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Natus Biformis: Hermaphrodites in Greek and Roman Art

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January 1990

Submitted to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in partial filfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

Hermaphroditos, the personage in Greek and Roman myth and iconography possessing both male and female sexual features, first appears in Greek literary and epigraphical sources in the fourth century B.C., although a pedigree as the offspring of Hermes is not provided before the mid-first century B.C. In addition to the proper name Hermaphroditos, the term used generically, along with its adjectival form describes these _Mischwesen_ as they are reported by various ancient authors to occur in nature. But from the inscriptions, literary testimonia, and artifacts, it appears that the Greeks and Romans considered Hermaphroditos a divinity with a variety of divine functions and characteristics.

Representations of Hermaphroditos occur in large and small scale stone sculpture and reliefs, in marble, bronze and terracotta figurines, wall paintings, in a few mosaics and on gems. The distribution of these objects ranges from points in Italy, Austria, France, and England to Greece, Cyprus, Asia Minor and North Africa. Through this survey of Hermaphroditos in Greek and Roman art I will attempt to answer the following questions: What constitutes the representation of an hermaphrodite in ancient art ? How did these figures function and what did they mean to the Greeks and Romans ? Did they have cult significance ?

This study focuses on three major types of hermaphrodite representations: the so-called _anasyromenos_ variety, where Hermaphroditos makes its identity known by raising the front of its garment to reveal male genitals, the well known Sleeping

Hermaphrodite, and some group compositions where Hermaphroditos wrestles with a satyr. All three of these types have traditionally been thought to have their origins in the Greek world, but, as we will see, only the *anasyromenos* type can securely be connected with Greece. The Sleeping Hermaphrodite type, and the wrestling groups probably developed in Italy during the second century B.C.

INTRODUCTION

Hermaphroditos, the personage in Greek and Roman myth and iconography possessing both male and female sexual features, first appears in Greek literary and epigraphical sources in the fourth century B.C., although a pedigree as the offspring of Hermes and Aphrodite is not provided before the mid-first century B.C. In addition to the proper name Hermaphroditos, the term used generically, along with its adjectival form describes these Mischwesen as they are reported by various ancient authors to occur in nature. But from the inscriptions, literary testimonia, and artifacts, it appears that the Greeks and Romans considered Hermaphroditos a divinity with a variety of divine functions and characteristics.

Representations of Hermaphroditos occur in large and small scale stone sculpture and reliefs, in marble, bronze and terracotta figurines, wall paintings, in a few mosaics, and on gems. The distribution of these objects ranges from points in Italy, Austria, France, and England to Greece, Cyprus, Asia Minor and North Africa. The large number of images -- almost two hundred have been recognized so far, but there must be many more still waiting to be discovered in museum courtyards and storerooms -- and their wide distribution throughout western Europe and Turkey, suggest an important and lasting function in ancient culture, even though the literary and archaeological record provides only glimpses of what their original significance might have been.

Through this study of Hermaphroditos in Greek and Roman art

I will attempt to answer the following questions: What constitutes the representation of an hermaphrodite in ancient art ? How did these figures function ? What did they mean to the Greeks and Romans ? Did they have cult significance ? Why were they appropriate decorations in Roman baths and private houses, and in Greek and Roman gymnasia ?

The evidence that we will examine -- inscriptions, texts, and objects -- suggests that Hermaphroditos is part of a popular religious tradition largely excluded from official documentation but which can be retrieved, to some extent, with patient and serious treatment. Now, new evidence can be added to the assemhlage of objects, and some fresh observations made about some of the pertinent ancient testimonia and the objects themselves.

My entry "Hermaphroditos" for volume five of the Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, is presented here as an appendix. In it, much of the physical evidence was assembled, both published objects, and several unpublished items as well. This catalogue contains some one hundred and fifty objects, but there are still more that do not appear here, since the list was intended to be representative, rather than comprehensive. The images have been organized in terms of pose, material, attributes, and when possible, provenience. I will refer to specific objects in the appendix by their number.

When discussing Hermaphroditos, since this personage as defined above is really neither male nor female, personal pronouns must be employed with some precision. I will use somewhat awkward but more correct neuter forms -- it and its

when referring to Hermaphroditos. However, beginning with the earliest testimonium, a Greek votive inscription of the early fourth century B.C., the form of the name Hermaphroditos is always masculine, and Ovid in fact says that Hermaphroditos was first male, and then was transformed into a bisexual creature. The masculine form might reflect some earlier version of this etiology, or it could suggest that Hermaphroditos was actually perceived in antiquity as primarily a male figure.

Common to all representation of hermaphrodites in Greek and Roman art is the clear delineation of female breasts and male genitals, although female genitals infrequently were indicated as well. The main criterion, in fact, for identifying images of Hermaphroditos should be the unambiguous rendering of dual sexual features. If there is uncertainty in this regard, the figure should probably be discounted as a representation of Hermaphroditos.

According to literary and epigraphical evidence, images of Hermaphroditos may have existed in Greece in the fourth century B.C., and in fact the earliest example securely dated is a fragmentary mould possibly for a figurine of Hermaphroditos from the so-called Coroplasts' Dump in the Athenian Agora. This deposit is now dated to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

The existence of the mould presupposes both a prototype and a series of figurines, as well as a demand for such renderings of Hermaphroditos by the late fourth century B.C. Third century evidence for Hermaphroditos is scarce, but a recently excavated grave dating to the late third century - early

second century B.C. in Thessalonike contained a terracotta figurine of Hermaphroditos (No. 18). A small marble figure from Kos has been dated to the third century B.C. (No. 24).In the second century B.C., the evidence is richer and includes marble relief plaques and figurines on Delos, votive terracottas from two sites in Southern Italy, a group of Calenian relief ware vessels, and marble sculptures on Kos and from Pergamon. The latest well dated works are mosaics: two panels from the House of the Boat of Psyches at Daphne near Antioch, and the mosaic floor from a bath complex at Timgad, both dated in the third century A.C. In addition, Christodoros mentions a bronze hermaphrodite still decorating the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople some time before A. D. 629 (No. 3) when the complex burned, but when this figure was made we have no way of knowing.

Ancient testimonia, an inscription, and some findspots indicate that images of Hermaphroditos were appropriately placed in gymnasia, baths, theaters and domestic settings. That terracotta figurines were used as votives in Hellenistic deposits is conclusively demonstrated by those found at Paestum and Lokroi, and such figurines were deposited as grave goods in Hellenistic burials on the Greek mainland. Possibly some of the many other figurines in marble, terracotta and bronze served the same functions.

As for body type, Hermaphroditos usually is shown with the fleshy physique and undeveloped musculature of a young boy, sometimes with a pre-pubescent fold of flesh just above the genitals. However Hermaphroditos occasionally appears with a distinctly female body type, to which male genitals are

appended. In these works, notably the Sleeping Hermaphrodite and the group with Aggressive Satyr, the body of the hermaphrodite, from certain angles, is indistinguishable from that of a woman, and this visual bifurcation appears to be an intentional effect of the compositions.

The adjective "hermaphroditic" is used by modern commentators to describe ancient images with androgynous body types. Representations of certain other divinities, Attis and Eros, for example, are sometimes termed hermaphroditic because of the markedly feminine rendering of body and attributes, even though male genitals are present. Their pectorals may be fleshy and developed, the physique generally feminine in proportions. The iconographic repertoire for these figures developed certain traits and features based on their characteristic youth.

Eros, of course, often appears as an infant or toddler; he is the child of Aphrodite and this relationship was expressed through his appearance. Thus, Eros often looks effeminate and physically immature, wearing amulets or jewelry, his mother's attributes. "Flying Hermaphrodites" are more likely to be images of a fleshy, but male, Eros. And Attis too is characteristically depicted as a youth or child, so his physique also reflects the artistic conventions for rendering immature physical development, rather than hermaphroditic traits.

Hermaphroditos' costume is most elaborate in the _anasyromenos_ images (discussed in Chapter 2), where chiton, mantle and the occasional female headdress are worn. Hermaphroditos raises the usually full-length garment to reveal the male genitals, the phallus often erect. In other representations, the garment,

partially or entirely removed, appears to be a mantle, and occasionally a short, folded veil is worn.

But such a costume is not exclusively worn by Hermaphroditos. Priapus often appears fully draped in a female costume that includes this veil. The <u>klaft</u> also appears on the head of a small marble figure in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, who wears a complicated long sleeved costume (No. 93). This figure has often been considered a representation of Hermaphroditos, but recently two alternative identifications have been proposed, either as a young Priapus or possibly as an actor.

Hermaphroditos' hairstyle is consistently similar to that of Aphrodite, Apollo and Dionysos, with central parting, long locks drawn back and sometimes rolled under and fastened in a bun at the nape of the neck, a stray lock or two escaping onto the shoulders or brow. The Sleeping Hermaphrodite, discussed in Chapter 3, has the most elaborate coiffure of all.

What is clear even from a cursory look is that the iconographic evidence does not form one cohesive group, but instead divides into two general classes. Most numerous are the frontal, standing figures produced in a variety of scales and media, where Hermaphroditos' identity is clear at a single glance, with details of costume and gesture contributing to this immediate recognition. Many of these examples are small terracottas or bronzes. Predominant among the frontal images are the so-called <u>anasyromenos</u> figures who raise their garments to reveal male genitals. Several versions of this pose can be identified, but it is difficult to establish a clear typological "stemma" for the variants since they seem to occur in quite

different places at the same time.

The other group is quite different, consisting of two major sculptural types and some less well known variations. These figures are torsional, and the position of viewer and sculpture alike appears to have been carefully calculated. The sculptural type known as the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, and groups where Hermaphroditos struggles with a satyr are the main representatives of this type. While the anasyromenos figures may have been produced in Athens as early as the fourth century B.C., these other compositions appear to have developed sometime in the late third or second century B.C.

In addition to questions concerning the religious and eschatological meaning of Hermaphroditos are the problems presented by the second group of sculpted hermaphrodites discussed above. These works are generally thought to have Hellenistic antecedents, but they are known only through Roman copies and have not been studied in detail. Some of them, however, especially the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type (considered here in Chapter 3) and the numerous replicas of hermaphrodite wrestling with a satyr (Chapter 4), are often illustrated in handbooks, to demonstrate the dramatic and even bizarre nature of some kinds of Hellenistic art. These works have generally been considered "genre" compositions, suitable for outdoor decorations, and characteristic of the spirit of the Hellenistic period.

To address some of these problems -- the development and typology of Hermaphroditos anasyromenos, and the meaning and origins of the other major types -- this study will consist

of five sections. The first chapter is concerned with the state of modern scholarship on Hermaphroditos, and contains an evaluation of the ancient testimonia, both epigraphical and literary. Anasyromenos figures occupy the second chapter, the third is devoted to the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type, and the fourth to the wrestling groups. A final fifth chapter presents conclusions.

