artists. It has been suggested that as a consequence they mark a boundary, suggest points of excess, and as such set the limits of human endeavour.[15] It is unsurprising then, that he should be another of the makers of images designed for sex, for he attempts to do by art what nature does by

[11] Ovid, *Met.*10.270-9. See Chapters One, Three and Six for further similarities between Pandora and Pygmalion's statue.
[12] Despite much modern scholarship suggesting that descriptions of creation of the human race through *formatio* were an attempt to understand cosmic creation in terms understandable through human experience (cf. R. J. Clifford (1994) p4) neither Hesiod nor his contemporaries seem to have found a necessity to do so entirely. The generations of man seem to have been made by Zeus in Hesiod, but the exact method is much less clear than in the description of Pandora. I suspect this may be because the beautiful external appearance of Pandora is so crucial to her role that her making could only have been through artistic means.
[13] J. Strauss Clay (2003) p122.
[14] F. Zeitlin, quoted by N. Spivey (1994) p454
[15] R. L. Gordon (1979) p8-9

nature, and it is this that places him on so many of the aforementioned boundaries. The heifer, which he makes for Pasiphae, is an image that demonstrates much of his unique skill, for it must of necessity have been realistic enough to fool the bull with which she was in love.[16] Daedalus was an artist who could make images move,[17] suggesting that his works seemed alive, and it might be that, like tales of agalmatophilia, these narratives are part of the articulation of the impossible role of the image in ancient societies; they were not quite alive, not quite inert.[18] The story of Pasiphae and the heifer he made for her is told by several sources, sometimes to emphasise the tension between art and reality, sometimes to demonstrate the inescapability of human suffering, and again to illuminate just how duplicitous and deceptive female nature can be.[19] Some of the responsibility for the behaviour of Pasiphae and her bull must lie with Daedalus, without whom it would have been impossible. Like Zeus, he has created an image that will allow sex to become possible, when without that image it would be impossible, but unlike Zeus he does not have the authority to do so. Daedalus' image engenders sexual perversity, and his 'tricky fabrication' plays the artistic complement to the error in the love that Pasiphae feels.[20]

In this particular story of images with a sexual purpose the deviatory nature of the act is multiplied by the involvement of bestiality, and while the guilt of Daedalus is to a certain extent clear, much of the fault appears to lie with Pasiphae. Euripides'

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[16] On animals believing images to be alive see Chapter Three. One of the most celebrated pieces of mimetic art was, in fact, a heifer by Myron, which poems in the Greek anthology praise and about which they suggest that this image too was once mounted by a bull! See *AP* III.713-42. Cf. Pliny, *NH* 34.19.57-8

[17] There are several references to this idea (e.g. Diodorus Siculus IV.76; Aristotle, *De Anima* 06b18-19; Pindar, *Olympian* 7.52ff) and it seems to be have been the subject of a lost Aristophanic play named after Daedalus (Cf. J. M. Edmonds (1957) 7; 551; 627 and Frs. 74; 188-92). See also Chapter Three.

[18] Cf. R. L. Gordon, (1979) p10f

[19] See Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.14-33; Eur. *The Cretans* Fr. 11 *GLP*; Ovid, *Ars* I.289-326 respectively.

[20] M. J. Putnam (1987) p179: In the *Aeneid* Daedalus' eventual artistic failure (that is, his incomplete masterpiece of the temple doors) might be seen as a consequence of the extremes to which his creations went.

Pasiphae clearly does not feel the blame to be entirely hers; she supposes that the gods must have driven her to it by sending her into a lovesick madness:[21] Minos would thus be shortsighted in his view of the world were he to judge her merely for indulging in a passion.[22] Yet Pasiphae's story is open to various interpretations, and she was an easy choice for those authors who wished to deride women. For Ovid she is a humorous warning;[23] like Pandora she must conceal her true nature with art and artifice. Her bitter jealousy for the real heifers is described, and she wears her finest clothes whenever the bull might see her: the scene is undoubtedly comic, while at the same time pointing to the dangerousness of female *amor*.[24] It has also been suggested that while the physical characteristics of bull and woman are entirely different, it is the only noticeable disparity between the two; woman is as much like an animal as she can be, especially in terms of the intensity of desire that she feels.[25]

The Pasiphae story cannot really explain or justify agalmatophilia; it is a tale of sexual perversions and uncontrollable women. Yet again it brings into question how much like life an image can be, how it can make possible the impossible, and it returns to the old theme of the fundamentally flawed nature of womankind. However, in this and the tale of Pandora we begin to see some blame resting squarely with the creator of the image, rather than the lover of it. It is, therefore, possible to see the intention behind image making as explicitly sexual within the ancient literary imagination. Ovid's Pygmalion needs no longer to be the successful creator whose image so

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[21] Eur. *The Cretans*, Fr. 11. It is also partly the fault of her husband, Minos, whose failure to sacrifice the bull led to the anger of Poseidon, who in turn send the madness to Phaedra. Cf. K. J. Reckford (1974). Reckford also mentions that in Hyginus' version of the story the madness is sent by Venus, whom Pasiphae has neglected to worship.
[22] K. J. Reckford (1974) p320-2
[23] E. W. Leach (1964) p142-8
[24] Ovid, *Ars* I.289-326. Cf. E. W. Leach (1964) p147-8
[25] Ibid.

resembled life as to feed his fantasy and eventually join him as his wife; he can just as easily have created her with unequivocally sexual aims. After all, it is only after a long period of sleeping alone, without female company, that he begins to make his statue.[26] The artist certainly held a certain amount of responsibility in the ancient world, and his position (like those of his creations) within society was never clear-cut; an issue that may have been in part articulated by such stories as those of Daedalus' problematic creations.[27]

While everyday artists may not have made images with the intention that somebody would fall in love, or have sexual intercourse, with them, they certainly manipulated sexual responses. Numerous studies have now been made as to the sexuality and eroticism of ancient art, and there can really be no doubt that some images were intended to arouse. We may include among these statues such as the Aphrodite of Knidos, which continues to fascinate and arouse.[28] Numerous female forms are continually described as in some way arousing at least to their male viewers:[29] the figures whose clothes slip or are torn to reveal one breast in a scene that may already be erotic, for example, must certainly have intended to suggest and arouse male heterosexual desire at the very least.[30] Similarly statues of male athletes have been

[26] Ovid, *Met.* 10.245-6
[27] Cf. discussion in R. L. Gordon (1979).
[28] Cf. S. Blundell (1995) p193-5 who feels there is no doubt that arousal was intended by the artist. For relatively recent arousal to even mere copies of the image see A. Rodin (1911) p59-60, for a quote of this passage see Chapter Four, above, n.46.
[29] Although D. Freedberg (1991) p321f points out that women can also be aroused by masculine modes of desire precisely because they know what will arouse men.
[30] For numerous examples of sculpted women with exposed breasts see B. Cohen (1997). For a discussion of whom these images might arouse see R. Osborne (1994). The points are interesting, but the question of precisely who is aroused does not really affect the fact that the artist intended to arouse.

considered to have the potential for arousing a considerable amount of homosexual desire that was deliberately exploited by sculptors.[31]

A huge variety of images in the ancient world also explicitly depicted the act of sexual intercourse, and these images may or may not have had erotic intentions behind their creation. The majority of these images appear to have belonged in the private sphere, such as vase paintings, relief sculpture on domestic items, and wall paintings in the private rooms of a Roman home.[32] This suggests that any arousal associated with images of sex belonged in a private sphere, where the response would not have so much impact and where one was more likely to find another living human with which to act upon this arousal, and therefore put the image at less risk. Certain images of embraces might have been placed in public, including large-scale sculptures,[33] although it seems that arousal is not part of the discourse attached to these images, so much as their artistic achievement. This is not to say that they were incapable of arousing, but perhaps agalmatophilia would be unlikely with a sculpture representing two people already in an erotic scenario, compared with a particularly arousing image of one individual who stood alone. However, at this point I do not wish to discuss precisely *how* the images were arousing, as considerable space is provided for this issue elsewhere.[34] The point for the current issue is that an artist/creator deliberately formed the image with the intention of producing arousal. The artist/creator is crucial to several stories about agalmatophilia, and certainly to discourse on where art belongs within society and what kinds of roles it can fulfil, and

[31] A. Stewart (1990). Cf. N. Salomon (1997) and S. Blundell (1995) who notes the increased sensuality of the male nude in the late Classical period.
[32] On ancient erotic art in general see C. Johns (1982) and J. R. Clarke (1998).
[33] Cf. Pliny *NH* 36.23ff. See also J. Isager (1991) p154
[34] See Chapter Six. See also N. Boymel Kampen (Ed.) (1996); J. R. Clarke (1998); C. Johns (1982)

the possibility of his intentions including sexual arousal in the viewer means that he can never fully be absent from even those stories in which he remains anonymous.

Part of the discourse of the power and role of the artist in ancient society also brings up the issue of magic and magical images. Daedalus himself can be said to typify the artist as magician, perhaps because of the unusual amounts of power attributed to his images. More everyday images than those of Daedalus could be made with both magic and erotic purposes; the use of magical dolls and the process of *envoutement* to bring about a sexual union appears to have been relatively common throughout antiquity. Almost all of the pre-Hellenistic Greek evidence for the use of envoutement associates it with private erotic magic,[35] and overall it appears to have been considered incredibly powerful. A variety of methods were believed to make an image efficacious in the attainment of one's erotic desires. An image could have a spell cast over it in order for it to collect an errant lover, which seems especially to have applied to images of Eros.[36] Alternatively, a pair of dolls appearing to be in an embrace with one another, known as *symplegmata*, could increase the potency of a love spell and again fulfil the sexual desires of the spell-caster.[37] For this particular type of magic we have, in fact, remains of *symplegmata* dolls that were found with the associated attraction curse.[38]

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[35] Cf. C. A. Faraone (1993) p61f

[36] E.g. Lucian, *Philopseudes* 13-15 in which a Hyperborean mage uses an animated Eros doll to enact an attraction spell; *PGM* XII.14-95 which is a recipe for the animation of an Eros doll to fetch a woman. Cf. D. Ogden (2002) p25ff

[37] E.g. *PGM* IV296-466 is an attraction curse recipe using *symplegmata*; Horace, *Satires* 1.8 describes Priapus observing erotic magic taking place with use of a pair of dolls bound together; Virgil, *Eclogue* 8.64-109 suggests the use of a pair of dolls in erotic magic. See Appendix II: 5.2.

[38] *Egypt.Suppl.Mag.*45, cited in D. Ogden (2002) p232-4

Given the vast amount of references to erotic magic using this type of image it is clear how much responsibility the maker of images was perceived as having in the ancient world. It is not, of course, the same as actually having sex with an image, but it indicates the type of erotic power that could be attached to them. Whilst it is clear that the large scale statue occupies a very different place in society from the voodoo doll, it is not necessarily straightforward to categorise the world of images in terms of the power that they might be seen to have, or the responsibility that was attached to the care and creation of them.[39] If an image can be manipulated to achieve one's sexual ends then it must be treated with care, and the artist must be conscious of this potential. Again, we see that it is important to consider the role of the creator with regard to the way in which images are used and responded to, and also in relation to the image's apparent development of a life of its own. This is one of the reasons why the transgression of boundaries with images is so important; not only do they occupy a complicated position in terms of these boundaries in any case, but there are also rules as to the way in which they ought to be treated. The rules exist out of necessity, because of the power that the image and its maker has.

This responsibility could be abused in many ways, of which agalmatophilia is only one. I wish to return briefly to the story of Pasiphae, for this tale of image and beast was manipulated in yet another way, by an individual known for his disregard of moral and social norms. A number of sources describe the way in which the tale of Pasiphae was re-enacted in the Roman amphitheatre under the Principate of Nero; a woman (probably a convicted criminal, and possibly a Christian) was placed inside a wooden image of a heifer in order that a bull might penetrate her in front of the entire

[39] Cf. M. Bettini (1999) p234ff.

audience.[40] This event perhaps removes us somewhat from the idea of agalmatophilia *per se*, but it demonstrates how easily manipulated these stories were; they did not have only one purpose, and understandings of them must have varied. For Nero it appears to have been a sick joke, a way to entertain his public while punishing his enemies,[41] for his audience it may have been a way to see the full grotesque story acted out[42] in a fashion that rendered it more credible.[43] In any case, this image was certainly made for at least the simulation of sexual intercourse to take place, and this was evidently done with the intention of provoking a reaction of horror (or at least horrified delight).[44]

The creators of images thus must shoulder some of the responsibility for acts of agalmatophilia, whether directly or indirectly. The very act of creation is one imbued with hefty responsibility, a duty to use a special skill that has been granted by Nature or the gods,[45] and which shares in some of the productive powers that humans must not abuse. As part of the discourse of the way in which art is seen and used, images that are made for sex, and those who make them, cross boundaries and provide some explanation as to why rules about creation exist. For an artist to consciously provoke a sexual response is not uncommon in antiquity, yet the implication is that this response must remain private and not involve any act against the image itself. Essentially, images are not made for sex, and the artist is to ensure that this remains the case. The

[40] Suet. *Nero* 12.2; Tac. *Annals* 15.44.4; Lib.*Spect*.5.2 all narrate this event in varying detail and gruesomeness.
[41] The intention appears to have been that the woman in question either died from internal injuries or by the sword after the act. Cf. K. M. Coleman (1990) p64-70
[42] K. M. Coleman (1990) p68-9
[43] Lib.*Spect*.5.2
[44] It is difficult to gauge what the response would have been within an already gruesome context, but given that this is in some respects the ancient equivalent of a snuff movie, the response could well have been rather stronger.
[45] Cf. Pliny *NH* 33.89; 36.14 and various others discussed in J. Isager (1991) p103ff. For discussion of Pliny's view of the artist's responsibility in his creations see J. Isager (1991) generally.

creator must be aware of how his image will be viewed, and while he is free to manipulate a variety of types of response, he has as much responsibility as the viewer to ensure that the image remains safe.