Hellenistic art presents special challenges to the archaeologist and art historian, not only because of its problematic historical and cultural setting, but also because of our contemporary aesthetic reactions to some Hellenistic works, characterized by their drama, "realistic" detail, and their humor. It may be acknowledged here that a whole class of figures from ancient mythology -- satyrs, Baubo, Pan, Priapus, and occasionally Dionysos, Hephaistos and Herakles, as well as Hermaphroditos -- was deliberately rendered with humor both in literature and art. These images were meant to look funny, grotesque or obscene. But their appearance to our modern sensibilities should not belittle the importance of their ancient meaning. All these figures play roles of some kind in the expression of human sexuality, an essential concern of any culture, in any era.

Modern Commentaries

Several lexicon and dictionary entries provide valuable and systematic evaluations of the evidence concerning Hermaphroditos. Beginning with the earliest articles, these resources include P. Herrmann, in W. H. Roscher, Ausfuhrliches Lexikon den griechischen und römischen Mythologie I(1884-1890) 2314-2342, s.v. "Hermaphroditos"; O. Jessen, Paulys Realencyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (1913)714-721, s.v. "Hermaphroditos"; L. Laurenzi, Enciclopedia dell'arte antica III(1960)421-424, s.v. "Ermafrodito"; K. Schauenburg, Lexikon der Alten Welt 1267-1268, s.v. "Hermaphrodit"; W. Fauth, Die Kleine Pauly II(1967)1006-1067, s.v. "Hermaphroditos," and most recently, M. Delcourt and K. Hoheisel, Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 14 (1988)650-682, s.v. "Hermaphroditos". Other useful discussions can be found in the Brunn-Bruckmann entries for the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type (No. 521) and the Dresden wrestling group (No. 731).[1]

C. Kieseritzsky, in an early iconographical study of Hermaphroditos, drew together much of the archaeological and textual material known to that point. While focussing his discussion on a replica of Sleeping type, found in Rome, and now at the Terme Museum (No. 56), he analyzed previous interpretations of the ancient literary evidence concerning Hermaphroditos.[2]

Only one twentieth-century scholar, the Belgian Marie Delcourt, has produced monographs on the phenomenon of

Hermaphroditos in ancient Greek and Roman culture and has attempted to tackle the meaning and function of hermaphrodites in ancient art. Her first study, _Hermaphrodite, mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l'antiquité classique_ was published in 1958. This was followed three years later by an English translation, _Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity_. Delcourt's third study, _Hermaphroditea: Recherches sur l'être double promoteur de la fertilité dans le monde classique_ appeared in 1966.[3]

In her first work, Delcourt attempted to deal with the phenomenon of Hermaphroditos in ancient culture through a consideration of several other sexual phenomena that are represented in art and literature -- miraculous sex changes, cross dressing, and rituals of sexual initiation. While her discussion provides an interesting and useful summary of ancient religious and ritual behavior, it is somewhat general and diffuse, because the approach is so broad.

In _Hermaphroditea_, Delcourt concentrated on Hermaphroditos the divinity, "un daimon de l'union sexuelle." She considers briefly the literary and physical evidence for cults and worship of Hermaphroditos, organizing the material in six categories: 1. "Monuments du Culte," 2. "Type Demetrien," 3. "Type Aphroditeen," 4. "Type Dionysien," 5. "Type Priapique," and 6. "Hermaphrodite Couché." However, Delcourt does not present a comprehensive catalogue of objects, nor does she approach the evidence from an archaeological point of view. In addition, since these studies appeared, over twenty years ago, there have been important developments, not only in terms of excavated material, but also

in the ways in which Hellenistic art, which produced many of the hermaphroditic images, is now perceived.

Literary Sources

The earliest mention of the name Hermaphroditos occurs in Theophrastus (370-288 B.C.) char. 16.[4] His Superstitious Man, in addition to many other compulsive acts of piety, enacts special rites on the fourth and seventh days of each month by hanging garlands on Hermaphroditos. Theophrastus does not tell us why he does this, but some clues are provided from other sources. The fourth day of the month, according to the scholiast for Hesiod erg.. 770, 800 and the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, was considered by the Greeks sacred to both Hermes and Aphrodite.[5] The seventh day of the month, however, is dedicated only to Apollo, and the Superstitious Man's activities on this extra day have been interpreted as another instance of his excessive religious zeal.[6]

It has been argued that in fact the Superstitious Man did not actually honor the image of a bisexual divinity but a herm of Aphrodite, on analogy with other--considerably later--compound names referring to hermaic sculptures with the heads of divinities: Hermathena (Cic. Att. I.1.5, I.4.3); Hermeros (Pliny nat. 36.33); Hermerakles (Cic., Att. I.103; id. Milet. 1(7) Nr. 305).[7] Harrison suggests that such combinations may have been created to Roman taste and specifications.[8] Other commentators avoid this problem altogether. Instead of Ἑρμαφρόδιτος, Steinmetz[9] reads Ἑρμᾶς ἀφρόνειν and Diels[10] had suggested Ἑρμᾶς ῥοδίνοις. Other editors[11] however, accept the reading Ἑρμαφρόδιτος which is supported by the devotions of the

Superstitious Man on the fourth day of each month, with its special association with Hermes and Aphrodite, but also by the evidence of a fourth century votive inscription (See Inscriptions No. 1 below).

That Hermaphroditos had attained a fairly wide degree of recognition and popularity by the third century B.C. is suggested by the mention of a comedy by the Greek playwright Poseidippos, whose work was actually entitled Hermaphroditos[12] From the Suidas we learn that this comic writer produced his first play two years after the death of Menander in 291 B.C., and that in all he wrote thirty plays, of which seventeen titles are known. From an inscription, we know that he was victorious at the Lenaia around 270 B.C. Two lines from this play are preserved, but they do not give us any idea of Hermaphroditos' role in the action.

In the mid-first century B.C., Diodorus Siculus (4.6.5-7) provided the first preserved genealogy for Hermaphroditos, as the offspring of Hermes and Aphrodite.[13] In addition, Diodorus articulates the distinction between Hermaphroditos the divinity and humans with both male and female genitals, considered by some people to be monsters.[14]

This passage follows a long discourse about Dionysos, the main source of which is Dionysius Scytobrachion's Libyan Stories (this title is modern, the original one is unknown), written probably between 270 - 222 B.C.[15] Dionysius, followed by Diodorus, establishes the connections of the god Dionysos with Egyptian divinities; here Ammon is his father. The association continues a tradition of linking Alexander the Great in his lifetime with the

gods Dionysos and Ammon, to solidify his authority over his Egyptian territories.[16]

The section concerning Hermaphroditos follows the discussion of Dionysos, which Diodorus formally brings to a close before considering Priapus and Hermaphroditos. It is not clear that he continued to draw on Dionysius Scytobrachion for what follows. According to Diodorus, Priapus is an appropriate corollary to the previous material because he is the son of Dionysos and Aphrodite, and thus also has an Egyptian aspect. Diodorus Siculus connects him with Osiris and says that he sometimes has an Egyptian name, Tychon.

This mention of Priapus introduces another child of Aphrodite, Hermaphroditos, and Diodorus makes a distinction between the bisexual god and hermaphrodites in nature.

Ovid, Metamorphoses

The best known discussion of Hermaphroditos is Ovid's lengthy etiological tale (Met. 4.274-391).[17] The story is thought by some commentators to be largely the poet's own creation, although clearly he is dealing with characters and a setting that were already established to some degree in the literary, mythological, and even archaeological record. Ovid's account provides an etiology for Hermaphroditos, but also an explanation for the apparently well known enervating properties of the spring Salmacis, first noted by Strabo (14.656) as having a weakening effect on any man who entered its waters.

The story is told by Alcithoe, one of the daughters of Minyas. She passes quickly over other transformations, including

those of Daphnis, Sithon (who actually undergoes changes of sex), Celmus, Crocus, and Smilax, before settling on a story that will be pleasing, because it is new (praetero dulcique animos novitate tenebo). Her tale begins not with Hermaphroditos, but with the spring Salmacis, where most of the action takes place, and with the promise that its dangerous effect on men will be explained.

It is important to keep in mind that in Ovid's story Hermaphroditos starts life as a male, the son of Hermes and Aphrodite. He is transformed into a bisexual being in the subsequent narrative, and his story is intertwined with the history and the peculiar properties of the spring Salmacis. Hermaphroditos took his name from his parents, Ovid tells us, and in his face both of them could be recognized (cuius erat facies, in qua materque paterque/cognosci possent). According to Ovid, Hermaphroditos is brought up by nymphs in a cave on Mount Ida. When he is fifteen, he leaves Crete and travels though Asia Minor. In Caria, Hermaphroditos discovers a spring called Salmacis, the home of a nymph.

Ovid sets the scene at an existing Carian site: his nymph and spring share the name Salmacis with an actual ancient place not far from Halicarnassus.[18] Earliest evidence for a site called Salmacis is provided by an inscribed stele found at Halicarnassus and now at the British Museum.[19] The inscription, dated to between 465 and 454 B.C., during the time when Lygdamus was tyrant at Halicarnassus, discusses provisions for controlling land disputes. The first phrase of the inscription suggests that the people of Salmacis were recognized as a politically separate

community, although in the body of the text only the Halicarnassians are mentioned, so it is assumed that they were locally dominant. Later inscriptions found at Halicarnassus, from the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., do not mention the Salmatians, who probably had been subsumed by this time under Halicarnassian jurisdiction.

As for the site of ancient Salmacis, assumed to be a kind of suburb of Halicarnassus, its exact location is not now known, but Vitruvius[20] provides some clues to its location as well as an apologium for its bad reputation. According to him, Greeks drove the indigenous Carians and Leleges out of their home in Caria and established themselves at Salmacis. The Carians formed marauding bands who attacked the colonists, but eventually were lured hack to their former home by the inn established near the spring by one of the settlers. The spring Salmacis, in Vitruvius' account, was known for its clear, clean water. Influenced by civil Greek behavior at the inn, according to Vitruvius, the previously violent Carians subsequently behaved with more decorum and thus the spring acquired its reputation for transforming and softening men's behavior.

From Vitruvius' comments, Bean and Cook suggest that Salmacis and its spring would have been located on the west side of the harbor at Halicarnassus.[21] They identify as the ancient spring a source of fresh water that now bubbles up in the harbor just at its western cornu. In antiquity it is likely that this fountain would have been on dry land, since the level of the sea in this region has apparently risen over 1.50 m. in the last thousand years.[22] If this spring is the ancient Salmacis, then the

sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite mentioned by Vitruvius could have been above it on the promontory of Keplakalesi, or at the site later occupied by a Turkish arsenal. What is important to note here is that Ovid sets the action of Hermaphroditos' story at an actual Carian site.

As a nymph, Salmacis, according to Ovid, is something of an anomaly. Although encouraged by her companions, she refuses to follow Diana in the hunt and spends the days bathing in the spring, admiring her reflection in its waters, combing her hair, or gathering flowers. One day as she is thus engaged, she spots Hermaphroditos and falls in love with him.

Her attempt to seduce the boy (4.320-328) has been noted as a parody of Odysseus' address to Nausikaa.[23] Ovid's ironic manipulation of the Homeric scene and its characters, along with his use of heroic epithets and similes to develop Salmacis' erotic nature, gives the episode a slightly threatening tone. Salmacis is distanced from chaste Diana, but rather than being the victim of prying strangers, as is more usual, here she is the aggressor. Where Odysseus wished Nausikaa a home and husband, Salmacis urges a secret liaison if Hermaphroditos is engaged, and an open one if he is not. He rejects her advances, and the nymph retreats unwillingly, but spies on him from the bushes.

As Hermaphroditos swims in the spring, Salmacis dives in too and surrounds the boy in an inextricable embrace, entreating the gods as she does so that the two may never be parted. They grant her prayer; boy and nymph are fused, creating a new, bisexual persona. The imagery of their struggle is violent; Salmacis is like a snake twining herself around an eagle, or like a sea polyp

gripping its prey in its tentacles. That Hermaphroditos retains something of his previous masculine nature, however, seems clear as he prays to his parents (4.383-386) that the waters of the spring Salmacis thereafter debilitate any man who enters them. Finally the narrative returns to its opening reference to the spring's special properties.

Just as the action reaches its crescendo, when Hermaphroditos is locked in Salmacis' embrace, Ovid refers to him by another name, Atlantiades (4.369). This epithet may be a clue to the origin of this bisexual phenomenon in Greece, although it has not received much attention in scholarly discussions. Atlantiades is actually papponymic, referring to Hermaphroditos' great grandfather and evoking his Titanic heritage, since Hermes' mother Maia was the daughter of Atlas.[24] In only one other, later source, Hyginus' Fabulae 271.2, does this name appear, in a somewhat different form. The Fabulae, probably written in the second century A.C., included a list of the most beautiful youths, and Hermaphroditos is among them: Atlantius, Mercurii et Veneris filius, qui Hermaphroditus dictus est. It has been assumed that Ovid was Hyginus' source for the alternate name, although it acquires a different spelling in the later source.[25]

But Atlas is certainly connected with mountains by a fairly early date.[26] Not only was he depicted supporting the world on his shoulders, but also in some traditions he actually is a mountain. Herodotus (4.184.3) makes Atlas a mountain in North Africa. Still earlier is the possible reference to Mount Atlas in Hesiod, frg. 150.25. The Atlas mountains in North Africa are still called with this name today.[27] A fifth century B.C. version of the story of the Garden

the Garden of the Hesperides substitutes Perseus for Herakles.[28] When Atlas is uncooperative and refuses to guide Perseus to the Garden, the hero turns him into a rock by showing him the head of Medusa.

Atlas, in some accounts, is the father of the Pleiades, and of Maia, and Taygete, herself a mountain in Arkadia. According to Apollodorus, Atlas was a king of Arkadia (bibl. 3[110]10,1). Wilamowitz suggested that in fact, Atlas's first association was not with Africa, but with Greece, possibly with Mount Kyllene itself, where Maia gave birth to Hermes.[29]

An ancestral association of Atlas the mountain with Hermaphroditos is intriguing because of its possible association with another bisexual creature, the Phrygian Agdistis, who is the child of Zeus and the Phrygian mountain Agdus. The fullest form of this story is recorded by the Christian apologist Arnobius,[30] in the Adversus Nationes (late third - early fourth century A.C.), although Pausanias, earlier, presented an abbreviated version.

According to Arnobius, Jupiter tries to seduce the Phrygian mountain Agdus as she lies asleep in the form of a woman. Unsuccessful in the attempt, Jupiter lets sperm fall on the mountain itself, and after a ten month gestation, Agdus produces a wild, androgynous offspring called Agdistis. Because Agdistis is so destructive, the gods decide to take action and Liber fills with wine the spring from which Agdistis always drinks. Later the drunken hermaphrodite falls asleep beside the spring, Liber attaches the creature's genitals to a tree, and when Agdistis awakens he emasculates himself.

Attis, in this account, is produced from the fruit of a

pomegranate tree that grows up from Agdistis' blood and impregnates Nana, the daughter of King Sangarius, with Attis. But Agdistis' association with Attis does not end with this catastrophe. Agdistis subsequently assumes a female persona similar to that of the Magna Mater and after the death of Attis establishes a cult at Pessinus in his memory.

No images of the bisexual Agdistis have been identified, but perhaps some form of this story was known in Greece as early as the fourth century B.C., since Arnobius says that for his Phrygian material he drew on the work of Timotheos. In fact he begins his story about Agdistis with the phrase, Timotheos ... inquit. This man, "non ignobilem theologorum unum" according to Arnobius, was a Eumolpid priest and exegete at Eleusis, active around 300 B.C.[31] He is recognized by both Tacitus and Plutarch as an authority on religions and oracles. Tacitus (Hist. 4.83) says that Ptolemy I brought Timotheos to the court at Alexandria to preside over religious activities there, and both authors claim that he was responsible for establishing the cult of Serapis at Alexandria.

In addition, Pausanias (7.17.5) records a pared down version of the Agdistis story that presents in its general outline the episode told later on. Pausanias' account is considerably shorter and less detailed than the later one. He does not describe Zeus' attempted rape of the mountain, simply relating that the god, in his sleep, ejaculated on the ground, and that this event produced a creature called Agdistis, who possessed both male and female sexual organs. Pausanias says nothing about the creature's violent, destructive behavior, only that the gods feared it and cut

off its male organs. Then from the genitals themselves grew the tree (here an almond tree) producing seeds which impregnated the daughter of (here) the River Sangarius with Attis. As in Arnobius' account, Agdistis falls in love with Attis, and when the latter is ready to marry (someone else), Agdistis appears at the wedding. Attis goes mad and, having emasculated himself, ies. Agdistis, remorseful, implores Zeus to promise that Attis' body will not decay.

In both Pausanias' and Arnobius' version of the story, Agdistis actually has genitals of both sexes and, losing the male attributes, becomes a powerful, even dangerous female divinity. There is epigraphical evidence that the goddess Agdistis was worshipped in this form in Greece at least from the fourth century B.C. The earliest inscription mentioning this divinity is from the Piraeus in Athens. An inscribed relief dated to around 300 B.C. shows Agdistis in the female persona together with Attis.[32] A later inscription found near the Roman Agora in Athens is dated to 83/2 B.C. and refers to a cult of Agdistis at Rhamnous.[33]

Many other inscriptions are from Phrygia itself, the birthplace of Attis and Agdistis. A small sanctuary of Agdistis, consisting of a rock-cut step shrine with foundations for an additional structure below, has been located at Midas Kale. This site was apparently in use between the third century B.C. and the third century A.C. and has yielded quantities of Hellenistic pottery and terracottas, along with a large group of inscribed altars. All of the inscribed material dates to the later, third century A.C. phase of use.[34]

Elsewhere in Phrygia, inscriptions naming Agdistis have been found at Yazilikaya, Ilica, Sizma, Iconium and on the Pisidian-Phrygian border. At Sardis, a cult of Agdistis was certainly in place by 367 B.C., when an inscription prohibiting the worship of several local divinities, including Agdistis, was issued by the satrap Droaphernes. This decree is preserved in a Roman copy dated to the third century A.C., discovered recently at Sardis.[35] That the Romans copied this old inscription attests to its continued significance for them.

It has been asserted that Agdistis is simply another name for Kybele, and that she should not be considered a separate personage.[36] However, Agdistis' history before her own metamorphosis is certainly distinct from that of Kybele even though in the female persona Agdistis takes on the attributes and characteristics of her more familiar counterpart.

Returning finally to Ovid's account of Hermaphroditos it is possible to observe several elements that this story shares with Pausanias' and Arnobius' tales of the Phrygian Agdistis. Both Pausanias and Arnobius are concerned with an event that really involves the birth of Attis, and in both renditions Agdistis continues to be a rather dangerous creature even after the emasculation. Ovid's emphasis, as we have seen, is on the creation of the bisexual being known as Hermaphroditos, but this figure too appears to wield some kind of dangerous power, though apparently not as openly destructive as the Phrygian counterpart. The legacy of the once male Hermaphroditos is the spring that robs men of their virility.

Water, in both accounts, plays a critical role in the

transformation -- of Hermaphroditos from a male to a bisexual figure, and of Agdistis from a creature possessing male and female genitals, to a woman. While the spring Salmacis takes on, except in Vitruvius' discussion, a somewhat sinister character as a result of Hermaphroditos' metamorphosis, the pool in Arnobius story is the vehicle through which the dangerous Agdistis is temporarily subdued.

The stories of Hermaphroditos and Agdistis each involve unrequited, obsessive love. Agdistis, in the second, altered state, loving Attis, behaves similarly to the nymph Salmacis whose love for (the male) Hermaphroditos takes on a threatening aspect. Both of these passions cause sexual alterations of some kind, and even death: Attis is emasculated and dies while Hermaphroditos becomes a different, bisexual, creature.

In both myths, mountains play an essential role, even though Hermaphroditos' connection with them is restricted to the use of the alternative -- and rare -- name Atlantiades, and to his early upbringing on Cretan Mount Ida. Hermaphroditos' infancy there perhaps reflects that of his father Hermes, whose own mother Maia had given birth to him in a cave on Mount Kyllene. And Mount Kyllene, in a western myth, may also be associated with Atlas.[37]

But there is another, more specific mountain link with the Phrygian myth. Hermaphroditos grows up on Mount Ida in Crete. Kybele is associated with Phrygian Mount Ida, and in fact, the Sibylline Oracle advising the introduction of Kybele into Rome called her the Idaean goddess. This association of Kybele with Phrygian Ida was established in Rome from an early period, as were Rome's own Trojan roots. Possibly, whatever sources Ovid

drew upon for his story of Hermaphroditos also reflected this Idaean tradition, which could easily have been transposed to a Cretan -- Greek -- site with the same name. However, for his metamorphosis, Hermaphroditos strays to the east. Finally, all three authors, Ovid, Pausanias, and Arnobius, stress the Anatolian location of the action they describe. They are all very precise, placing the drama at actual Carian and Phrygian locales.

It is possible that embedded in the Ovidian account of Hermaphroditos are some clues to the origins of this character in Greek mythology. Thus mountains, springs, an Anatolian setting and violent, disruptive passion figure in the accounts both of Agdistis and Hermaphroditis. Where these figures differ is in their fate; Agdistis takes on another, female identity after the emasculation, and loses male characteristics. Hermaphroditos, while still a male, gains a female aspect, and this transformation, from a male to a hermaphrodite, is presented as a disturbing event with other permanent effects; Salmacis' waters take on properties dangerous to men. The more violent and bloody Phrygian story is subdued in this related Greek presentation.

Later Roman Sources

After Ovid, the next surviving mention of Hermaphroditos is provided by Martial. His fourteenth book of epigrams, the *Apophoreta* (174), includes one describing a *Hermaphroditus marmoreus*.[38] The *Apophoreta* is a collection of verses describing presents given at the end of a dinner party, and possibly selected through some form of lottery. The occasion for these festivities, established in the prelude to the epigrams, is the Saturnalia. Whether or not the poems themselves constituted

gifts, or whether they described actual objects, is debated.