Chapter Six: The Fetishization of Form

The conscious role and responsibility of the artist is clear and significant, although given the absence of the artist in many tales of agalmatophilia, it cannot be a complete explanation for arousal by image. Of the existing narratives of agalmatophilia, several comment specifically upon the beauty of the image as a contributing factor in the erotic response. Pygmalion's ivory maiden is beautiful naked and clothed, is more perfect than any living woman could be, and has the face of a true virgin.[1] The men in Pseudo-Lucian's narrative about the Aphrodite at Knidos are directly attracted by the physical appearance of the image, whether it is her frontal appearance, or the view of her from behind.[2] Nero was said to have become besotted with an Amazon by Strongylion because of the perfection of its legs, and Tiberius adored the *Apoxyomenos* also because of its beauty.[3] Additional narratives involving painted images are known, whereby the painter or viewer becomes infatuated with the image because of its beauty and nothing else. The question here, then, is whether the beauty of an image can of itself be enough to arouse such a strong response as to result in agalmatophilia. In addition, there is a significant issue at stake in the concept of the arousal by image as an image, regardless of its aesthetic appearance. This is a form of fetishization mentioned by David Freedberg, and a factor that cannot wholly be ignored in any of the relevant narratives. Given the clear knowledge of the individuals involved that the image is not a real person, but an inanimate object, there must be some further acknowledgement of the role the image plays in being just an image. It may well be contributed to by the fact, noted elsewhere in this thesis, that the image

[1] Ovid, *Met.* 10.249-50
[2] We only have copies of the statue in existence, but for the view of the front and back of the statue see Appendix II: 4.3; 6.1.
[3] Pliny *NH* 34.48, 62, 82; 35.70 See Appendix I: 1.3

has the potential to contain everything possible and impossible, and exists out of a necessity arising from desire for it in the first place.

In the case of Ovid's Pygmalion the matter is clearly complicated by issues brought up through the extended narrative, and the statue eventually comes to life. I have devoted considerable attention to the significant factors of the passage in Ovid elsewhere,[4] and at this point wish to focus purely upon the image as image. The protagonist displays quite clear signs of fetishization, and becomes obsessed with his ivory maiden whilst still a statue. In part this is indeed because of its physical beauty, but there are clear indications that the form and composition of the image reflect additional aspects that Pygmalion may perceive as being quite separate from simple aesthetic beauty. For example, the maiden has the face of a true virgin, which sets her against the Propoetides who precede this passage in the *Metamorphoses*, and who drive Pygmalion into his isolation in the first place.[5] In addition, as has been noted elsewhere, she must be understood to bear the features of a goddess, for she is a nude female form, and so the reader must at least in part imagine this image to take some of the form of the goddess Venus.[6] Furthermore, she has a beauty that surpasses that of any possible living human woman, which sets her apart from, and above, the mortals that Pygmalion has already rejected. In total, then, her beauty, in the sense of her specific alignment of features, suggests a great deal more to his erotic imagination than being a straightforwardly attractive woman. The implications of this have to some extent already been examined, for it is one of the ways in which she becomes able to fill a space in the world that no living woman can do; she contains so much that is impossible (at least in the eyes of Pygmalion) because she is a work of art.

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[4] Throughout, but see esp. Chapters One, Three and Five.
[5] Ovid, *Met.* 10.238ff (see Appendix I: 1.1)
[6] See Chapter One, and fuller discussion in Chapter Four.

So Pygmalion's bride is not only fetishized for her beauty, but she is also fetishized because she is an image. This might be said of further beautiful images against which agalmatophilia was performed: the Knidian Aphrodite as described by the sanctuary-keeper in the Pseudo-Lucian narrative[7] is treated as a goddess and simultaneously as a sexual object; a paradoxical treatment that only becomes possible because it is an image at which the emotions and responses are directed, rather than the goddess herself.[8] An enormous amount of scholarship has been devoted to the ways in which her pose and composition might have elicited various responses from the viewer, drawing attention especially to the hand that covers/points to her genitalia, and to the manner in which her attention might be said to acknowledge the presence of a viewer.[9] In making these assessments of pose and composition, scholars are badly hindered by the fact that we have no original of the statue, only Roman copies, as well as the normalization of the pose through its repeated use in famous and canonical works by numerous artists, including Botticelli, Titian, Rembrandt, Renoir, Matisse, Valadon, Picasso, and many others.[10] I do not wish, given the obstructions and numbers of attempts already made, to ascertain precisely what was sexually appealing about this particular image in aesthetic terms. It is perhaps enough simply to accept that this image is, in its physical appearance, sexually arousing; or at least has been to repeated viewers over vast stretches of time.[11] There is, however, a clear divide between finding an image beautiful, and consequently sexually appealing, and attempting to have intercourse with this image. I doubt that the beauty alone can have aroused the response of agalmatophilia, but this image does take on the role of being

[7] Ps-Lucian *Amores* 13-17. See Appendix I: 4.3
[8] Cf. Chapter Five
[9] For example: R. Osborne (1994); S. Blundell (1995); N. Salomon (1997) with extensive bibliography.
[10] N. Salomon (1997) p197
[11] Cf. Above, Chapter Four for the comments of Rodin on a copy of the statue.

considered one of the most beautiful of antiquity, and at the same time has the largest number of agalmatophilia narratives attached to it.

The question of whether an image can be arousing simply because of a specific alignment of features has been brought up by David Freedberg,[12] who suggests that there is something more at stake even when the image can be seen, through the response, to precede the referent.[13] He suggests that it is possible in part to be aroused by the fact that the object is an image, a specific form of arousal by image which points to the idea of fetishization that I have mentioned above. Yet this fetishization must take us outside of the realm of images if we are to contextualise it within antiquity, for it is a treatment applied also to individuals, mainly women and the female form. Various scholars have considered this idea, and have seen it primarily in the composition of images of women throughout antiquity. As Robin Osborne has demonstrated, the majority of ancient images of women involve the viewer in constructing some kind of narrative for a female statue, involving themselves in her story, and shaping her conceptual existence.[14] This kind of response is not necessary with male images, for they do not acknowledge or engage with their viewers in the same way at all.[15] This suggests that while composition might certainly contribute to a sexual response to an image, it would be difficult to argue the same for beauty alone. The reason being that in artistic terms, the ancient ideal of beauty is located in the

[12] D. Freedberg (1991) p326f

[13] That is, temporally and hierarchically, as is the case for Pygmalion (whose image is not modelled on any individual in the Ovid). Cf. M. Bettini's (1999) p67f and his discussion of W. Jensen's *Gradiva.*

[14] R. Osborne (1994) esp. p82-9 and see further discussion below, in this chapter.

[15] Osborne's argument is commonly accepted, and compares images of males that appear absorbed in their own activities, to those of females, who often reach out to their viewer in terms of their physical composition. For comparison see Appendix II: 6.2-3

male form, rather than the female, and yet it is most commonly female images that are the subjects of agalmatophilia.[16]

Once again we must turn to the location of the image in the social nexus to understand this type of fetishization. If it is possible to be aroused by an image to the extent of attempting to perform sexual intercourse with it, it must provide something that a human being does not. The most obvious difference is, naturally, that it is a statue. Whilst this consideration can only really provide for something of a circular argument, it is worth bearing in mind that it might be altogether possible to be aroused by an image precisely because it is an image. It has been suggested that this is the same sort of 'attraction to the forbidden' that leads people to touch images in the first place, and which is also the basis for many sexual fetishes.[17] Alternatively, we can see direct parallels between fetishized stone women and fetishized 'real' women, a factor that has been argued now by a considerable number of scholars of ancient art.[18] For example, Robin Osborne has argued convincingly that the image of a female demands the viewer's participation, forcing him to choose between roles such as viewer and voyeur, and implicates himself in her own narrative.[19] This itself has been seen as part of the fetishization of the female form in statuary; scholars such as Sue Blundell[20] have argued that this demonstrates the role of women as entirely malleable and constructed by male ideals.

In addition to considering attitudes towards the female form in general, much modern scholarship has assessed the way in which one might view ancient images, giving a

[16]For ancient ideals of beauty see, for example, J. Boswell (1982/3); M. Foucault (1988) etc.
[17] H. Kreitler & S. Kreitler (1972) p206f.
[18] See esp. S. Blundell (1995) and N. Salomon (1997).
[19] Cf. R. Osborne (1994) p82ff.
[20] S. Blundell (1995) esp. p188ff.

certain amount of consideration to form, style and context (such as geographical, cultural or temporal contexts). Those who describe the Aphrodite of Knidos, for example, often make much of the positioning that allowed her to be viewed from all angles, meaning that one could not only look at her as if intruding into her privacy, but also look over her shoulder as if at the intruder she appears to have noticed.[21] Certainly the ability and desire to move all around a statue is commonplace and affords a more complete encounter with the image; it may also further induce the desire to touch the image.[22] The importance of being able to see from Aphrodite's perspective may well be important, but perhaps more so is the way in which she appears to know that she is being watched in the midst of her ablutions.[23] It is one of many images that appear to draw the viewer in by an awareness of their presence, therefore forcing the viewer to consider in some way their relationship with this image. Robin Osborne has seen this to be a relatively common situation in sculptural depictions of the female form, seeing in the outstretched arms of *korai*, and the actions of their artistic descendants, an invitation to create some kind of narrative for the image, in which one might be somehow involved.[24] Similarly, discussions of Roman wall painting have looked at the way in which spectators might be included in a picture to make the real-life viewers more conscious of their role as watcher.[25] Additional devices were used in the positioning and focus of images, to draw the viewer into its narrative or to bring it into the real world: for example placing a pool

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[21] See, for example, R. Osborne (1994) p82-5; S. Blundell (1995) p193-5; N. Salomon (1997) p208ff.Cf. also Ps-Lucian, *Amores* 14-17 (Appendix I: 4.3) where the multiple angles affect who might be attracted to the image.

[22] Cf. H. Kreitler & S. Kreitler (1972) p204-13 with discussion of the role of the texture of three-dimensional sculpture in inciting a desire to touch it.

[23] This idea has influenced modern interpretations of agalmatophilia narratives, such as Carol Ann Duffy's 'Pygmalion's Bride' in *The World's Wife: Poems* (1999) which is narrated entirely from the perspective of the statue.

[24] See above, this chapter.

[25] M. J. Behen (1995) p346; J. R. Clarke (1995) 332-3; for an example of such a painting see Appendix II: 6.4.

of water near a painting of Narcissus gazing at his own reflection could have indicated the dangers to the viewer of becoming too involved in reality or in representation.[26]

With the use of conscious devices on the part of the artist, the viewer may or may not be aware of the questions that arise out of an image with regard to the way in which one views them. Certainly there were some individuals who were aware of the way in which images could be manipulated to encourage a certain type of viewing, but it might have been difficult to put into practice, considering the way in which much statuary would have been crowded together in sanctuaries and other public spaces.[27] However, once a viewer begins to think about the way in which he or she is viewing an image the situation becomes different. For example, the discussion in Pseudo-Lucian,[28] about the different reactions Charicles and his friend have to the Aphrodite of Knidos as a consequence of their sexualities, makes it quite clear that the viewers realised that there was a change in the way in which this image appeared depending on how one looked at it, as well as where one looked at it from. Once again we might mention the cliché ways in which writers could refer to people as images: flesh as white as ivory, as beautiful as a statue, ancient equivalents of pretty as a picture.[29] This type of language already brings images into the realms of the living, but it also indicates a certain awareness of the way images are judged and looked at. If people can be assessed according to the standards of images, then what standards must the images be judged by? This presumably varies according to the image, but we must

[26] For the danger is dual: The danger of desiring oneself as Narcissus did, or desiring this (represented) Narcissus. Cf. V. Platt (2002) esp. p91, where one specific example of this is described in detail. See Appendix II: 1.1 for the painting in question, which was not only located near a pool, but also accompanied by images of the myths of Actaeon and Diana, and Pyramus and Thisbe, which both involve fatal viewings as desirings.
[27] See further discussion on the display of images and manipulation of viewing in Chapter Five.
[28] Ps. Lucian, *Amores* 14-17. See Appendix I: 4.3 for text, with Appendix II: 4.3 and 6.1.
[29] Cf. N. Spivey (1995) p455 for other examples of such tropes in Greek language.

accept that the value judgment existed and that an ancient viewer might be quite conscious of the way in which they viewed any given image.[30]

This is certainly clear in examples where an image is touched as part of the response. As Nigel Spivey would have it, images were dragged from their bases for people to attempt to have intercourse with them,[31] which would indeed be a clear sign of people physically bringing images into their own world. His description is something of an exaggeration, however, quite apart from the practical difficulties in removing a full-scale human marble or bronze image; there is no clear evidence to suggest that this is part of tales involving agalmatophilia. Any sexual contact with an image does in some way bring it into the realms of reality, however, for sexual contact is something that has its rules in every society[32] and it is usually something that differentiates the living from inanimate objects. Having sex with an image is therefore bringing it into your own world.[33] With many other forms of physical contact the issue is blurred somewhat, as statues in antiquity could be spoken to, clothed, washed, and any number of other behaviours, at the same time as being treated quite definitely as an image. Yet images and people remain quite clearly defined from one another, and by treating an image as a sexual partner one denies it these differentiating factors. The extreme is of course Pygmalion's image, which does come to life; she is then subject to the same concerns as humans, becomes pregnant, and presumably at some point grows old and dies. She is characterised by human flaws that were at other times wished upon images by those who fell in love with them in stories, hence

[30] There is further discussion of the ways in which an image might be viewed throughout, but especially in chapters Four, Five, and Seven.
[31] N. Spivey (1994) p455
[32] See discussion in J. Boswell (1982/3). Also M. Foucault (1988).
[33] It might be said that the reverse is also true, i.e. the human is entering the realm of images, a transgression of boundaries that essentially has the same theoretical implications.