It is not clear that all 204 poems in this book were written at the same time. Friedlaender long ago established a chronology for Martial's writings based on topical allusions that can be dated with some precision.[39] Book XIII, the Xenia, and Book XIV, to judge from these key passages, are thought to have been written as early as A.D. 84/5. However, a recent reevaluation of the evidence indicates that this date might be too early. Martial died between 102 and 104, so the Apophoreta may have been produced sometime in the last decade of the first century A.C.[40]

The presents described in verse include a wide variety of objects. Before we approach the sculpture of Hermaphroditos mentioned above, it may be worth considering the other Apophoreta briefly. They include writing tablets, money boxes, a toothpick, a gold hairpin, nuts, hats, a variety of weapons, lamps, games, equipment for the gymnasium. Birds (parrot, raven, nightingale, magpie) are listed, along with furniture of costly and less expensive woods, dinner ware, gold cups and plates, blankets, clothing, musical instruments. Epigrams 170 - 182, which we will consider in more detail, concern art works and these are followed in the assemblage by poems and books, then pets, slaves, actors, cooks, and finally, sweets.

There is some coherence to the list because clusters of similar objects appear together. In addition, the introductory verses suggest that the items were alternately expensive and less costly. Friedlaender believed that this method of organization was followed strictly by Martial, but was disrupted in later Roman editions.[41] He rearranged some of the epigrams so that

objects of greater and lesser value follow each other regularly.

The group that is of special importance to us, Epigrams 170 through 182, preserves its original order, according to Friedlaender. These verses about art objects are themselves of great interest for archaeologists and art historians. The works described include a gold statuette (signum) of Minerva, and a terracotta figurine of a youth has been connected by a mention in Pliny (34.19) with the fifth century B.C. sculptor Strongylion. Next comes a sauroktonos corintheus, a bronze lizard slayer, and this epigram has been associated by modern commentators with the Praxitelean Apollo Sauroktonos. Martial then describes Hyacinthus in a tabula picta, followed by our Hermaphroditus marmoreus (174), another tabula picta, this one of Danae, and a persona Germana, apparently a mask. A silver Minerva is next, with helmet and spear, but lacking her aegis.

Karl Lehmann proposed that in fact what Martial describes in Epigrams 170-182 is an actual collection of art works that he could have seen displayed in the Temple of Divus Augustus in the Roman Forum.[42] This temple was constructed by Livia and Tiberius during his reign. The clue, according to Lehmann, confirming the identification of this assemblage with an actual one displayed in the Temple of Divus Augustus is Martial's mention of picta of Hyacinthus and Danae.[43] Images of these figures, according to ancient sources, were exhibited in the temple in Martial's day.

Elsewhere, Martial (6.68) mentions Hermaphroditos and Salmacis, and at 10.4 he includes Hermaphroditos in a list of characters from mythological tales. A cluster of later authors was also intrigues by the paradoxical nature of this half-male,

half-female creature, and they reiterate Hermaphroditos' parentage.

Lucian, in the Dialogi Deorum mentions Hermaphroditos twice (15.2 and 23.1).[44] First Apollo and Hermes discuss Hermaphroditos' parentage, and then Aphrodite's offspring, Priapos, Eros, and Hermaphroditos, each of whom had a different father, are compared.

According to Meineke's reading of Alciphron's Epistolai Agroikikai II.35, there was a rural shrine to Hermaphroditos at Alopeke near Athens at which a widow placed wreaths of flowers in honor of her dead husband. Emendations have been suggested for this passage as well. Lobeck, for example, believed that Hermaphroditos was in fact the name of the deceased.[45] Although Alciphron's floruit is not known with precision, from external evidence and some clues provided by Ep. 4.19, he is thought to have been at work between 170 and 220, and possibly no later than the first decade of the third century A.C.[46] His letters are set in Athens of the fourth century B.C. and some of their motifs and themes draw on New Comedy. If the reading proposed by Meineke is correct, it is intriguing to find a rural shrine to Hermaphroditos in a -- admittedly imaginary -- context of the fourth century B.C.

Interest in Hermaphroditos had not abated in the fourth century A.D. Two epigrams by the rhetorician Ausonius reiterate Hermaphroditos' lineage and the story of Salmacis. His epigrams explore several themes. Those concerning his wife and a group about grammarians can probably be dated to his earlier writing years, ca 330 - 340, but those with mythological themes are

more difficult to date.[47] Ausonius occasionally drew on the Greek Anthology, and a few epigrams have been recognized as translations from the Greek. Among these are Nos. 90 (Ex Graeco traductum ad Cupidinum), 95 (Pulchrem dei responsum), 96, and 102 (De Hermaphrodito et eius Natura), which can be connected with Anth.Pal. 783. Ausonius presents Hermaphroditos here as a neutral creature, unable to enjoy passion either as a man or a woman. But in the next epigram, where the poet discusses Salmacis, he seems to contradict himself. Here, both Salmacis and Hermaphroditos are said to achieve an especially intense degree of sexual pleasure: Salmacis optato concreta est nympha marito./felix virgo, sibi si scit inesse virum:/et tu formosae, iuvenis, permixte puellae/bis felix, unum si licit esse duos.

Anonymous Epigram 9.317 in the Anth. takes the form of a dialogue between Hermaphroditos and another god, in which the unnamed divinity boasts to a goatherd that he has made love to Hermaphroditos three times that day. Hermaphroditos protests, swearing by Hermes that this has not occurred. The god retorts, swearing by Pan that indeed it has. This epigram is one of the Hellenistic poems originally collected in the Garland of Meleager, probably early in the first century B.C., to judge from a few pieces of internal evidence,[48] and none of the poems in the Garland is thought to have been written much later than around 100 B.C.[49] Another epigram in the Anth.Pal. (9.783), the one adapted by Ausonius, is spoken by a sculpture of Hermaphroditos itself, presiding over a bath used by both men and women.

Finally, Pseudo-Lucian (Philopatr. 24), in the tenth century, once again refers to Hermaphroditos' parentage.[50]

Inscriptions

At present, only two inscriptions mentioning Hermaphroditos are known, both from the Greek world. The first of these is actually our earliest piece of evidence for the existence of Hermaphroditos as a mythological personage in Greece, and the other provides valuable evidence for the setting of a sculpture of Hermaphroditos. To my knowledge, there are no surviving inscriptions in Latin that mention Hermaphroditos.

1. A votive dedication to Hermaphroditos has been dated by letter forms early in the fourth century B.C.[51] The small base found in Attic Vari is inscribed:

[Φ]ανὼ Ἑρμαφρω[δί]-sic/τωι εὐξαμένη.

This modest, roughly lettered base probably supported a small sculpture or herm, now missing, and not a stele, because the cutting is square rather than rectangular, and demonstrates that as early as the fourth century B.C. there was some form of cult activity involving Hermaphroditos.

2. A sculpture of Hermaphroditos was among the works that adorned an Athenian gymnasium, according to an inventory inscription dated in the first half of the second century B.C. This inscription is discussed more fully in Chapter 3 below, pp.

Appendix 1: Hermes and Aphrodite

The fairly late etiology of Hermaphroditos names, not surprisingly, Hermes and Aphrodite as its parents. Although this pedigree became a commonplace in later literary sources, visual images of this triad apparently do not survive. Aphrodite, however, does occasionally appear with her offspring Hermaphroditos, always shown in the form of a small statuette support for the divinity. At Delos, a handful of Hellenistic reliefs and at least two small groups in the round depict Aphrodite and her child Hermaphroditos, and one figurine of this type was found on Corfu. In pose and iconography these groups are similar to those with Aphrodite and Priapus, who sometimes also takes the form of a small support next to the goddess.

While Hermes, Aphrodite and Hermaphroditos apparently do not appear together, Hermes and Aphrodite do occasionally, and evidence for some form of joint worship is supported by ancient literary references, inscriptions, and some objects. However, a survey of sources and archaeological evidence does not shed much light on their offspring Hermaphroditos. On the other hand, the name of this divinity is attested in the fourth century B.C. in Greece, and worship of Hermes and Aphrodite is thought to have occurred considerably earlier. It may be that we are simply missing the evidence that would clearly link these three personages at cult places, or, what is more likely, Hermaphroditos did not have a joint cult with his parents.

A. Literature

Plutarch (Coniug.praecep. 138D) says that oi palaioi continually set Hermes and Aphrodite together. Pliny (2.19.6) provides some evidence to support this assertion in his mention of the old wooden images of the gods that stood in the temple of Apollo Lykeios. The Aphrodite, according to Pliny, was dedicated by Hypermestra, daughter of Danaus. At Arkadian Megalopolis, according to Pausanias (8.31.6), akrolithic sculptures of Hermes and Aphrodite stood in the temple of Demeter and Persephone. These works were made by a sculptor called Damophon, assumed to be Damophon of Messene, who created the cult group at Lykosoura, fragments of which still survive.[52] This artist is supposed to have flourished during the second century B.C. In addition to the ancient reports of such images, possibly arranged together within the temples of other gods, Vitruvius, as mentioned above, says that there was a temple of Mercury and Venus at Salmacis near Halicarnassus, although no trace of this monument has been found.

B. Sites and Objects

The earliest representations of these two divinities together are thought to occur on a group of Lokrian pinakes, the earliest of which can be dated to sometime before the middle of the fifth century B.C.[53] Hermes in these reliefs is generally well identified by his winged hat, caduceus, and occasionally by his winged boots or feet. His female companion, usually facing him, fully draped, and sometimes holding out a flower, is less clearly recognizable as Aphrodite, and has been identified by some scholars as Kore.[54] The two figures may be framed by a

temple facade; on another type of plaque they are in a chariot.[55]

Prückner, in his publication of the pinakes, made a strong argument for an early cult of Hermes and Aphrodite at Lokroi, based on these series of images, and on some architectural reminiscences of features from the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, where there is also supposed to have been joint worship of Hermes and Aphrodite.[56] Prückner proposed that the temple at Marasà, more commonly identified as sacred to Persephone, was instead associated with a particular aspect of the goddess Aphrodite involving ritual prostitution.[57] In the early fifth century B.C., he argued, Samian immigrants to Lokroi added to the existing Aphrodite cult their own cult of Hermes.[58]

B. Ridgway and D. Scott, while observing some weaknesses in Prückner's arguments, have nonetheless found them convincing.[59] But Price, in her examination of kourotrophoi, supported the more traditional identification of Hermes' female companion in these reliefs as Kore instead of Aphrodite.[60] Yet at nearby Centocamere, some evidence supporting the presence of an Aphrodite cult has been found: fragments of pottery inscribed with dedications to the goddess have been discovered in bothroi at that site. These sherds probably date to the fourth century B.C.[61]

Prückner bases some of his interpretations of Lokrian cult on the evidence of a joint cult of Hermes and Aphrodite at the Samian Heraion. We turn now to this sanctuary, where joint worship of these two gods, according to Buschor, may have been in place by the sixth century B.C.[62] A temple inventory from the Sanctuary of Hera, dated to the year 346/5 by the archon's name

heading the text provides evidence for some kind of cult connection not only between Hermes and Aphrodite but also Hermes and Hera.[63] The inscribed stele, reused in the wall of a modern house in Mytilene on Samos, is now in the Archaeological Museum at Vathy. After the heading κόσμος τῆς θεοῦ, the text lists thirty-eight chitons, of which Hermes gets one, and forty-eight himatia, of which the Hermes in the temple of Aphrodite gets two.[64] It has been assumed that the mention of Hermes refers to a statue of Hermes, and that the image not given a specific location would have been set in the Hera temple itself.[65]

Buschor suggests that Hermes may have been worshipped in the Hera sanctuary as early as the eighth century B.C., but sees the so-called "Sudbau," built in the late sixth century B.C., as originally a temple of Aphrodite that was then altered to make room for an image of her consort Hermes.[66] In a later phase of construction, two temples were built northeast of the Heraion, one for each god.[67] There is some later literary evidence for the presence of special images of Aphrodite and for a cult of Hermes at Samos, although none connects the two, or refers specifically to a temple there.[68] A small altar found near Tigani, and dated by letter forms to about 100 B.C., is dedicated to several gods -- Demeter, Artemis, Athena -- as well as Hermes and Aphrodite.[69]

Another Greek island has yielded some evidence for common worship of Hermes and Aphrodite. The sanctuary at Kato Syme, on eastern Crete, is now considered one of the most secure examples of nearly continuous cult practice beginning as early as MMIII and lasting into the third century A.C., with some gaps in the record.[70] The excavator has recognized joint worship of Hermes

and Aphrodite there by at least the seventh century B.C.[71] She bases her conclusions on a series of bronze cut-out plaques depicting a male figure identified as Hermes. The earliest of these bronze images has been dated in the seventh century B.C. and they apparently continued to be produced until sometime in the fifth century B.C.[72] To the reliefs the excavator adds terracotta figurines of women, at least one in an <u>anasyromenos</u> pose, the earliest thought to be Daedalic.[73] This figurine, along with others more clearly recognizable as images of Aphrodite, plus the bronze plaques, has been interpreted as evidence of cult activity involving Hermes and Aphrodite, beginning in a very early period.

What epigraphical evidence there is at Kato Syme for such a joint cult is considerably later. A sherd from a late Hellenistic hydria bears the fragmentary inscription]I ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑ, to which the excavator tentatively restores [ΕΡΜΑ ΚΑ]Ι ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑ.[74] A fragmentary dedicatory inscription on marble, dated in the third century A.D., mentions Hermes Dendrites, but not Aphrodite.[75]

Further east, the Cilician site of Mallus may have been the site of cult practices involving both Hermes and Aphrodite, although the evidence is restricted to a series of reverse types on silver coins of that city dating between 385 and 333 B.C.[76] These coins bear images of a standing, frontal Hermes, nude except for a chlamys draped around his neck and left arm, and holding a caduceus in his right hand. Beside him stands a draped woman identified as Aphrodite, who places her right hand on Hermes' left shoulder.[77] Earlier coins from Mallus (425-385 B.C.)

have individual depictions of these gods: Hermes carrying a caduceus rides a ram; the head of a woman wearing a sakkos on the reverse of other coins of this period is identified as Aphrodite.[78] The swans occurring on still other reverse types from the end of the fifth century are thought to be images connected with Aphrodite/Astarte.[79]

Other works of art in which Hermes and Aphrodite have been recognized include an Attic red-figure hydria now in East Berlin, dated in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.[80] A draped woman thought to be Aphrodite rides a ram; Hermes, behind her, holds a caduceus. A winged figure leads them, carrying a thymiaterion. On a mid-fourth century bell krater in the National Museum in Athens Eros approaches a pair of herms, one male, one female, and these have been identified as images of Hermes and Aphrodite.[81] Small lead herms found in mid and later fourth century contexts at Olynthus are among the earliest herms bearing female heads; these sometimes appear together on a common base with separate bearded male herms identified as images of Hermes.[82]

The presence of these divinities, often accompanied by Eros, has been recognized on some bronze mirror covers dating in the mid-fourth century B.C.[83] In Athens, a fragmentary altar once thought to be a late archaic work has now been dated in the first century B.C., because of the conformation of the palmette frieze on its moulding.[84] A relief of Hermes Kriophoros is preserved on the front face of the altar, on the right, short, side the figure of a draped woman holding an edge of her veil out from her head is identified tentatively as Aphrodite.

This kind of evidence has traditionally been used to support a strong tradition of joint worship of Hermes and Aphrodite. While such cults probably existed, some of the proofs are not as convincing as we might expect. The single inscription from Kato Syme, for example, that may mention both gods, is late, and largely restored, and even the reconstruction of cultic events at Samos is based on an architectural sequence, but not really on many additional data. Even the Samian inventory inscription is not completely satisfying, since it apparently shows that a statue of Hermes was associated not only with Aphrodite but also with Hera. What is clear from this review, however, is that Hermaphroditos seems to be absent from rites that may have involved Hermes and Aphrodite.

Appendix 2: Hermaphrodites in Nature

Androgynous infants and miraculous sex changes, along with other sexual anomalies cited by Pliny and Phlegon (Mirab. 6 = FGrHist IIB), were considered portents in Rome during the late third through the early first centuries B.C. Livy and Julius Obsequens report a series of androgynous births occurring in Rome and elsewhere in Italy between 209 and 92 B.C.[85] At least sixteen of these infants, considered monstra, were identified and drowned at sea in the course of rituals that required joint action by both the Roman decemuirii and the haruspices. The haruspices, originally Etruscan, predicted future events by analyzing the meaning of auguries, but specialized in studying the livers of sacrificial victims.[86] The decemurii were one of the lesser orders of Roman priest concerned with the maintenance and reading of the Sibylline oracles.[87] According to MacBain, the androgynous expiations were unique because the services of both these groups were required.[88] Consistently, the haruspices placed the portentous children alive in wooden boxes and set them adrift, either at sea or on a river.

The earliest occurrence of an androgynous birth, in 209 B.C. at Sinuessae, was reported by Livy (27.11.1-6): natum ambiguo inter marem ac feminam sexu infantem. This time a special expiation was not conducted, but two years later, when another infant, incertus mas an femina esset was born at Sinuessae, the haruspices drowned it at sea in a wooden chest.[89] This act was followed by other expiatory rites that included the presentation of a gold bowl at the Temple of Juno in Rome, also a typical feature of these expiations, as was the procession of virgins to

her temple on the Aventine, and a sacrifice of two white cows. The spring of 207 B.C., a time of tension and danger for Rome as news of the Carthaginian invasion spread,[90] coincided with the appearance of the androgynous portent, along with other ominous events, that called for special action of an indigenous body of magistrates and the services of the Etruscan haruspices.

Although the *monstra* are described as being of indeterminate sex, no more specific details of their condition are provided, and it is not clear exactly what physical abnormalities may have been present. However, just at the time when individuals of some distinctive physical type were considered dangerous portents, representations of beings clearly possessing both male and female sexual features were produced, in large and small scale, in both Greece and southern Italy. No connection is made by Livy or Julius Obsequens between hermaphrodites in art and the apparent occurrence of such phenomena in nature, although Diodorus Siculus, as mentioned above, recognized a daimon called Hermaphroditos, a entity distinct from the bumans with physical abnormalities who were considered monsters by some people.[91]

Pliny probably alludes to the expiations of supposedly androgynous infants at 7.34: *Gignuntur et utriusque sexus quos Hermaphroditos vocamus, olim androgynos vocatos et in prodigiis babitos, nunc vero in deliciis*. Like Diodorus Siculus before him, he records a transition in the popular perception of such individuals, earlier considered threatening portents, later physiological oddities.

Pliny here notes an accompanying shift in vocabulary, from

the use of "androgynous" to that of "Hermaphrodite," but this change is not borne out by the surviving textual and epigraphical evidence. The name Hermaphroditos occurs in an early fourth century inscription and is mentioned by the late fourth century writer Theophrastus. However the distinction in usage may lie in the difference between the human and divine manifestations of the bisexual condition.

Appendix 3: Hermaphroditos' Mythological Precursors

Hermaphroditos is not the only bisexual creature in the Greek mythological tradition. M. L. West has shown that in a variety of earlier Eastern theogonies -- Sidonian, Zoroastrian, and Indian -- one of the primordial divinities is a force identified as Time, that procreates with itself, bringing forth the next, divine generation.[92] West proposes that some of these eastern ideas about the development of the universe were transmitted to Greece, and transformed there, sometime during the sixth century B.C.[93] He sees Pherecydes of Syros, around the middle of that century, in his prose account of the creation of the universe as the first Greek philosopher to present a version of these Eastern concepts, including that of a bisexual being who was able, by itself, to produce immortal offspring.[94]

Pherecydes' work survives in papyrus fragments dated to the third century A.C., and these are supplemented with the discussions of his writings by several later sources. His treatise, like the two other earliest surviving prose works from Greece, deals with the creation of the universe. According to Pherecydes, there were three primordial forces, Zas (Zeus),

Cthonie (Ge) and Chronos (Time).[95] The first two mated with each other to beget divine progeny, but bisexual Chronos did this on its own. West sees this third power, Chronos, as an Eastern development that was absorbed in Greece by Pherecydes and then by the Orphic cosmography that first appears to have been written down around 500 B.C.[96]

Several versions of Orphic traditions concerning the creation of the universe are preserved, and others are mentioned by later commentators. Damascius (early sixth century A.C.) one of the last Neoplatonist in Athens, mentions three distinct Orphic theogonies. To these works can be added the important Derveni Theogony, a summary on papyrus of an earlier Orphic text. This document was discovered, partially burnt, in a tomb dating to the fourth century B.C. at Derveni in Macedonia. It drew on, and abridged, an earlier work West calls the Protogonos Theogony, and this one, known through the collation of the Derveni papyrus with other sources, may represent the earliest form of the Orphic cosmography.[97] A much later version, the Rhapsodic Theogony, was probably composed no earlier than the first century B.C.[98]

Playing a central role in the Orphic creation of the universe is the bisexual creature variously called Phanes, Protogonos, Bromios, Zeus and Eros in different Orphic fragments. But in this scheme, Phanes is not the first link in the cosmic genealogy. Here, Unaging Time in the form of a serpent mates with Ananke, producing Aither and a Chasm. In the Aither, Time creates an egg, from which is born Phanes. Possessing both male and female genitals, Phanes by itself creates Night and several other divinities. Then, mating with Night, Phanes created Oceanus and

Ge, the sun and moon, and the homes of men and gods. Zeus ultimately swallows Phanes and recreates, as it were, the universe -- deities, mankind, and the physical universe.

Empedocles of Akragas (ca 495-435 B.C.), in his hexameter poem, On Nature, also mentions bisexual creatures, however these are not gods but represent an early phase of mortal evolution.[99] In this stage, unattached body parts, human and animal, combine in surprising ways, producing two-headed Janus-like creatures, individuals possessing animal and human components, and others who are the fusion of male and female elements. In a more advanced stage of human development, some of these forms disappear, and the men-women are split in half.