Onomarchus' character in '*The man who fell in Love with a Statue*' eventually curses the image that does not return his love with the words 'May you grow old!'[34]

There is a sign in the quote above of the danger present in all these stories. For all that one may be able to find something more perfect than life or nature could provide in artistic representations, one ought to leave them be as they are. Rejecting lovers in exchange for a more beautiful, but less real, counterpart is a dangerous business in any case; being so much more problematic than a mere extension of the Classical desire to be an honourable master of one's pleasures;[35] in antiquity this can get people killed.[36] Bringing images into the realm of the living can be fraught with dangers such as the aging mentioned above, and the suffering of others that image may cause (such as with the case of Pandora).[37]

The combined roles of viewing as a conscious act and the general tendency towards fetishization of the female form appear, then, to provide a strong locus within the social nexus for a specific type of image. This is an image that cannot only be responded to with arousal, but also responded to as a sex object itself. The image plays the function of agent, index, and recipient in some respects, because without its position within cultural reality as nothing but an image, it could not possibly incite the same extent or type of arousal at all. While this may not be the case for all of the images under discussion, especially those that have very strong associations with their prototype living human, it must be an aspect of all the responses.

[34] Reported by Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum* 2.18, cited by M. Bettini (1999) p64
[35] See, e.g. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.5.5, and J. Winkler (1990).
[36] Most famously, of course, Hippolytus, but there are lots of others.
[37] Who will be discussed elsewhere, see esp. Chapter Five.

Chapter Seven: The Sexual Deviance of Individuals

I finally wish to turn to what would be perhaps the most straightforward way of explaining agalmatophilia, ancient or modern: attributing it to the sexually deviant nature of the perpetrator. Some of the ancient examples suggest this explanation, although few of them explicitly state it as the only factor; the implication is generally made through the context of the reference or the reputation of the individual. This may also be one of the most simplistic and shortsighted ways of explaining agalmatophilia, yet it begins to bring the idea of sexual contact with images into the discourse not only of how one ought to behave towards images, but how one ought to behave sexually in general.

The lustful perpetrators of agalmatophilia can be either anonymous or well known, and this too has implications for the way in which it is explained. Others may be named, but we know little about these individuals now, and whether they would have been known in antiquity is unclear. Two of the most famous 'historical' agalmatophiliacs were emperors of Rome, both of whom had reputations for unusual or immoral tastes in their private and public lives. Nero was said to have fallen for Strongylion's statue of an Amazon,[1] apparently because of her lovely legs. The anecdote is not particularly developed, except to say that he kept the image with him as much as possible, and to imply that his feelings for it were not altogether those of aesthetic appreciation. Tiberius, another emperor who was negatively written up in Roman histories, was said to have fallen in love with Lyssipos' famous *Apoxyomenos*

[1] Pliny, *NH* 34.48; 34.82.

and removed it to his private bedchamber.[2] The crime here seems to be as much of removing public art for personal pleasure as for the unnatural feelings he had for the image.[3] Tiberius in any case appears to have had a taste for erotic images, and was said to keep to keep one such painting of Meleager and Atalanta in his bedroom, as well as another statue.[4] Interestingly, what appears to be the original version of the Pygmalion myth refers to him as a King of Cyprus, rather than the sculptor of his own image, and presumably his own total power was what enabled him to consummate his love for the statue of Aphrodite with which he was said to have fallen in love.[5] Stories of agalmatophilia have continued to be linked with tyrannical rulers, and this might suggest either that those megalomaniacs whose reputations were later reviled were particularly susceptible to having such sordid tales attached to them, or that in fact those with so much power were more inclined to experiment in such deviant sexual acts.[6] In the context of Roman history they were perhaps among the more unusual anecdotes assigned to an emperor whose reputation was of degeneracy in any case, and concerning whom such charges might well be believed.

Another well-known sexual deviant of antiquity was woman, and she too was the recipient of one specific form of agalmatophilia narrative. These tales apply primarily to one type of image: that of the god Priapus.[7] There are several Priapic poems, from varying dates, the earliest of which seem to come from around the third century B. C., with an entire collection of Latin works entitled the *Priapea*, which despite the lewd

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[2] Pliny, *NH* 34.62 and Appendix I: 1.3
[3] Which are nevertheless clearly implied. Cf. J. Isager (1991) p100f and M. Bettini (1991) p65. He was forced to replace the statue in public after popular protests.
[4] Cf. M. Bettini (1991) p65. Pliny, *NH* 35.70; Suet.*Tib.*44
[5] See Appendix I: 4.4
[6] Cf. M. Bettini (1991) p70
[7] Although see perhaps a reference in M. Bettini (1991) p72 to a girl falling in love with a painting. He ignores the *Priapea* altogether, and states that this reference is the only one to female image lovers. See also the stories of Laodamia, Butades'daughter, and Pasiphae, discussed elsewhere. See Appendix I: for the texts.

nature of much of their subject matter appear to have been written by a poet of no inconsiderable skill. Several of the *Priapea* refer to women having sexual intercourse with the statue, often because of their own insatiable nature rather than the attractiveness of the image. Priapus is of course particularly vulnerable to such humorous verse, given the ithyphallic appearance of his images.[8] Images of this kind also appear to have been depicted in agalmatophiliac visual narratives; the only extant image I know of depicts a Pan-like image with female attributes preparing to penetrate herself with the phallus of a herm-like image, and apparently the famous erotic pictures in the books of the female poet Elephantis included depictions of women having intercourse with the god.[9] The figure in the relief sculpture and the women in the *Priapea* may be seen as representing the famously insatiable sexual appetites of ancient women. Attitudes towards the sexuality of women varied, but their bent towards sexual deviance can be noted as a continuous theme throughout ancient literature; from Pandora's wicked seductiveness,[10] through the wet and unbounded woman with an endless sexual appetite of Classical Athens,[11] to the lustful Pasiphae of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[12] It would be surprising if women were not to be found amongst the narratives of agalmatophilia, although they figure with considerably less frequency than men. This might be a consequence of the vast variety of behaviour that could be considered deviant for women, as compared to the comparative freedom of men.[13] The *Priapea* do imply male intercourse with the

[8] P. Stewart (1997) for the possible appearance of the images.
[9] Cf. W. H. Parker (1988) p38; 73. Priapus was associated very closely with his image. It is difficult to know, of course, exactly what form these images took. See Chapter Four.
[10] See chapter on images made for sex.
[11] Cf. A. Carson (1990) esp. p141-3
[12] See Chapter Five. In addition, the women described in the *Priapea* are often those favourite objects of ridicule – the old unattractive woman who has few options with which to satisfy her sexual desires.
[13] There were certainly strict rules in theory about male sexual behaviour, but they seem to have been very selectively applied and even less frequently enforced (Cf. J. Winkler (1990)). See below for the ways sexual deviance could be explored less dangerously through the more extreme acts such as agalmatophilia and bestiality.

image as a possibility, but it would involve the statue penetrating a man, and is described as punishment for trespassing into the gardens, which the statue was positioned to protect.

One of the indicators that the perpetrator of agalmatophilia ought to be considered as a sexual deviant is the consequence of the narrative, which often implies that the act deserves some form of punishment. The young man who fell in love with the Knidia committed suicide, as did an Athenian in love with an image of Agathe Tyche; Pasiphae probably hung herself in a Cretan prison; others are fortunate and are 'cured' in time to prevent such a tragic ending.[14] In addition, the context of the narratives can suggest that the act of agalmatophilia likens people to animals, or is comparable with the reviled acts of bestiality or incest. Maurizio Bettini has also suggested that the modes of death mentioned above are those associated with punishment for incest, again implying that agalmatophilia is a monstrous sexual crime whose perpetrator is responsible and should therefore be punished.[15] The picture is mixed, however, and in fact the literature does not always make it entirely clear what exactly is being punished: the knight who commits suicide after copulating with the Aphrodite at Knidos could be being punished as much for his crime against the deity as for that against the statue; Tiberius appears to be criticised rather more heavily for removing a cherished piece of art from public view than for any feelings he might have for the image itself; Cleisophus of Selymbria appears to have paid amply for his act against a statue with a simple offering of a wreath.[16] The context may also be less straightforwardly condemnatory than has been suggested: often the tale is for

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[14] The Roman Knight: Ps. Lucian *Amores* 16-17; Agathe Tyche: Aelian, *Varia Historia* 9.39; Cf. M. Bettini p62ff.
[15] M. Bettini (1999) p70f
[16] Ps-Lucian 14-17 on the Aphrodite at Knidos; Pliny *NH* 34.62 on Apoxyomenos; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.605ff for Cleisophus' attentions directed at a statue in Samos.

straightforward amusement, or the author has a particular reason for being so disgusted by such behaviour.[17] At other times there appears to be no particular outcome (as is the case with Nero and his lovely Amazon), or the author might indicate that sexual desire itself is an uncontrollable force and that outright condemnation of agalmatophiliacs would be short-sighted given the nature of the world and its gods.[18]

Sexual deviance is a straightforward answer, but it does not seem to have satisfied the ancient sources, which often mention the other contributory factors around which this thesis is based. It might be that it was simply difficult to understand how, exactly, one could be attracted to a statue in the first place, and to attempt to find further explanations that contributed to such bizarre behaviour. This is hardly surprising, and it seems that we too should consider whether or not it would be entirely possible to be aroused simply by the fact that an image is an image. The only modern paper entirely devoted to agalmatophilia seems to think precisely this; it is described as a 'pathological condition', a manifestation of 'immature sexuality' performed by 'deranged' individuals.[19] David Freedberg also notes that arousal by image is not simply a matter of arousal by a particular alignment of features, but precisely a matter of arousal by image.[20] It may well be that an individual gains a certain arousal from the knowledge of a transgression of boundaries, and also perhaps by a direct

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[17] There is no doubt that Ps. Lucian's narrative is intended to amuse, and the *Priapea* are intended to be humorous verse. There also appears to have been a comedy by Alexis, entitled *Graphe*, with a man who fell in love with an image as its subject matter. Cf. also the comments on Aristophanes' *Peace* in Chapter One. Those authors who are most disgusted with agalmatophilia appear to be Christian apologists who are not favourably inclined towards images in general. Cf. esp. Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius.
[18] See esp. K. J. Reckford, (1974) p319ff commenting on Fr. 11 of Euripides' *Cretans*
[19] A. Scobie and J. W. Taylor (1975) p49-50; 54
[20] D. Freedberg (1991) p326f

fetishisation of the object.[21] Scobie and Taylor also suggest that agalmatophilia no longer occurs because of the satisfaction of the same fetish by the plastics industry.[22] There are several problems with this kind of statement; if agalmatophilia were a specific fetish then the plastics industry would not really replace it, and indeed does not appear to have done so.[23] While the plastics industry does now provide a vast range of products that might come under Scobie and Taylor's definition of 'Sailors' Friends' they cannot be categorised in the same way as images, and especially not those images which were the targets of agalmatophilia in antiquity. However, this fetishisation of inanimate objects does suggest the possibility of being aroused by something that is not alive, precisely because of what it is, rather than any belief that it might potentially possess life, or because of its similarity to human beauty.[24]

That either the image itself or the fact of transgressive behaviour could arouse an individual independently of any cultural context for an image is an interesting consideration, although clearly it cannot be the whole explanation. It does, however, support the suggestion that the stories of agalmatophilia fitted within discourse about sexual deviance. Such discourse is varied and complex, and numerous modern studies have begun to put together a picture of ancient conceptions of sexual norms and boundaries. How agalmatophilia might fit into this is not altogether clear, although Maurizio Bettini has suggested that it provides a truly negative paradigm of sexual behaviour.[25] The contexts in which narratives of agalmatophilia occur do at times

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[21] A. Scobie and J. W. Taylor (1975) p49-50; 54; D. Freedberg (1991) p326ff
[22] A. Scobie and J. W. Taylor (1974) p49-50.
[23] As seems to be indicated by an entirely modern website devoted to sexual acts with statues: www.statuemolesters.com
[24] An interesting example from the plastics industry comes in the form of the 'Real Doll' (www.realdoll.com/intro.asp): this type of product would seem to negate the possible argument that they are simply substitutes for human beings, given that the price of these dolls (several hundreds of thousands of dollars) could just as easily be spent on prostitutes. See Appendix II: 7.1
[25] M. Bettini (1999) p70-2

suggest this to be the case; they are often humorous stories that provide an opportunity to ridicule, or are placed alongside examples of bestiality or incest.[26] However, there are certain indications that it was not so tremendously extreme, or at least that it was not straightforward to condemn those who committed it. Pasiphae's speech in *The Cretans*[27], for example, implies that her passion was driven by a god-sent madness, and one might find this to be the case in any number of examples, especially those from myth.

Overall it is not enough to simply file agalmatophilia away under the heading of sexually deviant behaviour, because it forms part of important discourses about other matters as well, most importantly the role of art within ancient societies. It could certainly be used to demonstrate transgressive behaviour when assigned to a particular individual, but it does not seem to be the sole purpose of mentioning it. It is important to bear in mind, however, that for all the suggestions that there might be some sort of cognitive substitution occurring on the part of the agalmatophiliac, there is probably at all times some aspect of their arousal that is due specifically to the fact that it is an image and not a person that they are confronting.