The most familiar -- human -- bisexuals in ancient literature must be the spherical creatures described by Aristophanes (189e ff) in Plato's Symposium.[100] This work is traditionally dated in the last decade of the fifth century, but K. Dover has suggested that it was produced during the period 384 - 379 B.C.[101] According to Aristophanes, the first human beings were globe-shaped creatures consisting variously of two male halves (the progeny of the sun), two female halves (offspring of the earth), or a male and a female half joined together; this last type was produced by Selene, the moon, also a bisexual entity here.[102]

The third form, comprised of both sexes, Aristophanes calls androgynes, extinct in his day, and remembered only by their name, now used as a term of reproach. The excessive pride of these globe shaped creatures causes Zeus to have them cut in half, and later other surgical adjustments were made to insure a

continuing supply of mortals to worship the gods. After this punishment, the severed halves, according to Aristophanes, were driven by Eros always to seek their lost complements.

The connection of Aristophanes' fable with the Orphic tradition of a bisexual proto-being is problematic. Dover has suggested that the Symposium might have influenced later versions of Orphic material, and that Aristophanes' androgynes were the inspiration of the subsequent Orphic fragment in which Phanes' double genitals are described as protruding from the rear of his body.[103] D. Jordan, however, proposes that the influence may have been the other way around. In an unpublished paper delivered at the University of Virginia in 1987, Jordan suggested that Aristophanes -- Best of Eggs -- is himself a Phanes-like creature who tells a story about beings who resemble in their multiple limbs, in their possession of dual sexual features, and in their shape the egg from which Phanes, a central character in the Orphic myth of creation, emerged.[104]

Conclusions

While the question of Plato's sources cannot be resolved here, it is at least worth noting that some time late in the fifth century, or early in the fourth, several strands of a creation myth were current in Greece, all of which involved, at one stage or another, beings composed of both sexes. Philosophic traditions explored by Pherecydes, Empedocles, the Orphic hymns, and then Plato, concerning the creation of the universe, established a bisexual divinity, and bisexual mortals in man's cosmic ancestry.

To the Pre-Socratic, Orphic, and Platonic material can be added Phrygian traditions that may have been known in Greece by the sixth century B.C., since some form of the Great Mother was worshipped in Greece beginning at least by that time, and the history of the Phrygian Mother appears to have clear links with yet another androgynous creature, Agdistis. By the fourth century B.C., these ideas must have been generally pervasive, and it is at this time that philosophical tradition may have found its expression in a concrete, visual form, the god Hermaphroditos, characteristically shown with obvious female breasts, and male genitals clearly displayed. As we will see in Chapter 2, the iconographic basis for such a image was already in place. Where this development may have occurred is unknown, but almost certainly in Greece, perhaps in Athens itself.

Hermaphroditos, in contrast to most of the bisexual entities discussed above, did not, in the ancient testimonia, produce offspring or act as a critical link in the evolution of the cosmos, although there are some sculptures of Hermaphroditos holding a baby or even nursing one. Nor does Hermaphroditos -- in the visual record -- usually possess the genitals of both sexes, as do these other creatures.[105] And Ovid, whose account of Hermaphroditos is the fullest, does not provide a precise physical description of the youth after his sexual transformation, leaving the physiological details of Hermaphroditos' metamorphosis to our imagination. However, as we will see, Hermaphroditos from the fourth century B.C. on, does appear to have been considered by the Greeks and Romans a being worthy of a place in the divine Pantheon.

NOTES

1. Also see the entry "Effeminatus" in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* v(1959)620-650, by H. Herter. While most of the evidence appears to be first from Greece, and later from Italy, a few studies present possible hermaphrodites from quite different sites and times. J. Colomb ("A propos de l'art plastique minoen," *RA* [1978]221-223), for example, suggests that a group of terracotta figurines from a MMIII grave at Kamilari on Crete represent hermaphrodites. M. Caffarello ("Ermafrodito," *Sileno* 7[1981]87-98) identified the small nude figure at the end of the kline on the west wall of the Tomb of the Lionesses (late sixth century B.C.) in Tarquinia as an hermaphrodite, because of the prominent curve of the pectoral, partially concealed by the raised right arm. However, this small figure is probably male, but who he is has not yet been securely established.

2. G. Kieseritzky, "L'ermafrodita Costanzi," *AnnInst* (1882)245-297.

3. *Latomus*, No. 86. In addition to general discussions of Hermaphroditos there have been some examinations of specific types. These studies are included in the pertinent chapters below.

4. R. C. Jebb and J. E. Sandys, Χαρακτῆρες (London 1909); R. G. Ussher, *The Characters of Theophrastus* (London 1960).

5. J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civic Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton 1979)16-19.

6. Mikalson (supra, n. 5)19.

7. Kieseritzky (supra, n. 2) 264.

8. E. Harrison, *Agora* 11 (Princeton 1965)125. It is not clear that these combined names referred to double herms, but to herms bearing the images of specific divinities (a Hermopan is also mentioned, by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evengelico* 3.11.43.). On these herm variants see H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme* (Mainz 1986)59. On double herms with combinations of male and female heads, see A. Giumlia, *Die neuattischen Doppelhermen* (Vienna 1983)169-172. Hermes more commonly appears on double herms with the goddess Hera. The so-called Herm Chablais (dated in the fourth century A.C.), now in the Vatican, has three faces, which have been identified as youthful and mature representations of Hermes, along with Aphrodite (see Reinach, *RSt* I, 329, pl. 613.1367).

9. P. Steinmetz, *Theophrast Charaktere: Kommentar und Ubersetzung* (Munich 1962) 197.

10. H. Diehls, ed., *Theophrasti characteres* (Oxford 1909)16.11.

11. Jebb (supra, n. 4)145; Ussher (supra, n. 4)151.

12. J. M. Edmunds, The Fragments of Attic Comedy IIIA (London 1961)228-243; esp. 233.

13. Diodorus Bibliotheca Historiae, v. 1, ed. F. Vogel (Stuttgart 1964) 403-404.

14. See Chapter 1, Appendix 2 and Chapter 2, pp.

15. J. S. Rusten, Dionysius Scytobrachion (Opladen 1982)85-92.

16. Rusten (supra, n. 15) 88, 110.

17. On Hermaphroditos and Salmacis see F. Bömer's commentary on Book 4 of the Metamorphoses (P. Ovidius Nasos Metamorphoses, Kommentar [Heidelberg 1976]100-105). For recent opinions supporting Ovid's probable creation of this story see J. B. Solodow, The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses (Chapel Hill 1988)186-187; L. Barkhan, The Gods Made Flesh: The Pursuit of Paganism (New Haven 1986)57-58, 89, 91, 155, 273.

18. On Salmacis, nymph, spring and the site, see L. Burchner, RE IB(2, 1920)1976-1977, s.v. "Salmakis"; S. Hornblower, Mausolus (Oxford 1982)85-86, 230 n. 57, 298, 303.

19. On inscription BMI 886 and the probable synoicism of Salmacis and Halicarnassos: R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions, Rev. ed. (1988)69-72, No. 32; M. Moggi, I sinecismi interstatali greci (Chicago 1955)184-185, No. 2; C. D. Buck, The Greek Dialects (Chicago 1955)184-185, No. 2.

20. 2.8.11-12.

21. G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Halicarnassus Peninsula," BSA 50(1955)88; G. E. Bean, Turkey Beyond the Meander (Totowa 1971)103-104, 110-112, fig. 12.

22. Bean (1971, supra, n. 21) 112.

23. G. K. Galinsky, Ovid's Metamorphoses (New York 1986)398-399.

24. K. Wernicke, RE II (1896) 2109, s.v "Atlantios". Bömer, (supra, n. 17) observes a construction similar to perstat Atlantiades, in Metamorphoses 3.701 where Pentheus is referred to by his patronymic: Perstat Echionides.

25. M. Grant, The Myths of Hyginus (Lawrence 1960)172.

26. B. de Grino, et al, LIMC III.1(1987)2-16, s.v. "Atlas."

27. On Atlas mountain: E. H. Bunbury, A History of Ancient Geography I (London 1883)279-280.

28. Most fully recounted by Ovid, Metamorphoses 4.627-662, but earlier by Polydos (late fourth - early third century B.C.) and in fifth century Attic vase painting: ARV^2 1683.48bis ca 450.

29. U. Willamowitz, Der Glaube der Hellenen (Berlin 1931)64, 93 n. 1G; G. Huxley, "OEOC OEOC (Maximus Tyrius 2.8)," Liverpool Classical Monthly 3(1978)71-72.

30. Arnobius: G. McCracken, Arnobius of Sicca: the Case Against the Pagans; H. Le Bonniec, "'Tradition de la culture classique. Arnobe témoin et juge des cultes paiens," Bull.Ass.G.Budé 1974; 201-222.

31. Timotheus: G. E. F. Chulver and G. B. Townend, A Historical Commentary on Tacitus' Histories IV and V (Oxford 1985)397-398; P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria I (Oxford 1972)247-76;

32. On Agdistis: This story may contain elements that are very old -- W. Burkert finds similarities between it and a prehistoric Hittite myth, the Ullikummi (W. Burkert, Structure and History in Greek Mythology [London 1979]110); also see R. Garland, The Piraeus (Ithaca 1987)105; M. J. Vermaseren, Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque I: Asia Minor (Leiden 1987)Nos. 84, 148, 149, 167, 489, 761, 777, 888; M. Meslin, "Agdistis ou l'Androgyne Malesante," in Hommages a Maarten J. Vermaseren (1978)765-776; M. J. Vermaseren, Cybele and Attis (1977)35, 90-91, pl. 24; also F. Naumann, Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst (IstMittDH 28[1983] on Agdistis see 18, 228, 240, 242 and on the Piraeus relief see No. 552, 358-359, pl. 40.1.

33. P. Roussel, "Un sanctuaire d'Agdistis à Rhamnonte," REA 32(1930)5-8; also see Chapter 3.

34. C. H. E. Haspels, The Highlands of Phrygia (Princeton 1971)94, 154-155, 188-189, 199-200.

35. Sardis inscription: G. M. Hanfmann, Sardis from Prehistory to Roman Times (Cambridge 1983)86, 104, fig. 166.

36. L. Roller, "Phrygian Myth and Cult," AJA 92(1988)259; Dr. Roller kindly provided me with the full text of this talk presented at the Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meetings in 1987.

37. See n. 29 above.

38. Martial: L. Friedlaender, M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri (Amsterdam 1901)295-344; for 4.174, see 334.

39. Friedlaender (supra, n. 38) 50-67.

40. R. A. Pitcher, "The Dating of Martial Books XIII and XIV," Hermes 113(1985)330-339.

41. Friedlaender (supra n. 38) 295-300.

42. K. Lehmann, "A Roman Poet Visits a Museum," Hesperia 14(1945)259-269.

43. Lehmann (supra n. 42). According to Suetonius (Caligula 22.37) this temple was built in the area between the Palatine and the Capitolium south of the Basilica Julia. Suetonius and Pliny both report some kind of damage to the building in 69 A.C. Suetonius says that the temple was struck by lightning and that some sculptures in the cella were partially damaged. There are thought to be two phases of reconstruction; one in 69 A.C. by Domitian, following an earthquake and possibly a fire, and the later one when Antoninus Pius provided the building with a Corinthian octastyle facade. The building, first with an Ionic order, and then with a Corinthian facade, is recognized on coins of Caligula and Antoninus Pius. Although the plan of the Temple of Divus Augustus is not known, Lehmann reconstructs an arrangement of these works in its "deep pronaos". He organizes the objects by material and size in a pendant arrangement on the floor and walls of this area. Lehmann suggests that Epigrams 174 and 181 describe pendant reliefs of Hermaphroditos and Leander. Hermaphroditos, according to Lehmann's interpretation, was depicted just stepping out of the spring in the transformed state, and might be associated with the Villa Colonna relief that shows a frontal standing Hermaphroditos accompanied by Eros and surrounded by attributes. However, there is really no evidence for this identification. As we will see, ancient poets were often intrigued by the story of Salmacis, but there are no clearly identifiable ancient representations of the episode. From Martial's description all we know is that the image of Hermaphroditos was marble, but we have no way of knowing what it looked like.

44. Lucian: H. L. Levy, Lucian Seventy Dialogues (1976); H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler, The Works of Lucian of Samosata (Oxford 1905); P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox, Cambridge History of Classical Literature v. 1 (Cambridge 1985)673-679; C. Robinson, "Lucian," in Ancient Writers (New York 1982)1081-1097.

45. M. A. Schepers, Alciphronis Rhetoris (Leipzig 1905); C.A. Lobeck, Aglaophamus (1829)1007.

46. Easterling and Knox (supra, n. 44) 679-680; B. Baldwin, "The Date of Alciphron," Hermes 110(1982)253-254; C. N. Jackson, "An Ancient Letter-writer -- Alciphron," in Harvard Essays on Classical Subjects (New York, 1968 rpr., orig. pub. 1912). On Alopeke: D. Whitehead, The Demes of Attica (Princeton 1986)226, 227, 233, 315, 320, 321; J. Traill, The Political Organization of Attica (Hesp.Supp. 16, 1975)53.

47. Ausonius: A. D. Booth, "The Academic Career of Ausonius," Phoenix 36(1982)329-343.

48. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, The Greek Anthology v. 1 (Cambridge 1965)No. LIV, 101; v. 2, 586.

49. Gow and Page (supra, n. 48) xxii.

50. Pseudo-Lucian: S. Reinach, "La question du Philpatris," RA

(1902)79-110; also see M. D. Macleod, *Lucian* v. 8 (London, 1967)413-414.

51. J. Kirchner, S. Dow, "Inschriften von attischen Land," *AthMitt* 62(1937)7-8, Nr. 5, pl. 43); L. Threate, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (1980)51, Nr. 7, has reconfirmed Kirchner's dating of this inscription to the early 4th century B.C. For a discussion of archaeological evidence for joint cults of Aphrodite and Hermes see Appendix 1 below.

52. Damophon: J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986)165, 167, 268.

53. Lokrian pinakes: H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz 1968); also see P. Zanker, *Wandel der Hermesgestalt in den attischen Vasenmalerie* (Bonn 1965)84-88.

54. See n. 60 below.

55. Prückner (supra, n. 53)

56. Prückner (supra, n. 53) 13-14.

57. Prückner (supra, n. 53) 28-30.

58. Prückner (supra, n. 53) 29.

59. B. S. Ridgway and R. T. Scott, "The Locrian Pinakes: A Review Article," *Archaeology* 26(1973)43-47.

60. T. H. Price, *Kourotrophos* (Leiden 1978)172-176.

61. M. Guarducci, "Il 'Trono ludovisi' e l' 'Acrolito Ludovisi,' due pezzi insigni del Museo Nazionale Romano," *BdA* 33-34(1985)1-20.

62. E. Buschor, "Aphrodite und Hermes," *AthMitt* 72(1957)77-86. H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos* (Athens 1981); H. Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum.* (Munich 1965). On frieze fragments from the Sudbau: B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Samos XI: Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils* (Bonn 1974)78, Nos. 113-115, 192-194. Also see D. Ohly, "Die Götter und ihre Basis," *AthMitt* 68(1953)25-50, pl. 9-10, O. Ziegenaus, "Der Sudbau erganzende Untersuchungen," *AthMitt* 72(1957)65-76; E. Buschor and O. Ziegenaus, "Heraion 1959," *AthMitt* 74(1959)1-3.

63. G. Shipley, *A History of Samos, 800-188 B. C.* (Oxford 1987)157 for inscription; D. F. McCabe, J. V. Brownson, B. D. Ehrman, *Samos Inscriptions: Texts and Lists* (Princeton 1986)126-127, No. 133; C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions Grecques* (Brussels 1900)678-680, No. 832; E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* 2nd ed. (Oxford 1901)225-227, No. 114.

64. Line 15: ἱματια Ἑρμέω κιθῶνες ΔΔΔΙΙ⊦ΙΙ Τ[ο]υτων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἕνα ἔχει ἱματια ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ⊦Ι τουτων ὁ Ἑρμῆ ἔχει ἓν ἀπο τουτων ἱματίων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἔχει δύο.

65. C. Habicht, "Hellenistische Inschriften aus dem Heraion von Samos," *AthMitt* 87(1972)191-228; esp. 194-196.

66. Buschor (supra, n. 62) 77, 84.

67. Buschor (supra, n. 62) 78.

68. Athenaeus 13.572; Plutarch, *quaest.graec.* 55.

69. Habicht, (supra, n. 65) 195; M. Schede, "Mitteilungen aus Samos," *AthMitt* 37(1912)193-196, No. 17.

70. Kato Syme: A. Lebessi, *Praktika* 1972, 193-203; 1973, 188-189; 1974, 222-227.

71. A. Lebessi, "A Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite on Crete," *Expedition* 18(1976)2-13.

72. A. Lebessi, *TO IERO TOU HERME KAI TES APHRODITE STE SYME BIANNOU* I (Athens 1985).

73. Lebessi (1985, supra, n. 72) 82-84.

74. Lebessi (1976, supra, n. 71) 12.

75. Lebessi (1976, supra, n. 71) 10.

76. Coins from Mallus in Cilicia: E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Greques et Romaines* II.2 (Paris 1910)1410, pl. 138.9; *SNG* Denmark 166, pl. 9; *SNG Von Aulock* 13, 5719, pl. 193; B. V. Head, *Historia Nummorum* (Oxford 1911)723-724. On Mallus: A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1971)192, 196-197, 199-200, 202, 206, 434 n. 1; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* v. 1 (Princeton 1950)274, 300, 691, 834, 1149-1150.

77. SNG von Aulock 13.5705, pl. 192.

78. SNG von Aulock 13.5717

79. Head (supra, n. 76) 723.

80. Attic hydria in Berlin: *ARV*^{2} 1483; *LIMC* II.2.
In many of these representations, Hermes is easily recognizable by one or more attributes; Aphrodite, on the other hand, is less clearly identified; her appearance may be confirmed by the presence of Eros.

81. Bell krater: Athens NM1669.

82. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos X* (Baltimore 1941)6-13.

83. Bronze mirror covers: W. Zuchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel* (Berlin 1942) 18-19, No. KS 21, pl. 13.

84. F. Harl-Schaller, "Archaistischer Reliefpfeiler im Nationalmuseum," AthMitt 87(1972)241-253. There is some additional evidence from inscriptions that is often added to the corpus of items thought to reflect the existence of joint cults of Hermes and Aphrodite, but like this altar, some of this material is not entirely convincing. For inscriptions mentioning Hermes and Aphrodite: On Lesbos, a votive inscription to Aphrodite Peitha and Hermes: K. Keil, "Inschriften aus Griechenland," Philologus Supp. 2(1863)579-581, dated probably in the first century A.C. At Myrtos on eastern Crete, a votive inscription found during the excavation of a round building, Hellenistic in date, mentions "Aphrodite, and perhaps all the gods, and Hermes and all the gods (H. W. Catling, "Archaeology in Greece, 1971-1972," JHS 92[1972]25). In Athens, located near the fountain house at the Asklepieion south of the Akropolis, an inscribed altar is dedicated to Pan, the nymphs, Aphrodite, Hermes and Isis, dated to 49/30 B.C. by letter forms (IG II^2 4994, see J. Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens (New York 1971)138.

85. R. MacBain, Prodigy and Expiation: A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome (Latomus 177,Brussels 1982)126-135; A. A. Boyce, "The Expiatory Rites of 207 B.C.," TAPA 68(1937)157-171; H. Diels, Sibyllinischen Blatter (Berlin 1890)37-43, 90-103.

86. On haruspices: G. Dumezil, Archaic Roman Religion (Chicago 1966)606-610, 671 on expiation of prodigies.

87. Decemuirii: E. Taubler, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Decemvirats (1921).

88. MacBain, (supra, n. 85)127.

89. MacBain and others the drowning of the prodigy as an Etruscan development, and Dumezil suggests that it may have been connected with the early Roman ritual of the Argei (Argives), in May, when effigies of men were thrown into the Tiber in the course of a solemn ceremony. This feature Dumezil connects with the Etruscan custom of sacrificing enemy victims through drowning. The drowning of the androgynous infants through this indirect method, by placing them, alive, in chests to drift at sea, is reminiscent of the treatment in Greek mythology accorded several potentially dangerous babies, and sometimes their mothers as well; see N. M. Holley, "The Floating Chest," JHS 69(1949)39-47. It is just worth noting that in Arnobius' account of Agdistis, the gods hesitate before taking action to control the wild creature, and when they finally do act, the punishment is self inflicted.

90. Hasdrubal: T. A. Dorey and D. R. Dudley, Rome Against Carthage (London 1971)38, 82-85, 97, 100-103, 110.

91. On the physical condition of hermaphroditism, in antiquity, and in modern times see E. Hollander, Plastik und Medizin (1912)251-255; D. Brothwell and A. T. Snodson, Diseases in Antiquity (1967)516-517; W. E. Stevenson, "The Pathological

Grotesque Representations in Greek and Roman Art," Diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1975, 107, 123, 180, 189-90, 247-248; C. R. Austin and R. V. Short, eds., *Reproduction in Mammals. Book 2: Embryonic and Fetal Development* (London 1982)esp. Chapter 2, 70-113 (Dr. Jonathan Musgrave kindly provided me with a copy of this section); U. Mittwoch, "Men, Women and Hermaphrodites," *AnnHumGenet* 50(1986)103-121, with many other references; I am indebted to Dr. Paul Rehak for my copy of this article.

92. M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (1983)70, 90, 202-220; id., *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford 1971)29-36; O. Kern, *Orphicum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1922).