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[26] Ps.-Lucian's story is obviously intended to be amusing, despite the tragic end met by the Roman who fell in love with the Aphrodite; Clement of Alexandria associates agalmatophilia with the behaviour of animals and bestiality; the Pygmalion passage in Ovid is immediately followed by the tale of Myrrha (for Pygmalion's story as one of incest see A. Sharrock (1991b) p176ff and P. Hardie (2004) p20ff).
[27] Eur. *Cretans* Fr 11.

Conclusions

In attempting to understand the agalmatophilia narratives of antiquity, this thesis has covered many different types of story, sometimes appearing to narrate quite different events, which are found in a variety of sources. I have followed the ancient sources in their attempts to explain the motivations behind such a seemingly inexplicable response, and in doing so have illuminated just how considerable the possibilities were as far as understanding agalmatophilia went. I have considered those explanations which seemed, then as now, the most logical and understandable, such as the rejection of the love that living, attainable, humans could provide, and the consolation images might have given those who had lost their mortal lovers. These ideas have been important throughout the thesis, and influenced the later discussions of the cultural conditions that allowed an image to be perceived as alive and/or divine. Proceeding this, I assessed the ways artists, creators, and society in general could create images that were intended to arouse the viewer sexually, and which fitted into a cultural system that allowed the physical forms of images and people to be fetishized. Finally, I evaluated the role of what was seen as sexual deviance in the responses, which allows the responsibility for agalmatophilia to lie with the sexual urges of one individual alone. Consequently, this thesis allows for many angles to be taken on one type of response, and also for many perceptions of the role of the image in antiquity.

Although the stories have been categorised according to the explanations offered by (or apparent in) the ancient sources, each case of agalmatophilia as described in the ancient sources is different, and is allocated a slightly different motivation or explanation from any other. The narratives also come from a variety of sources, some are humorous, and others polemic, and tragic, and even epic, and they are spread across the full range of antiquity in geographical and temporal terms. It is perhaps not altogether surprising that drawing these narratives together has in fact highlighted how diverse they are. Yet such variety does not detract from the interest of the stories, for it is striking at just how many different times and places such a tale managed to enter the literary imagination and the discourse on images that they were part of. If nothing else, all of these tales, point to at least one feature of the image in antiquity: it is in many respects anything *but* an image. To give these objects one name now seems misleading, for each of the artefacts involved represented so much more, and not just

to the agalmatophiliacs. The act of agalmatophilia became a possible event to describe because of the relationships that images had with the world in general, and the complex position that they occupied in the social nexus of the ancient Mediterranean world.

Partly, this was due to the potential of the image to contain all that was possible or impossible, and the resulting promise this had for impacting on sexual desire. Pygmalion's bride, as discussed in Chapter One, for example, can be seen as almost any type of imaginable woman, from prostitute to mother, model to virgin. She can also be a goddess, and because of the world of images the bodily forms of goddesses could be sexually desired (assessed in Chapter Four). In addition, as has been noted at various points throughout the thesis, divine images had so much potential to contain life, immortality, and yet at the same time passivity, that they could form a strong incitement to desire. Images could be beautiful (even more beautiful than people) without the personal flaws that beauty was so often seen to conceal, from the creation of Pandora onwards (discussed in Chapters Five and Six). The statue could not die, and so it could not be lost to death or old age, and it could even make you believe that someone you loved was not dead and departed at all (Chapter Two). As well as all of these things it could just be an object, a straightforward lump of metal or stone or ivory that madmen could abuse out of simple insanity or lustful deviance (as seen in Chapter Seven). The image of antiquity had infinite potential to be anything and everything at once, and the narratives of agalmatophilia exist because of this as much as of anything else. Their significance for the study of images in antiquity is that, through their bizarre and varied contents, they can highlight facets of images that might be invisible to the naked eye. When attempting to understand how and why stories of agalmatophilia existed in antiquity, I have had to ask questions about the image that would not have occurred to me otherwise, and which needed answering. The thought processes that went into being or imagining an agalmatophiliac relied on a conception of images that, as we have seen, is so complex and multifarious as to be almost impossible to elucidate.

The assessment of images through viewers' responses to them has become a part of numerous disciplines, and for the study of an age in which images were not only continuously present, but also central to the workings and understanding of society, it

must be a useful exercise to complete. Whilst this study has only assessed one form of response in detail, it is in part intended to demonstrate the consequences and possibilities of assessing ancient images using this method. The ideas of anthropologists on animism and anthropomorphism that have informed this study so significantly could also be applied to a consideration of other types of response (physical or otherwise) to images in antiquity. One might suspect, for example, that violent assaults on images occurred throughout antiquity not merely because of the symbolic capital contained within the image, but also because of an ability in the image to elicit such a strong response in the first place. The idea that images exist out of a necessity, out of a gap in the social nexus that requires their presence, comes from anthropology, but can clearly be applied to classical studies of images.

The variety of approaches used in attempting to understand agalmatophilia as a response to images in antiquity has, therefore, demonstrated how helpful the consideration of responses to images generally can be in attempting to understand them and their cultural/societal function. Clearly, it is not possible to pinpoint one specific reason for the existence of agalmatophilia as a recurrent idea in ancient literature, but this is because there is not one specific reason for the image itself. The combination of factors that influenced ideas of agalmatophilia have been discussed at length throughout this thesis: from fetishism to madness, from religious devotion to mimetic achievement, as well as a tendency to elide prototype with image and the images' ability to contain the impossible. All of these ideas contributed to the existence of the idea of agalmatophilia, and a cultural need to express this idea through literature and (occasionally) representational art. The stories fit into an extensive and complicated discourse on the role of images, the responsibilities of those who had contact with them, and indeed their relationship to eroticism and sexuality, that is much bigger than agalmatophilia alone.

The sources discussed in this thesis are almost entirely fictional, and for this reason they cannot tell us whether agalmatophilia ever actually happened in antiquity. Whilst there is no reason to suppose it did not, it is not really the point. It was evidently crucial that there was a cultural space within which all sorts of responses to images could be discussed, of which agalmatophilia is just one. It is an unusual type of response, certainly, but one that demonstrates the strength of the idea of the image in

antiquity, and the considerable need to talk about images that infiltrated every kind of literature. Images could be thought of as lovable, and their lovers could be ridiculed, pitied or despised, but the image remained so much more than an artistic object whatever the response. If an image could be anything, any conceivable thing, then it could be a lover, and so the narratives exist even while many of the images do not. Touching statues might not have been something that everybody did every day, but the idea of it was sufficiently significant to be worth significant cultural investment then, and significant consideration now.

Appendix I: Source citations

1.1: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.242-93 (tr. B. Moore)

243 Quas quia Pygmalion aevum per crimen agentes
viderat, offensus vitiis, quae plurima menti
245 femineae natura dedit, sine coniuge caelebs
vivebat thalamique diu consorte carebat.
Interea niveum mira feliciter arte
sculpsit ebur formamque dedit, qua femina nasci
nulla potest: operisque sui concepit amorem.
250 Virginis est verae facies, quam vivere credas,
et, si non obstet reverentia, velle moveri:
ars adeao latet arte sua. Miratur et haurit
pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes.

Saepe manus operi temptantes admovet, an sit
255 corpus an illud ebur: nec adhuc ebur esse fatetur.
Oscula dat reddique putat loquiturque tenetque,
et credit tactis digitos insidere membris,
at metuit, pressos veniat ne livor in artus.
Et modo blanditas adhibet, modo grata puellis
260 munera fert illi conchas teretesque lapillos
et parvas volucres et flores mille colorum
liliaque pictasque pilas et ab arbore lapsas
Heliadum lacrimas; ornat quoque vestibus artus,
dat digitis gemmas, dat longa monilia collo:
265 aure leves bacae, redimicula pectore pendent.
Cuncta decent: nec nuda minus formosa videtur.
Conlocat hanc stratis concha Sidonide tinctis
appellatque tori sociam, acclinatque colla
mollibus in plumis, tamquam sensura, reponit.

270 Festa dies Veneris tota celeberrima Cypro
venerat, et pandis inductae cornibus aurum
conciderant ictae nivea cervice iuvencae,
turaque fumabant: cum munere functus ad aras
constitit et timide, 'si di dare cuncta potestis,
275 sit coniunx, opto' (non ausus 'eburnea virgo'
dicere) Pygmalion 'similis mea' dixit 'eburnae.'
Sensit, ut ipsa suis aderat Venus aurea festis,
vota quid illa velint; et, amici numinis omen,
flamma ter accensa est apicemque per aera duxit.

280 Ut rediit, simulacra suae petit ille puellae
incumbensque toro dedit oscula: visa tepere est.
Admovet os iterum, manibus quoque pectora temptat:
temptatum mollescit ebur positoque rigore
subsidit digitis ceditque, ut Hymettia sole
285 cera remollescit tractataque pollice multas
flectitur in facies ipsoque fit utilis usu.
Dum stupet et dubie gaudet fallique veretur,
rursus amans rursusque manu sua vota retractat.
Corpus erat: saliunt temptatae pollice venae.

290 Tum vero Paphius plenissima concipit heros
verba, quibus Veneri grates agat, oraque tandem
ore suo non falsa premit: dataque oscula virgo
sensit et erubuit timidumque ad lumina lumen
attollens pariter cum caelo vidit amantem.

295 Coniugo, quod fecit, adest dea. Iamque coactis
cornibus in plenum noviens lunaribus orbem
297 illa Paphon genuit, de qua tenet insula nomen.

Pygmalion saw these women waste their lives
in wretched shame, and critical of faults
which nature had so deeply planted through
their female hearts, he lived in preference,
for many years unmarried.--But while he
was single, with consummate skill, he carved
a statue out of snow-white ivory,
and gave to it exquisite beauty, which
no woman of the world has ever equalled:
she was so beautiful, he fell in love
with his creation. It appeared in truth
a perfect virgin with the grace of life,
but in the expression of such modesty
all motion was restrained--and so his art
concealed his art. Pygmalion gazed, inflamed
with love and admiration for the form,
in semblance of a woman, he had carved.

He lifts up both his hands to feel the work,
and wonders if it can be ivory,
because it seems to him more truly flesh. --
his mind refusing to conceive of it
as ivory, he kisses it and feels
his kisses are returned. And speaking love,
caresses it with loving hands that seem
to make an impress, on the parts they touch,
so real that he fears he then may bruise
her by his eager pressing. Softest tones
are used each time he speaks to her. He brings
to her such presents as are surely prized
by sweet girls; such as smooth round pebbles, shells,
and birds, and fragrant flowers of thousand tints,
lilies, and painted balls, and amber tears
of Heliads, which distill from far off trees.--
he drapes her in rich clothing and in gems:
rings on her fingers, a rich necklace round
her neck, pearl pendants on her graceful ears;
and golden ornaments adorn her breast.
All these are beautiful--and she appears
most lovable, if carefully attired,--
or perfect as a statue, unadorned.

He lays her on a bed luxurious, spread
with coverlets of Tyrian purple dye,
and naming her the consort of his couch,
lays her reclining head on the most soft
and downy pillows, trusting she could feel.

The festal day of Venus, known throughout
all Cyprus, now had come, and throngs were there
to celebrate. Heifers with spreading horns,
all gold-tipped, fell when given the stroke of death
upon their snow-white necks; and frankincense
was smoking on the altars. There, intent,
Pygmalion stood before an altar, when
his offering had been made; and although he
feared the result, he prayed: "If it is true,
O Gods, that you can give all things, I pray
to have as my wife--" but, he did not dare
to add "my ivory statue-maid," and said,
"One like my ivory--." Golden Venus heard,
for she was present at her festival,
and she knew clearly what the prayer had meant.
She gave a sign that her Divinity
favored his plea: three times the flame leaped high
and brightly in the air.

When he returned,
he went directly to his image-maid,
bent over her, and kissed her many times,
while she was on her couch; and as he kissed,
she seemed to gather some warmth from his lips.
Again he kissed her; and he felt her breast;
the ivory seemed to soften at the touch,
and its firm texture yielded to his hand,
as honey-wax of Mount Hymettus turns
to many shapes when handled in the sun,
and surely softens from each gentle touch.

He is amazed; but stands rejoicing in his doubt;
while fearful there is some mistake, again
and yet again, gives trial to his hopes
by touching with his hand. It must be flesh!
The veins pulsate beneath the careful test
of his directed finger. Then, indeed,
the astonished hero poured out lavish thanks
to Venus; pressing with his raptured lips
his statue's lips. Now real, true to life--
the maiden felt the kisses given to her,
and blushing, lifted up her timid eyes,
so that she saw the light and sky above,
as well as her rapt lover while he leaned
gazing beside her--and all this at once--
the goddess graced the marriage she had willed,
and when nine times a crescent moon had changed,
increasing to the full, the statue-bride

gave birth to her dear daughter Paphos. From
which famed event the island takes its name.

1.2: Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 4.50-51P (Tr. G. W. Butterworth)

τὸν δέ 'Ηρακλέα δείκνυσιν ἡ πυρά, κἄν θυμνὴ ἴδη τις ἀνάγραπτον γυναῖκα, τήν 'χρθςῆν' 'Αφροδίτην νοεῖ. Οὕτως ὁ Κύπριος ὁ Πυγμαλίοων ἐκεῖωος ἐλεθαντίνου ἠράσθη ἀγὰλματος. Τὸ ἄγαλμα 'Αθροδίτης ἦω καὶ γυμνέ ἦν. Νικᾶται ὁ Κύπριος τῶ σχήματι καὶ συνέρχεται τῶ ἀγάλματι, καὶ τοῦτο Φιλοστέφανος ἰστορεῖ. 'Αθροδίτη δὲ ἄλλη ἐν Κνιδω λίθος ἦν καὶ ἦν, ἕτερος ἠράσθη ταύτης καὶ μίγνυται τῆ λίθω. Ποσείδιππος ἰστορεῖ, ὁ μὲν πρότερος ἐν τῶ περὶ Κύπρου, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐν τῶ περὶ Κνίδου. Τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἀπατῆσαι τέχνη προαγωγὸσ ἀωθρώποις ἐρωτικοῖσ εἰσ βάραθρον θενομένη.

The pyre represents Heracles, and if one sees a woman represented naked, he understands it to be "golden" Aphrodite, So the well-known Pygmalion of Cyprus fell in love with an ivory statue, it was of Aphrodite and it was naked. The man of Cyprus embraces the statue. This is related by Philostephanus. There was also an Aphrodite in Cnidus, made of marble and beautiful. Another man fell in love with this and has intercourse with the marble, as Poseidippus relates. The account of the first author is in his book on Cyprus; that of the second in his book on Cnidus. Such strength had art to beguile that it became for amorous men a guide to the pit of destruction.

1.3: Pliny, *NH* 34.19.62, Tiberius and the *Apoxyomenos* (Tr. J. Bostock)

plurima ex omnibus signa fecit, ut diximus, fecundissimae artis, inter quae destringentem se, quem M. Agrippa ante Thermas suas dicavit, mire gratum Tiberio principi. non quivit temperare sibi in eo, quamquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus, transulitque in cubiculum alio signo substituto, cum quidem tanat pop. R. contumacia fuit, ut theatri clamoribus reponi <<apoxyomenos>> flagitaverit principsque, quamquam adamatum, reposuerit.

Among these, is the Man using the Body-scraper, which Marcus Agrippa had erected in front of his Warm Baths, and which wonderfully pleased the Emperor Tiberius. This prince, although in the beginning of his reign he imposed some restraint upon himself, could not resist the temptation, and had this statue removed to his bed-chamber, having substituted another for it at the baths: the people, however, were so resolutely opposed to this, that at the theatre they clamourously demanded the Apoxyomenos to be replaced; and the prince, notwithstanding his attachment to it, was obliged to restore it.

2.1: Pliny *NH* 35.43.151, Butades' daughter (Tr. J. Bostock)

fingere ex argilla similitudines butades sicyonius figulus primus invenit corinthi filiae opera, quae capta amore iuvenis, abeunte illo peregre, umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pariete lineis circumscripsit, quibus pater eius inpressa argilla typum fecit et cum ceteris fictilibus induratum igni proposuit, eumque servatum in nymphaeo, donec mummius corinthum everterit, tradunt. sunt qui in samo primos omnium plasticen invenisse rhoecum et theodorum tradant multo ante bacchiadas corintho pulsos, damaratum vero ex eadem urbe profugum, qui in etruria tarquinium regem populi romani genuit, comitatos fictores euchira, diopum, eugrammum; ab iis italiae traditam plasticen.

Butades, a potter of Sicyon, was the first who invented, at Corinth, the art of modelling portraits in the earth which he used in his trade. It was through his daughter that he made the discovery; who, being deeply in love with a young man about to depart on a long journey, traced the profile of his face, as thrown upon the wall by the light of the lamp. Upon seeing this, her father filled in the outline, by compressing clay upon the surface, and so made a face in relief, which he then hardened by fire along with other articles of pottery.

2.2: Ovid, *Heroides* 13, Laodamia and Protesilaos (Tr. A. S. Kline)

Mittit et optat amans, quo mittitur, ire salutem
   Haemonis Haemonio Laodamia viro.
Aulide te fama est vento retinente morari:
   a! me cum fugeres, hic ubi ventus erat?
tum freta debuerant vestris obsistere remis;
   illud erat saevis utile tempus aquis.
oscula plura viro mandataque plura dedissem
   et sunt quae volui dicere multa tibi.
raptus es hinc praeceps et qui tua vela vocaret,
   quem cuperent nautae, non ego, ventus erat.
ventus erat nautis aptus, non aptus amanti;
   solvor ab amplexu, Protesilae, tuo
linguaque mandantis verba inperfecta reliquit;
   vix illud potui dicere triste "vale."
Incubuit Boreas abreptaque vela tetendit,
   iamque meus longe Protesilaus erat.
dum potui spectare virum, spectare iuvabat
   sumque tuos oculos usque secuta meis;
ut te non poteram, poteram tua vela videre,
   vela diu vultus detinuere meos.
at postquam nec te nec vela fugacia vidi,
   et quod spectarem, nil nisi pontus erat,
lux quoque tecum abiit, tenebrisque exanguis obortis
   succiduo dicor procubuisse genu.
vix socer Iphiclus, vix me grandaevus Acastus,
   vix mater gelida maesta refecit aqua.
officium fecere pium, sed inutile nobis:
   indignor miserae non licuisse mori.
Ut rediit animus, pariter rediere dolores;
   pectora legitimus casta momordit amor.
nec mihi pectendos cura est praebere capillos
   nec libet aurata corpora veste tegi.

ut quas pampinea tetigisse Bicorniger hasta
    creditur, huc illuc, qua furor egit, eo.
conveniunt matres Phylleides et mihi clamant:
    "Indue regales, Laodamia, sinus!"
scilicet ipsa geram saturatas murice lanas,
    bella sub Iliacis moenibus ille gerat?
ipsa comas pectar? galea caput ille premetur?
    ipsa novas vestes, dura vir arma ferat?
qua possum, squalore tuos imitata labores
    dicar et haec belli tempora tristis agam.
Dyspari Priamide, damno formose tuorum,
    tam sis hostis iners quam malus hospes eras!
aut te Taenariae faciem culpasse maritae
    aut illi vellem displicuisse tuam.
tu, qui pro rapta nimium, Menelae, laboras,
    ei mihi! quam multis flebilis ultor eris.
di, precor, a nobis omen removete sinistrum
    et sua det reduci vir meus arma Iovi!
sed timeo, quotiens subiit miserabile bellum;
    more nivis lacrimae sole madentis eunt.
Ilion et Tenedos Simoisque et Xanthus et Ide
    nomina sunt ipso paene timenda sono.
nec rapere ausurus, nisi se defendere posset,
    hospes erat: vires noverat ille suas.
venerat, ut fama est, multo spectabilis auro
    quique suo Phrygias corpore ferret opes,
classe virisque potens, per quae fera bella geruntur—
    et sequitur regni pars quota quemque sui?
his ego te victam, consors Ledaea gemellis,
    suspicor, haec Danais posse nocere puto.
Hectora nescio quem timeo; Paris Hectora dixit
    ferrea sanguinea bella movere manu;
Hectora, quisquis is est, si sum tibi cara, caveto:
    signatum memori pectore nomen habe!
hunc ubi vitaris, alios vitare memento
    et multos illic Hectoras esse puta
et facito ut dicas, quotiens pugnare parabis:
    "parcere me iussit Laodamia sibi.
si cadere Argolico fas est sub milite Troiam,
    te quoque non ullum vulnus habente cadat.
pugnet et adversos tendat Menelaus in hostes,
    hostibus e mediis nupta petenda viro est.
causa tua est dispar: tu tantum vivere pugna,
    inque pios dominae posse redire sinus!
Parcite, Dardanidae, de tot, precor, hostibus uni,
    ne meus ex illo corpore sanguis eat!
non est quem deceat nudo concurrere ferro
    saevaque in oppositos pectora ferre viros.
fortius ille potest multo, quam pugnat, amare.
    bella gerant alii; Protesilaus amet!
Nunc fateor: volui revocare, animusque ferebat;
    substitit auspicii lingua timore mali.
cum foribus velles ad Troiam exire paternis,
    pes tuus offenso limine signa dedit.
ut vidi, ingemui, tacitoque in pectore dixi:

"signa reversuri sint, precor, ista viri!"
haec tibi nunc refero, ne sis animosus in armis.
fac, meus in ventos hic timor omnis eat!
Sors quoque nescio quem fato designat iniquo,
qui primus Danaum Troada tangat humum:
infelix, quae prima virum lugebit ademptum!
di faciant, ne tu strenuus esse velis!
inter mille rates tua sit millensima puppis
iamque fatigatas ultima verset aquas!
hoc quoque praemoneo: de nave novissimus exi!
non est, quo properas, terra paterna tibi.
cum venies, remoque move veloque carinam
inque tuo celerem litore siste gradum!
Sive latet Phoebus seu terris altior exstat,
tu mihi luce celer, tu mihi nocte venis:
nocte tamen quam luce magis. nox grata puellis,
quarum suppositus colla lacertus habet.
aucupor in lecto mendaces caelibe somnos;
dum careo veris gaudia falsa iuvant.
Sed tua cur nobis pallens occurrit imago?
cur venit a labris multa querela tuis?
excutior somno simulacraque noctis adoro;
nulla caret fumo Thessalis ara meo:
tura damus lacrimamque super, qua sparsa relucet,
ut solet adfuso surgere flamma mero.
quando ego te reducem cupidis amplexa lacertis
languida laetitia solvar ab ipsa mea?
quando erit, ut lecto mecum bene iunctus in uno
militiae referas splendida facta tuae?
quae mihi dum referes, quamvis audire iuvabit,
multa tamen capies oscula, multa dabis.
semper in his apte narrantia verba resistunt;
promptior est dulci lingua refecta mora.
Sed cum Troia subit, subeunt ventique fretumque;
spes bona sollicito victa timore cadit.
hoc quoque, quod venti prohibent exire carinas,
me movet: invitis ire paratis aquis.
quis velit in patriam vento prohibente reverti?
a patria pelago vela vetante datis!
ipse suam non praebet iter Neptunus ad urbem.
quo ruitis? vestras quisque redite domos!
quo ruitis, Danai? ventos audite vetantes!
non subiti casus—numinis ista mora est.
quid petitur tanto nisi turpis adultera bello?
dum licet, Inachiae vertite vela rates!
sed quid ago? revoco? revocaminis omen abesto
blandaque compositas aura secundet aquas!
Troasin invideo, quae si lacrimosa suorum
funera conspicient, nec procul hostis erit;
ipsa suis manibus forti nova nupta marito
imponet galeam Dardanaque arma dabit;
arma dabit, dumque arma dabit, simul oscula sumet—
hoc genus officii dulce duobus erit—
producetque virum dabit et mandata reverti
et dicet: "referas ista fac arma Iovi!"

ille ferens dominae mandata recentia secum
    pugnabit caute respicietque domum.
exuet haec reduci clipeum galeamque resolvet
    excipietque suo corpora lassa sinu.
Nos sumus incertae, nos anxius omnia cogit,
    quae possunt fieri, facta putare timor.
dum tamen arma geres diverso miles in orbe,
    quae referat vultus est mihi cera tuos:
illi blanditias, illi tibi debita verba
    dicimus, amplexus accipit illa meos.
crede mihi, plus est, quam quod videatur, imago;
    adde sonum cerae, Protesilaus erit.
hanc specto teneoque sinu pro coniuge vero
    et tamquam possit verba referre, queror.
Per reditus corpusque tuum, meā numina, iuro
    perque pares animi coniugiique faces
perque quod ut videam canis albere capillis,
    quod tecum possis ipse referre, caput,
me tibi venturam comitem, quocumque vocaris,
    sive—quod heu! timeo—sive superstes eris.
ultima mandato claudetur epistula parvo:
    si tibi cura mei, sit tibi cura tui!

She, who sends this, wishes loving greetings to go to whom it's sent:
from Thessaly to Thessaly's lord, Laodamia to her husband.
Rumour has it you're held at Aulis by delaying winds:
ah! when you left me, where were those winds then?
Then the sea should have obstructed your oars:
that would have been a useful time for raging waters.
I might have given my husband more kisses, and more requests,
and there was much I wanted to say to him.
You were driven headlong from here and there was a wind that might have been summoned
for your sails, that the sailors loved, not I.
It was a wind fit for a sailor, not one fit for a lover:
I was freed from your embrace, Protesilaus, and my tongue,
commissioning you, left the words unfinished:
it could scarcely say a sad: 'Farewell.'
The North Wind leaned down, and filled your departing sails,
and soon my Protesilaus was far away.
While I could still see my husband, I delighted in watching
and your eyes were followed, all the way, by mine:
when I could no longer see you, I could see your sail,
your sail held my gaze for a long time.
But once I could not see you, or your vanishing sail,
and I could look at nothing except the waves,
the light went with you too, and suffocating darkness rising,
they say that, my knees failed, and I sank to the ground.
Your father Iphiclus, and mine, aged Acastus, and my mother
could scarcely revive me, with icy water, in my misery.
They went about their kind action, but vainly for me:
I'm angry I wasn't allowed to die in my distress.
When consciousness returned, my pain returned with it:

a rightful affection hurts my chaste heart.
I take no care about displaying my hair neatly combed,
nor does it please me to cover my body with golden dresses.
I run, here and there, like one you'd think had been touched
by the rod of the twin-horned god, just as madness drives me.
The women of Phylace gather round, and they call to me:
'Put on your royal garments, Laodamia!'
Of course she should wear clothes steeped in purple,
while he wars beneath the walls of Troy!
She to comb her hair? A helmet to weigh his down?
She should bear new dresses, her husband heavy armour?
Let them say, that as I can, I imitate your hardships, with harshness,
and, by my circumstances, act out the sad war.
Paris, son of Priam, harmful to your people through your beauty,
be as cowardly an enemy as you were an evil guest!
I wish you'd reproached your Spartan bride for her character,
or that she'd been displeased with yours.
Menelaus you suffer too much for the one you lost,
alas! with what grieving you'll avenge her.
Gods, I beg you, keep all dark omens from us
and let my husband dedicate weapons to Jove, on his return!
But I'm afraid whenever the miserable war comes to mind:
my tears flow like snows melting in the sun.
Troy and Tenedos, Simois, Xanthus, Ida, are names
that almost scare me by their very sound.
That guest would not have dared to take her, unless
he could defend himself: he knew his strength.
He came, as rumour has it, remarkable with all that gold,
bearing the wealth of Phrygia on his back,
powerful in men, and ships, to wage a war –
and what part, and how much, of his kingdom follow him?
I suspect these things conquered you, sister of Leda's Twins,
I think these things may bring disaster on the Greeks.
I do not know this Hector whom I fear: Paris said that Hector
wages war with a blood-stained sword in his hand:
If I'm dear to you, beware Hector, whoever he might be:
have the memory of that name stamped on your heart!
When you shun him, remember to shun the others,
and imagine there are many Hectors there,
and make sure you say, when you prepare to fight:
'Laodamia herself ordered me to forbear.'
If it's possible for Troy to fall to the Greek army,
let it fall without you receiving any wounds.
Let Menelaus fight and strain against the enemy:
among enemies, let the wife be sought by the husband.
Your cause is different: fight so as to live,
and be able to return to your wife's loving breast!
I beg you, Trojans, spare this one of all your enemies,
don't let my blood flow from his body!
He's not one to charge into battle with naked blade
and bear savage feelings towards men.
He's better suited, by far, to making love than fighting.
Let others make war: let Protesilaus love!
Now I confess: I wish I'd called you back, and shown my feelings:
my tongue was stilled, for fear of evil omens.

When you wished to leave your father's door,
your feet showed signs of stumbling on the threshold.
When I saw, I groaned, and said, secretly in my heart:
'I pray this might be a sign of my husband's returning!'
I tell you this now, so you aren't too brave in battle.
Make sure all my fears vanish on the wind!
Also I know not what unjust death fate promises,
to the first Greek who touches Trojan soil:
unhappy the woman who grieves for the first man slain!
I wish the gods might not make you over-eager!
Among the thousand ships let yours be the thousandth,
and the last to be wrecked by the tormenting waters!
This also I forewarn you of: be the last to leave the vessel!
Where you land is not your father's country.
When you return sail your ship with canvas and oars together,
and reach your own shore with all speed!
Whether Phoebus hides, or stands high above the earth,
come quickly to me by day, or come to me by night:
All the better if you come at night. Night is pleasing to girls,
whose necks have arms to embrace them.
I try to grasp deceitful dreams in my empty bed:
while I'm without true joys, false ones must give me pleasure.
But why does your pale image appear to me?
Why do so many plaintive sounds rise to your lips?
I shake off sleep, and revere these phantoms of the night:
no altar in Thessaly's free from the smoke of my gifts:
I offer incense, with tears too, that blazes as it's scattered,
so that the flames sputter, as they do when wine's poured on.
When will I lead you home again, clasped in my loving arms,
to free my joy from this listlessness?
When will it be, that, truly joined with me in the one bed,
you'll recall the splendid deeds of your battles?
While you tell me of them, while listening delights,
you'll still snatch many kisses, and give many in return.
rightly, in their retelling, the words are stopped:
the tongue's more easily refreshed by sweet delay.
But when Troy comes to mind, so do the winds and seas:
firm hope fails, overcome by anxious fears.
It troubles me too, that the winds prevent your ship from leaving:
you prepare to go with the waves against you.
Who would return to his country, obstructed by the wind?
You sail, from your country, though the sea denies you!
Neptune himself offers no road, to his own city, Troy.
Where do you rush to? Go back to your homes!
Where do you rush to, Greeks? Heed the winds' denial!
This is no sudden chance – this is divine delay.
What do you seek by such warfare but a shameful adulteress?
Ships, from the Inachus, back your sails while you may!
What do I say? Do I call you back? Let the omen at your going
be recalled, and gentle winds might favour calm seas.
I'm envious of the Trojan women, who, though they see
the tearful funerals of their people, though the enemy are nearby,
the new bride herself, with her own hands, places the helmet
on her brave husband's head, and gives him his Trojan weapons:
gives him his weapons, and while she does so, snatches a kiss –

that kind of service will be sweet for both –
and she leads her husband out, and gives him orders to return,
and says: 'Be sure you bring Jove's weapons back!'
Bearing his lady's recent orders with him,
he'll fight with caution, and see their home again.
Leading him back, she takes his shield, loosens his helmet again,
and takes his weary body to her breast.
We are unsure: troubled, everything hems us in:
whatever might happen, fear thinks it fact.
While you bear arms, a soldier in a remote world,
your wax image recalls your face to me:
I speak endearments to it, words that I owe to you,
and it receives my embrace.
Believe me this image is more than it seems:
add sound to wax, and it would be Protesilaus.
I gaze at it, and hold it to my breast, in place of my true husband
and I complain to it, as if it might answer back.
By your return, by your body, by my gods, I swear,
and by the twin torches of our love and our marriage,
and by your head, itself, that you might bring back to me again,
so that I might see its grey hairs grow in time to white,
wherever you call from to me, I will come to accompany you,
whether what – alas! – I fear might be, or whether you survive.
Let this letter end with a last small request:
if you care for me, let your care be for yourself!

2.3: Euripides, *Alcestis* 328-57 (tr. D. Kovacs)

[328] While you lived you were my wife, and in death [330] you alone will bear that title. No Thessalian bride will ever speak to me in place of you: none is of so noble parentage or so beautiful as that. And of children I have enough. I pray to the gods [335] that I may reap the benefit of them, as I have not of you. I shall mourn you not a year only but as long as my life shall last, hating her who bore me and loathing my father. For their love was in word, not deed. [340] But you sacrificed what is most precious so that I might live. Do I not have cause to mourn when I have lost such a wife as you?

I shall put an end to revels and the company of banqueters and to the garlands and music which once filled my halls. [345] I shall never touch the lyre, or lift my heart in song to the Libyan pipe. For you have taken all the joy from my life. An image of you shaped by the hand of skilled craftsmen shall be laid out in my bed. [350] I shall fall into its arms, and as I embrace it and call your name I shall imagine, though I have her not, that I hold my dear wife in my arms, a cold pleasure, to be sure, but thus I shall lighten my soul's heaviness. And perhaps you will cheer me [355] by visiting me in dreams. For even in sleep it is pleasant to see loved ones for however long we are permitted.

4.1 Lactantius *De Divinae Institutiones* 1.20.36 (my translation)

et Titinus in cuius sinu pudendo nubentes praesident ut illarum pudicitia prior deus delibasse videatur.

and Tutinus (is worshipped) in whose shameless embrace brides seat themselves so that the god seems to have the first taste of their modesty.

4.2a *Carmina Priapea* 50. A young man asks Priapus for help with his girlfriend.

(Tr. W. H. Parker (1988) p144-5)

Quaedam, si placet hoc tibi, Priape,
Ficosissima me puella ludit
Et nec dat mihi, nec negat daturam,
causas invenit usque differendi,
quae si contigerit fruenda nobis,
totam cum paribus, Priape, nostris
cingemus tibi mentulam coronis.

A word with you, Priapus, please.
This wretched girl's an awful tease:
She won't say yes, she won't say no;
Such putting off I undergo!
But if at least I get my way,
Upon your prick and balls we'll lay
Encircling garland tributes gay.

4.2b *Carmina Priapea* 26. Priapus complains that women are wearing him out.

(Tr. W. H. Parker (1988) p110-11)

Porro – nam quis erit modus? – Quirites,
Aut praecidite seminale membrum,
Quod totis mihi noctibus fatigant
Vicinae sine fine prurientes
Vernis passeribus salaciores,
Aut rumpar nec habebitis Priapum.
Ipsi cernitis, exfututus ut sim
Confectusque macerque pallidusque,
Qui quondam ruber et valens solebam
Fures caedere quamlibet valentes.
Defecit latus et periculosam
Cum tussi miser expuo salivam.

O citizens, Romans, I pray you please,
There must be a limit – I'm brought to my knees;
For passionate women from hereabout
Importune me nightly and tire me out;
And always they're lustful as sparrows in spring.
So either you'll have to cut off my thing,

Or Priapus' life will soon ebb away.
See how with fucking I'm pallid and grey!
I used to be hale and lusty and strong,
And able to deal with the thieves that did wrong;
But now I am in a most dangerous state,
And shudder and cough and expectorate.

4.2c *Carmina Priapea* 43. Priapus explains why a girl kisses him.

(Tr. W. H. Parker (1988) p134-5)

Velle quid hanc dicas, quamvis sim ligneus, hastam,
Oscula dat medio si qua puella mihi ?
Augure non opus est: "in me" mihi credite, dixit
"aptetur veris usibus hasta rudis".

Why is't, you ask, though wooden is my 'spear',
A firl gives kisses to my 'middle' here?
It is no riddle, this. For so, in truth, said she:
"It can be put to splendid use in me".

4.3 Pseudo Lucian, *Amores* 13-17 (Tr. A. M. Harmon)

13. ἐπεὶ δ' ἱκανῶσ τοῖσ φυτοῖσ ἐτέρφθημεν, εἴσω τοῦ νεὼ παρήειμεν. ἡ μὲν ουω θεος εω μεσω καθιδρυται – Παριας δε λιθου δαιδαλμα καλλιστον – υπερηθανον και σεσηροτι θελωτι μικρον υπομειδιωσα. Παν δε το καλλος αυτες ακαλυπτον ουδεμιας εσθητος αμπεχουσης γεγυμνωται, πλεω οσα τε ετερα χειρι την αιδω λελθοτως επικρυπτειν. Τοσοῦτόν γε μὴν ἡ δημιουργος ἴσχυσε τέχνε, ὥστε τὴν ἀντίτυπον οὕτω καὶ καρτερὰν τοῦ λίθου φύσιν ἑκάστοις μέλεσιν ἐπιπτείν. ὁ θοῦν Χαρικλῆσ ἐμμαωέσ τι καὶ παράθοπον ἀναβοήσας, Εὐτυχέστατος, εἶπεν, θεῦν ὁ διὰ ταύτην δεθεὶσ Ἄρης, καὶ ἅμα προσδραμὼν λιπαρέσι τοῖσ χείλεσιν ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν δυνατὸν ἐκτείνων τὸν αὐχένα κατεφίλει. Σιθῆ δ' ἐφεστῶσ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας κατὰ νοῦν ἀμφίθυρος ὁ νεὼσ καὶ τοῖσ θέλουσι κατὰ νώτου τὴν θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἀκριβῶσ, ἵωα μηδὲν αὐτῆσ ἀθαύμαστον ἦ. Δι' εὐμαρείας οὖν ἐστι τῇ ἑτέρα πύλῃ παρελθοῦσιν τὴν ὄπισθεν εὐμοπθίαν διαθπῆσαι.
14. δόξαν οὖν ὅλην τὴν θεὸν ἰδεῖν, εἰσ τὸ κατόπιν τοῦ σηκοῦ περιήλθομεν. Εἶτ' ἀνοιγείσηες τῆσ θύρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κλειδοφύλακος ἐμπεπιστευμένονυ γυωαίου θάμβος αἰφνίδιον ἡμᾶσ εἶχεω τοῦ κάλλους. ὁ γοῦν 'Αθηναῖος ἡσυχῇ πρὸ μικροῦ βλέπων ἐπεὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μέρη τῆσ θεοῦ κατώπτευσεν, ἀνεβόως πολὺ τοῦ Χαρικλεέους ἐμμανέστερον ἀνεβόησεν, 'Ηπάκλεις, ὅση μὲν τῶν μεταφρένων εὐθμία, πῶσ δ' ἀμφιλαφεῖσ αἱ λαγόνες, ἀθκάλισμα ζειροπληθέσ. ὡσ δ' εὐπερίγραφοι τῶν γλουτῶν αἱ σάπκες ἐπικυρτοῦνται μήτ' ἄγαν ἐλλιπεῖσ αὐτοῖσ ὀστέοις προσεσταλαμέναι μήτε εἰσ

ὑπέρογκον ἐκκεχυμέωαι πιότητα. Τῶν δὲ τοῖσ ἰσχίοις ἐωεσφραγισμένων ἐξ ἑκατέρων τύπων οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ὡσ ἡδὺσ ὁ γέλως. μηποῦ τε καὶ κνήμης ἐπ' εὐθὺ τεταμένης ἄχρι ποδὸσ ἐκριβωμέωοι ῥυθμοί.τοιοῦτος ἄρα Γανυμήδης ἐν οὐρανῷ Διὶ τὸ νέκταρ ἥδιοω ἐγχεῖ. Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἥβης οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ διακονουμένης ποτὸν ἐδεξάμην. ἐνθεαστικῶσ ταῦτα τοῦ Καλλικρατίδου βοῶντος ὁ Χαρικλῆσ ὑπὸ τοῦ σπόδρα θάμβους ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐπεπήγει τακερόν τι καὶ ῥέον ἐω τοῖσ ὄμμασι πάθος ἀνυγραίνων. 15. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ θαυμάζειν ὁ κόρος ἡμᾶσ ἀπήλλαξεω, ἐπὶ θατέρου μηοῦ σπίλοω εἴδομεν ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσθῆτι κηλῖδα. ἤλεγχε δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀμορφίαν ἡ περὶ τἆλλα τῆσ λίθου λαμπρότης. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν πιθαωῆ τἀληπὲσ εἰκαςία τοπάζων φύσιν ᾤμην τοῦ λίθου τὸ βλεπόμενον εἶναι. Πάθος γὰρ οὐδὲ τούτων ἔστιω ἔξω, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖσ κατ' ἄκρον εἶναι δυναμένοις καλοῖσ ἡ τύχη παρεμποδίζει μέλαιναν οὖν ἐσπιλῶσθαι φυσικὴν τιωα κηλῖδα νομίζων καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ Πραξιτέλους ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι τοῦ λίθου τὸ δύσμοπφον ἐω τοῖσ ἧττον ἐλέγχασθαι δυωαμέωοις μέπεσιν ἀπέκρυψεν. ἡ δὲ παρεστῶσα πλησίον ἡμῶν ζάκορος ἀπίστου λόγου καινὴν παρέδωκεν ἱστοπίαν. ἔφη γὰρ οὐκ ἀσήμου γένους νεανίαν -ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἀνώνυμον αὐτὸν ἐσίγησεν –πολλάκις ἐπιφοιτῶντα τῷ τεμένει σὺν δειλαίῳ δαίμονι ἐρασθῆναι τῆσ θεοῦ καὶ πανήμερον ἐν τῷ ναῷ διατρίβοντα κατ' ἀρχὰσ ἔχειν δεισιδαίμονος ἁγιστείσ δόκησιν. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆσ ἑωθινῆσ κοίτης πολὺ προλαμβάνων τὸν ὄπθρον ἐπεφοίτα καὶ μετὰ δύσιν ἄκων ἐβαδιζεν οἴκαδε τήν θ' ὅλην ἡμέραν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆσ θεοῦ καθεζόμενος ὀρὰσ ἐπ' αὐτὴν διηνεκῶσ τὰσ τῶν ὀμμάτων βολὰσ ἀπήρειδεν. ἄσημοι δ' αὐτῷ ψιθυρισμοί καὶ κλεπτομένηες λαλιᾶσ ἐρωτικαὶ διεπεραίνοντο μέμψεις. 16. ἐπειδὰν δὲ καὶ μικρὰ τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτὸν ἀποβουκολῆσαι θελήειειν, προσειπών, τῇ δὲ τραπέζῃ τέπαρας ἀστραγάλους Λιβυκῆσ δορκὸσ ἀπαριθμήσας διεπέπευε τὴν ἐλπίδα, καὶ βαλὼν μὲν ἐπίσκοπα, μάλιστα δ' εἴ ποτε τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν εὐβολήσειε, μηδενὸσ ἀστραγάλου πεσόωτος ἴσω σχήματι, προσεκύνει τῆσ ἐπιθυμίας τεύξεσθαι νομίζων. Εἰ δ', ὁποῖα φιλεῖ, φαύλως κατὰ τῆσ τραπέζης ῥίψειεν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ δυσθημότερον ἀνασταῖεν, ὅλη Κνίδῳ καταπώμενος ὡσ ἐπ' ἀωηκέστῳ συμθορᾷ [καὶ] κατήθει καὶ δι' ὀλίγου συναρπάσας ἑτέρῳ βόλῳ τὴν πρὶν ἀστοχίαν ἐθεράπευεν. ἤδη δὲ πλέον αὐτῷ τοῦ πάθους ἐρεθιζομέωου τοῖχος ἅπας ἐχαπάσσετο καὶπᾶσ μαλακοῦ δένδρου θλοιὸσ 'Αφροδίτην καλὴν ἐκήρυσσεν. ἐτιμᾶτο δ' ἐξ ἴσου Διὶ Πραξιτέλης καὶ πᾶν ὅ κειμήλιον εὐπρεπὲσ οἴκοι φυλάττοιτο, τοῦτ' οην ἀνάθημα τῆσ θεοῦ. Πέρας αἱ σφοδραὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῦ πόθων ἐπιτάσεις ἀπενοήθησαν, εὑρέθη δὲ τόλμα τῆσ ἐπιθυμίας μαστροπόσ. ἤδη θὰπ ἐπὶ δύσιν ἡλίου κλίνοντος ἠρέμα λαθων τοὺσ παρόντας ὄπισθε τῆσ θύρας παρεισερρύν καὶ στὰσ ἀφανὴσ ἐνδοτάτω σχεδὸν οὐδ' ἀναπνέων ἠτρέμει, συνήθως δὲ τῶν ζακὸρων ἔξωθεν τὴν θύραν ἐθελκυσαμένων ἔνδον ὁ καιωὸσ 'Αγχισης καθεῖπκτο. Καὶ τί γὰρ ἀππήτου νυκτὸσ ἐγὼ τόλμαν ἡ λάλος ἐπ' ἀκριβὲσ ὑμῖν διηγοῦμαι; Τῶν

ἐρωτικῶν περιπλοκῶν ἴχνη ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμέραν ὤφθη καὶ τὸν νεανίαν, ὡσ ὁ δεμώδης ἱστορεῖ λόγος, ἢ κατὰ πετρῶν φασιν ἢ κατὰ πελαγίου κύματος ἐνεχέντα παντελῶσ ἀφαω3ν γενέσθαι.

13. When the plants had given us pleasure enough, we entered the temple. In the midst thereof sits the goddess – she's a most beautiful statue of Parian marble – arrogantly smiling a little as a grin parts her lips. Draped by no garment, all her beauty is uncovered and revealed, except in so far as she unobtrusively uses one hand to hide her private parts. So great was the power of the craftsman's art that the hard unyielding marble did justice to every limb. Charicles at any rate raised a mad distracted cry and exclaimed "Happiest indeed of the gods was Ares who suffered chains because of her!" And, as he spoke, he ran up and, stretching out his neck as far as he could, started to kiss the goddess with importunate lips. Callicratidas stood by in silence with amazement in his heart. The temple had a door on both sides for the benefit of those who also wish to have a good view of the goddess from behind, so that no part of her be left unadmired. It's easy therefore for people to enter by the other door and survey the beauty of her back.

14. And so we decided to see all of the goddess and went round to the back of the precinct. Then when the door had been opened by the woman responsible for keeping the keys, we were filled with an immediate wonder for the beauty we beheld. The Athenian who had been so impassive an observer a minute before, upon inspecting those parts of the goddess which recommended a boy, suddenly raised a shout far more frenzied than that of Charicles. "Heracles!" he exclaimed, "what a well-proportioned back! What generous flanks she has! How satisfying an armful to embrace! How delicately moulded the flesh on the buttocks, neither too thin and close to the bone nor yet revealing too great an expanse of fat! And as for those precious parts sealed in on either side by the hips, how inexpressibly sweetly they smile! How perfect the proportions of the thighs and the shins as they stretch down in a straight line to the feet! So that's what Ganymede looks like as he pours the nectar in heaven for Zeus and makes it taste sweeter. For I'd never have taken the cup from Hebe if she served me." While Callicratidas was shouting this under the spell of the goddess, Charicles in the excess of his admiration stood almost petrified, though his emotions showed in the melting tears trickling from his eyes.

15. When we could admire no more, we noticed a mark on one thigh like a stain on a dress; the unsightliness of this was shown up by the brightness of the marble everywhere else. I therefore, hazarding a plausible guess about the truth of the matter, supposed that what we saw was a natural defect in the marble. For even such things as these are subject to accident and many potential masterpieces of beauty are thwarted by bad luck. And so, thinking the black mark to be a natural blemish, I found in this too cause to admire Praxiteles for having hidden what was unsightly in the marble in the parts less able to be examined closely. But the attendant woman who was standing near us told us a strange, incredible story. For she said that a young man of not undistinguished family – though his deed had caused him to be left nameless – who often visited the precinct, was so ill-starred as to fall in love with the goddess. He would spend all day in the temple and at first gave the impression of pious awe. For in the morning he would leave his bed long before dawn to go to the temple and only return home reluctantly after sunset. All day long he would sit facing the goddess with

his eyes fixed uninterruptedly upon her, whispering indistinctly and carrying on a lover's complaints in secret conversation.

16. But when he wished to give himself some little comfort from his suffering, after first addressing the goddess, he would count out on the table four knuckle-bones of a Libyan gazelle and take a gamble on his expectations. If he made a successful throw and particularly if he was blessed with the throw named after the goddess herself, and no dice showed the same face, he would prostrate himself before the goddess, thinking he would gain his desire. But, if as usually happens he made an indifferent throw on to his table, and the dice revealed an unpropitious result, he would curse all Cnidus and show utter dejection as if at an irredeemable disaster; but a minute later he would snatch up the dice and try to cure by another throw his earlier lack of success. But presently, as his passion grew more inflamed, every wall came to be inscribed with his messages and the bark of every tender tree told of fair Aphrodite. Praxiteles was honoured by him as much as Zeus and every beautiful treasure that his home guarded was offered to the goddess. In the end the violent tension of his desires turned to desperation and he found in audacity a procurer for his lusts. For, when the sun was now sinking to its setting, quietly and unnoticed by those present, he slipped in behind the door and, standing invisible in the inmost part of the chamber, he kept still, hardly even breathing. When the attendants closed the door from the outside in the normal way, this new Anchises was locked in. But why do I chatter on and tell you in every detail the reckless deed of that unmentionable night? These marks of his amorous embraces were seen after day came, and the goddess had that blemish to prove what she'd suffered. The youth concerned is said, the popular story told, to have hurled himself over a cliff or down into the waves of the sea and to have vanished utterly.

4.4 Arnobius, *Adversus gentes* 6.22, a version of Pygmalion (Tr. From: http://www.piney.com/FathArnoHeres1.html)

"Nisi forte neclegere deos dicetis haec damna nec putare esse idoneam causam, propter quam se exserant et nocentibus poenam violatae religionis infligant". - Ergo si haec ita sunt, nec simulacra ipsi habere desiderant, quae convelli et diripi perpetiuntur inpune, immo e contrario perdocent aspernari se illa, in quibus spretos <se> ultione in aliqua significare non curant. Philostephanus in Cypriacis auctor est, Pygmalionem regem Cypri simulacrum Veneris, quod sanctitatis apud Cyprios et religionis habebatur antiquae, adamasse ut feminam mente anima lumine rationis iudicioque caecatis solitumque dementem, tamquam si uxoria res esset, sublevato in lectulum numine copularier amplexibus atque ore resque alias agere libidinis vacuae imaginatione frustrabiles. Consimili ratione Posidippus in eo libro, quem scriptum super Cnido indicat superque rebus eius, adulescentem haud ignobilem memorat - sed vocabulum eius obscurat - correptum amoribus Veneris, propter quam Cnidus in nomine est, amatorias et ipsum miscuisse lascivias cum eiusdem numinis signo genialibus usum toris et voluptatum consequentium finibus. Ut similiter rursum interrogem: "Si in aere atque in materiis ceteris quibus signa formata sunt superorum potentiae delitiscunt: ubinam gentium fuerant una atque altera Veneres, ut inpudicam patulantiem iuvenum propulsarent ab se longe et contactus impios cruciabili coercitione punirent? 6. Aut quoniam mites et ingeniis tranquillioribus deae sunt, quantum fuerat, miseris furialia ut restinguerent gaudia mentemque in sanam recreatis redducerent sensibus?".

22. But you will perhaps say that the gods do not trouble themselves about these losses, and do not think that there is sufficient cause for them to come forth and inflict punishment upon the offenders for their impious sacrilege. Neither. then. if this is the case, do they wish to have these images. which they allow to be plucked up and torn away with impunity; nay, on the contrary, they tell *us* plainly that they despise these *statues*, in which they do not care to show that they were contemned, by taking any revenge. Philostephanus relates in his *Cypriaca*, that Pygmalion, king of Cyprus, loved as a woman an image of Venus, which was held by the Cyprians holy and venerable from ancient times, his mind, spirit, the light of his reason, and his judgment being darkened; and that he was wont in his madness, just as if he were dealing with his wife, having raised the deity to his couch, to be joined with it in embraces and *face to* face, and to do other vain things, *carried away* by a foolishly lustful imagination. Similarly, Posidippus, in the book which he mentions *to have been* written about Gnidus and about its affairs, relates that a young man, of noble birth,-but he conceals his name,-carried away with love of the Venus because of which Gnidus is famous, joined himself also in amorous lewdness to the image of the same deity, stretched on the genial couch, and enjoying the pleasures which ensue. To ask, again, in like manner: If the powers of the gods above lurk in copper and the other substances of which images have been formed, where in the world was the one Venus and the other to drive far away from them the lewd wantonness of the youths, and punish their impious touch with terrible suffering? Or, as the goddesses are gentle and of calmer dispositions, what would it have been for them to assuage the furious joys of the wretched men, and to bring back their insane minds again to their senses?

5.1 Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I.289-326, Pasiphae and the Bull (Tr. R. Ehwald)

Forte sub umbrosis nemorosae vallibus Idae
    Candidus, armenti gloria, taurus erat, 290
Signatus tenui media inter cornua nigro:
    Una fuit labes, cetera lactis erant.
Illum Cnosiadesque Cydoneaeque iuvencae
    Optarunt tergo sustinuisse suo.
Pasiphae fieri gaudebat adultera tauri; 295
    Invida formosas oderat illa boves.
Nota cano: non hoc, centum quae sustinet urbes,
    Quamvis sit mendax, Creta negare potest.
Ipsa novas frondes et prata tenerrima tauro
    Fertur inadsueta subsecuisse manu. 300
It comes armentis, nec ituram cura moratur
    Coniugis, et Minos a bove victus erat.
Quo tibi, Pasiphae, pretiosas sumere vestes?
    Ille tuus nullas sentit adulter opes.
Quid tibi cum speculo, montana armenta petenti? 305
    Quid totiens positas fingis, inepta, comas?
Crede tamen speculo, quod te negat esse iuvencam.
    Quam cuperes fronti cornua nata tuae!
Sive placet Minos, nullus quaeratur adulter:
    Sive virum mavis fallere, falle viro! 310
In nemus et saltus thalamo regina relicto
    Fertur, ut Aonio concita Baccha deo.
A, quotiens vaccam vultu spectavit iniquo,
    Et dixit 'domino cur placet ista meo?
Aspice, ut ante ipsum teneris exultet in herbis: 315
    Nec dubito, quin se stulta decere putet.'
Dixit, et ingenti iamdudum de grege duci
    Iussit et inmeritam sub iuga curva trahi,
Aut cadere ante aras commentaque sacra coegit,
    Et tenuit laeta paelicis exta manu. 320
Paelicibus quotiens placavit numina caesis,
    Atque ait, exta tenens 'ite, placete meo!'
Et modo se Europen fieri, modo postulat Io,
    Altera quod bos est, altera vecta bove.
Hanc tamen implevit, vacca deceptus acerna, 325
    Dux gregis, et partu proditus auctor erat.

In Ida's shady vale a bull appeared,
White as the snow, the fairest of the herd;
A beauty spot of black there only rose,
Betwixt his equal horns and ample brows;
The love and wish of all the Cretan cows.
The queen beheld him as his head he rear'd;
And envied ev'ry leap he gave the herd.
A secret fire she nourished in her breast;
And hated ev'ry heifer he caress'd.
A story known, and known for true, I tell;
Nor Crete, though lying, can the truth conceal.
She cut him grass (so much can love command)
She strok'd, she fed him with her royal hand;

Was pleas'd in pastures with the herd to roam,
And Minos by the bull was overcome.
Cease, Queen, with gems t'adorn thy beauteous brows,
The monarch of thy heart no jewel knows.
Nor in thy glass compose thy looks and eyes;
Secure from all thy charms thy lover lies:
Yet trust thy mirror, when it tells thee true,
Thou art no heifer to allure his view.
Soon wouldst thou quit thy royal diadem
To thy fair rivals; to be horned like them.
If Minos please, no lover seek to find;
If not, at least seek one of human kind.
The wretched queen the Cretan court forsakes;
In woods and wilds her habitation makes;
She curses ev'ry beauteous cow she sees;
"Ah, why dost thou my lord and master please!
And think'st, ungrateful creature as thou art,
With frisking awkardly to gain his heart."
She said; and straight commands with frowning look,
To put her, undeserving, to the yoke.
Or feigns some holy rites of sacrifice,
And sees her rival's death with joyful eyes;
Then when the bloody priest has done his part,
Pleas'd, in her hand she holds the beating heart;
Nor from a scornful taunt can scarce refrain,
Go, fool, and strive to please my love again"
Now she would be Europa.-- Io now;
(One bare a bull. and one was made a cow.)
Yet she at last her brutal bliss obtain'd,
And in a wooden cow the bull sustained;
Fill'd with his seed, accomplish'd her desire,
Till, by his form, the son betray'd the sire.

7.1 Pliny, *NH* 34.19.82 Nero and his statue of an Amazon (Tr. J. Bostock)

Strongylionem Amazonem, quam ab excellentia crurum eucnemon appellant, ob id in comitatu Neronis principis circumlatam.

Strongylion made a figure of an Amazon, which, from the beauty of the legs, was known as the "Eucnemos," and which Nero used to have carried about with him in his travels.

7.2 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 44, Tiberius' deviance (Tr. B. Thayer)

Maiore adhuc ac turpiore infamia flagrauit, uix ut referri audiriue, nedum credi fas sit, quasi pueros primae teneritudinis, quos pisciculos uocabat, institueret, ut natanti sibi inter femina uersarentur ac luderent lingua morsuque sensim adpetentes; atque etiam quasi infantes firmiores, necdum tamen lacte depulsos, inguini ceu papillae admoueret, pronior sane ad id genus libidinis et natura et aetate. Quare Parrasi quoque tabulam, in qua Meleagro Atalanta ore morigeratur, legatam sibi sub condicione, ut si argumento offenderetur decies pro ea sestertium acciperet, non modo praetulit, sed et in cubiculo dedicauit. Fertur etiam in sacrificando quondam captus facie ministri acerram praeferentis nequisse abstinere, quin paene uixdum re diuina peracta ibidem statim seductum constupraret simulque fratrem eius tibicinem; atque utrique mox, quod mutuo flagitium exprobrarant, crura fregisse.

He acquired a reputation for still grosser depravities that one can hardly bear to tell or be told, let alone believe. For example, he trained little boys (whom he termed tiddlers) to crawl between his thighs when he went swimming and tease him with their licks and nibbles; and unweaned babies he would put to his organ as though to the breast, being by both nature and age rather fond of this form of satisfaction. Left a painting of Parrhasius's depicting Atalanta pleasuring Meleager with her lips on condition that if the theme displeased him he was to have a million sesterces instead, he chose to keep it and actually hung it in his bedroom. The story is also told that once at a sacrifice, attracted by the acolyte's beauty, he lost control of himself and, hardly waiting for the ceremony to end, rushed him off and debauched him and his brother, the flute-player, too; and subsequently, when they complained of the assault, he had their legs broken.

Appendix II: Images

1.1 Wall painting of Narcissus, from the House of Loreius Tiburtinus, Pompeii

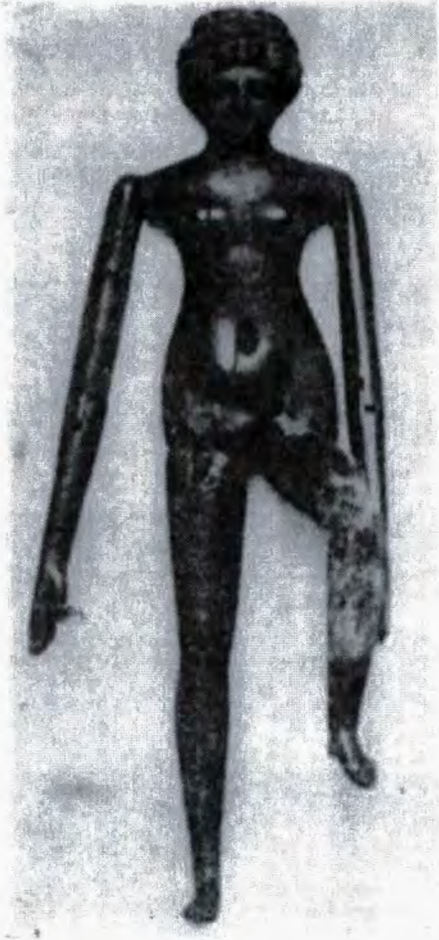
From: http://wings.buffalo.edu/AandL/Maecenas/italy_except_rome_and_sicily/pompeii/ac881711.html

1.2 A copy of Lysippos' *Apoxyomenos*

From: mapage.noos.fr/dardelf2/museum4/apoxyomenos.jpg

2.1. Vatican sarcophagus representing Protesilaus as he returns from the underworld and showing his encounter with Laodamia.
From: http://www.lamp.ac.uk/~noy/death6.htm

3.1 An oak articulated doll of Antonine date.
From: K. McKelderkin p472 (fig23)



3.2 A selection of images from www.statuemolesters.com
From: www.statuemolesters.com/gallery

4.1 Roman sarcophagus (now in Naples) depicting a Pan with female attributes lowering herself onto the erect phallus of an ithyphallic herm.
From: http://www.aztriad.com/baccleft.jpg

4.2a A wall painting of Priapus from a large brothel in Pompeii.
Pompeii. Credits: Barbara McManus, 2003
from:http://www.vroma.org/images/mcmanus_images/index7.html

4.2b Priapus weighing his phallus against a money bag from the front entrance of the house of the Vettii, Pompeii
from: gate.cia.edu/cbergengren/arthistory/rome/

4.3 A Roman Copy of the Aphrodite of Knidos
From:http://mil.ccc.cccd.edu/classes/art100/images200/S0151438.jpg

4.4 A selection of depictions of Pygmalion's ivory maiden

4.4a Neil Herriford, *Pygmalion's Creation*

From: http://www.pygmalion.ws/stories/gilbert.htm

4.4b Eoin de Leastar, *Pygmalion*

From: http://www.pygmalion.ws/stories/methuselah.htm

4.4c Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune, *Pygmalion's statue comes to life*, from *Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide*, Paris 1806

From : http://www.pygmalion.ws/stories/greek1.htm

4.5 Vase depicting a youth worshipping at a herm (Berlin V.I.3206)
From: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1992.08.0089

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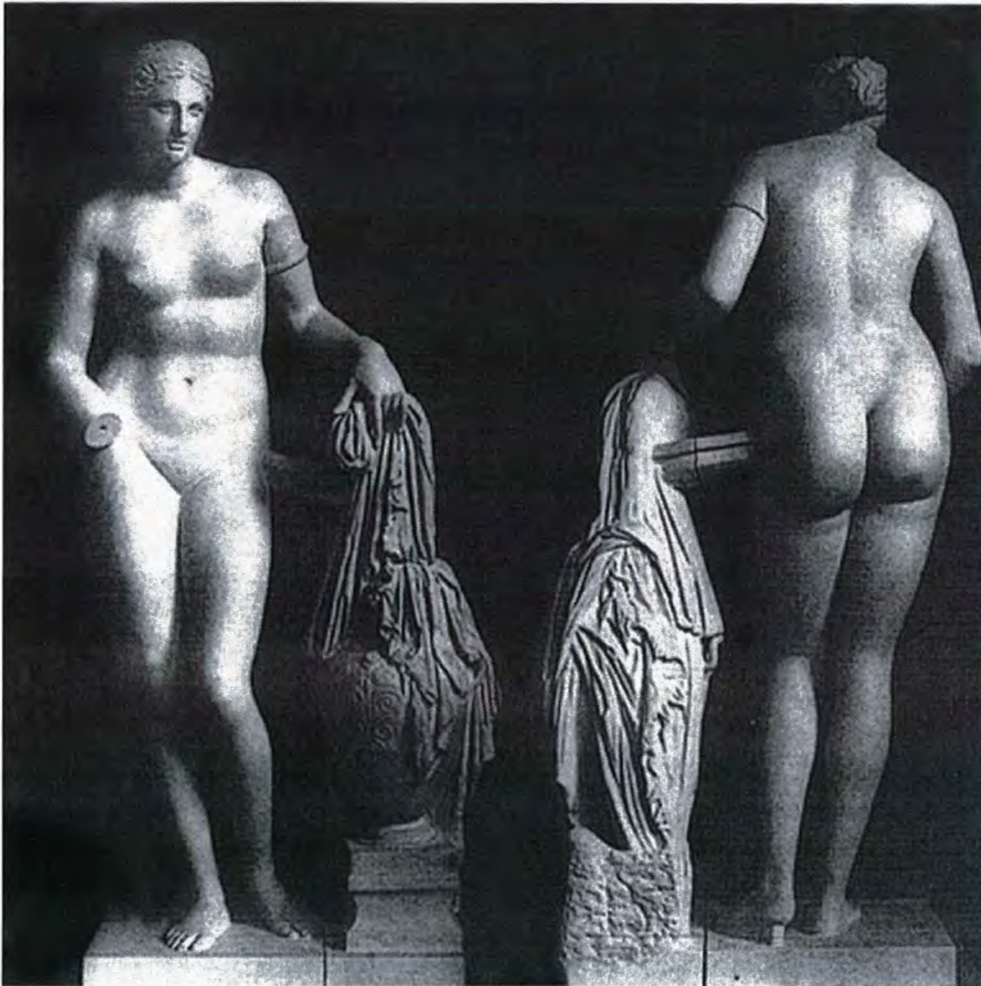
4.6 Tondo of a cup depicting a youth at a herm (Philadelphia MS2440)
From: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1991.07.0498

4.7 Vase depicting satyr and maenad at herm (Tampa 86.221)
From: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1991.08.1104

4.8 Vase depicting the rape of Cassandra (London E336)
From: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/image?lookup=Perseus:image:1990.14.0237

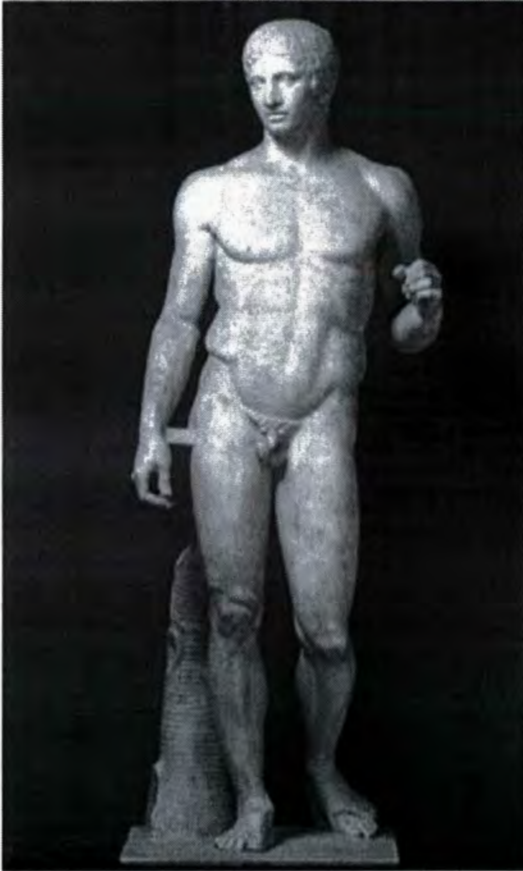
5.1 A Roman marble relief showing Pasiphae, Daedalus, and the Bull
from: http://www.utexas.edu/courses/mythmoore/imagefiles14/pasiphae.html

6.1 The view of the front and back of the Aphrodite of Knidos.
From: http://www.bodrumpages.com/images/aphrodite-of-knidos550.jpg



6.2 A kore with arm outstretched.
From: http://www.vuw.ac.nz/classics/sitegfx/inline_gfx/kore.jpg

6.3 A copy of Polykleitos' *Doryphoros*
From:
http://academic.reed.edu/humanities/110Tech/BodyLanguage/images/largest/doryphoros1.jpg



7.1 A 'RealDoll'
From: http://www.realdoll.com/studio.asp