93. West (1971, supra, n. 92) 29-36.

94. West (1971, supra, n. 92) 4-11.

95. Pherecydes: H. Schibli, "Pherecydes of Syros," Diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1984.

96. West (supra, n. 92)11.

97. West (1983, supra, n. 92). Derveni papyrus: West (1983, supra, n. 92) 75-77; Protogonos Theogony: West (1983, supra, n. 92) 68-115.

98. Rhapsodic Theogony: West (1983, supra n. 92)229-258.

99. G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1983) 141; M. R. Wright, *Empedocles: The Extant Fragments* (New Haven 1981)212-215, No. 52(61); D. O'Brien, *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle* (Cambridge 1969)205-7, 228, 234.

100. R. G. Bury, *The Symposium of Plato* (Cambridge 1909) with his introduction, vi-lxxi; J. K. Dover, "Aristophanes' Speech in Plato's *Symposium*," *JHS* 86(1966); S. Rosen, *Plato's Symposium* (New Haven 1968)120-158; S. Lowenstam, "Aristophanes' Hiccoughs," *GRBS* 27(1986)for an updated bibliography on the Symposium; K. J. Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy* (Chapel Hill 1987)70-75; also J. S. Morrison, "Four Notes on Plato's Symposium," *CQ* 14(1964)42-54; esp. 46-49. In fact, the epithet often indicates the debilitation of masculine virility rather than sexual completeness, as in Herodotus (4.67) where the Scythian Enarees are described as ἀνδρόγυνοι. . Herodotus (1.105) recounts the punishment of Scythians who destroy a temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Ascalon. They are struck by the goddess with the θήλεα νοῦσος , apparently impotence, a chronic malady of the Scythians, according to other sources (on Scythians: Aristotle, *Ethics* 7.7.6; K. Meuli, "Scythiaca," *Hermes* 70[1935]121-176; esp. 127-137; W. R. Halliday, "The θήλεα νοῦσος of the Scythians," *BSA* 17[1910-1911]95-102). Elsewhere the term was employed in metaphorical sense. In the Pythagorean system, for example, the number five, formed by the "marriage" of the female number two and the male number three was called
So the epithet *androgynous* was used either with reference to a being that embodies both male and female aspects, or to a

sexually debilitated man, and both senses are in use at roughly the same period.

101. K. Dover, "The Date of Plato's Symposium," Phronesis 10(1965) 2-20.

102. Bisexual Selene is also mentioned by Philochorus (ca. 300 B.C.)frg. 184.

103. Dover (1966, supra, n. 100)46.

104. D. Jordan, "Aristophanes, Best of Eggs. An Address to the Senior Classical League of the University of Virginia at its Second Annual Dinner, March 16, 1987." Dr. Jordan generously supplied me with a copy of this paper. Aristophanes, in the Birds, performed in 414 B.C., has his chorus describe the creation of the universe that includes a reference to "wind eggs" (l. 695; The Comedies of Aristophanes, v. 6: The Birds, ed. A. H. Sommerstein [Warminster 1987]241-245). So by the late fifth century, elements of Orphic philosophy were making their way into art.

105. However there are a few exceptions, notably the fragmentary torso of Hermaphroditos from a replica of Dresden wrestling type in Venice has both the remains of male genitals and just above these, a line carved in the marble which may be an indication of the female sex as well.

CHAPTER 2

Hermaphroditos Anasyromenos

Frontal representations of Hermaphroditos standing, raising its long skirt to expose the often erect phallus beneath (No. 45, Fig. 1), constitute the largest, and earliest, group of images, some of which have been found in securely dated contexts. These figures occur in a variety of sizes and media: a few large scale marble works and many marble, terracotta, and bronze figurines. Images of this type date from the late fourth century B.C. to at least until late in the third century A.C.

Where are these figures found ? Contexts include the Greek mainland and islands, Austria, Italy, Asia Minor, and Egypt. From Athens come several statuettes, including the earliest example, a fragmentary mould for a terracotta figurine of Hermaphroditos anasyromenos discussed in detail below. Several other marble examples have been found in the Athenian Agora in Hellenistic and Roman contexts. At least one of them appears to be unfinished (No. 33, Fig. 2). Carved from a reused chunk of stone, it was found in a late Hellenistic context and is a further testimony to a demand for, and a local production of, images of Hermaphroditos. At nearby Corinth, however, no representations of Hermaphroditos, of any type, have been reported so far.

The participle anasyromenos, from the verb ἀνασύρω will will be used here with reference to the gesture of lifting the garment and exposing the genitals, characteristic of the objects in this group. Anasyromenos is a more correct ancient Greek form

than the coined word *anasyrmos*, apparently first employed by sixteenth century commentators on Hyginus' story of Agnodike (*Fabulae* 274.10-13), discussed below.[1]

Sources

The gesture of the *anasyromenos* both in ancient art and literature has a variety of motivations and meanings. Some of the literary episodes have historical settings, others are connected with ritual activity, and in another group, more anecdotal, the raising of the dress, usually by a woman, clears up or occasionally intensifies an ambiguous situation. A brief review of the literary evidence reveals the range of characters and situations involving the *anasyromenos* gesture.

The earliest mention of such a gesture in ancient literature is probably contained in an Orphic Fragment recorded by Clement of Alexandria,[2] which may reflect a sixth century source, in which Baubo lifts her dress, attempting to cheer Demeter as she grieves for her daughter Kore. However, exactly what it is that makes Demeter laugh -- Baubo's gesture, or what Demeter sees when Baubo raises her dress -- is unclear. It has been suggested that in fact, Baubo was wearing false male genitals or that a grotesque face was drawn on her belly.[3]

The Greek comic poet Hipponax, active in the late sixth century B.C. coined the word ἀνασυρτόλις , but the surviving fragment provides only a glimpse of the lost poem, apparently concerning the poet and a prostitute.[4] A better preserved story involving the gesture of the *anasyromenos* is told by Herodotus (2.60). As a group of men and women travel in a barge up the Nile

to attend a religious festival at Boubastis (associated by Herodotus with Artemis, but actually a cult place of the Egyptian goddess Hathor), the women en masse raise their dresses and shout insults at the women they pass in towns on shore. This behavior may actually reflect a religious Greek tradition, rather than an Egyptian one. As Fehling has pointed out, many of Herodotus' sources for Book 2, on Egypt, are in fact fictitious.[5]

Generally, in ancient testimonia, women perform the gesture, but in at least two cases, both described by Theophrastus (Characters 6.2 and 11.2), men lift their garments to expose their genitals, and in both cases Theophrastus makes it clear that the action is lewd and improper.[6] On some level, lewdness and impropriety are exactly what the gesture was meant to convey. Certainly it is the crudeness as well as the surprise of Baubo's action that provokes Demeter's laughter.

In the episodes H. King calls "war stories"[7], dating from the third century B.C. to the fifth century A.C., groups of women lift their dresses when their men -- husbands and sons -- seem about to retreat from battle. The message, according to King, is a challenge to the retreating soldiers: "where are you men going, back to the womb ?" So the gesture in this case emphasizes the women's identity and function as child bearers, who in their own way take up the battles their men are about to abandon.

Another aspect of the anasyromenos trope occurs in the story of the Athenian woman Agnodike, told by Hyginus, as mentioned above.[8] This girl, a virgin, according to Hyginus, wanted to be a doctor and, disguised as a man, studied with the Alexandrian physician Herophilus (late fourth century - early third century

B.C.).[9] When she was trained, Agnodike attempted to assist a woman in childbirth who rejected her help because she thought the doctor was a man. At this point, Agnodike lifted her garment to reveal her true sex. Male doctors, angered by Agnodike's popularity with women, brought her to trial, charging that she seduced female patients. Defending herself at the Areopagus, Agnodike once again raised her clothing to show that she was really a woman. The action here corrects a deliberate alteration of identity.

Agnodike is not the first woman in ancient literary sources to raise her dress in a court of law. In an earlier account, a woman called Herais, (Diodorus Siculus 32.10.2-12), also does it in court to correct a different kind of misunderstanding. This story is worth considering in some detail. Shortly before his assassination in 145 B.C. in the Arabian city of Abae, the Syrian King Alexander Balas[10] consulted the oracle of Apollo Sarpedonius at Seleucia who warned him about a place that produced a "double-formed one." Not until after Alexander's death did the sense of the oracle become clear.

At Abae, while her husband was away from home, a woman called Herais developed a large tumor in her groin. Doctors were unable to reduce the swelling and, in their absence, the tumor ruptured, revealing male genitals. At first Herais kept this condition a secret, but after her husband returned, and brought her to trial for refusing to sleep with him, she lifted her dress in the courtroom to reveal her altered state. Herais' gesture clears up another kind of ambiguous situation, not that of a woman disguised as a man, but the plight of a woman whose sexual

character has suddenly changed. Herais raising her dress before the court is a literary counterpart of our hermaphrodite anasyromenos.

But her story, as Diodorus Siculus tells it, does not end here. Herais takes her father's name and becomes a cavalryman in the service of Alexander Balas when he comes to Abae, the home of a double-formed being, where he eventually is killed. Dio provides some clinical details concerning Herais' condition and her doctors' attempts not to remove the new genitals, but to make them function. As he relates this story and three others about women who suddenly sprout male genitals, he is particularly concerned with showing that these instances of supposedly miraculous sex changes and alterations can actually be explained physiologically, and that the persons, usually women, who undergo such dramatic transformations are not monstra. Dio is writing within fifty years of the time in Rome when children thought to be androgynous were put to death, according to Livy and Julius Obsequens.[11] However, the oracular framework of the Herais story suggests that Dio could not completely dislodge it from a tradition that considered such transformations of gender the reflection of supernatural rather than completely biological events.

Iconography and Meaning

Turning from the literary evidence for the gesture of the *anasyromenos* to its representation in ancient art, we see that a variety of meanings was also expressed through the visual record, since several mythological personages were depicted in this pose. Evidence for Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos* in Greece can first be documented in the late fourth century B.C. Afterwards, Priapus, and a type of Aphrodite, begin to appear in this pose. But as early as the seventh century B.C. on Crete, this exposing gesture occurs in a group of Daedalic terracotta figurines of women. At the site of Axos, northwest of Knossos, for example, where habitation began in LM III, and seems to have flourished during the eight century B.C., several figurines of this type have been recovered (Fig. 3).[12] From near one building thought to be an archaic temple to Aphrodite a large quantity of terracotta figurines was discovered, the earliest of them Geometric in date.[13] In this assemblage are at least eight examples of females lifting their skirts in *anasyromenos* gestures.[14] The one illustrated statuette actually parts the sections of a skirt that opens down the middle.

Also on Crete, at Kato Syme, a terracotta plaque with a similar female figure in high relief, dated to the seventh century B.C., has been seen as the earliest evidence of joint worship of Aphrodite and Hermes at that sanctuary.[15] Here however, the goddess (?), her hands at hip level, really raises her skirt, which curves above the genitals in a stylized arc.

In Greece there is apparently a gap of three centuries before the *anasyromenos* motif appears again. However, from a late

fifth century context at Gela in Sicily comes a terracotta figurine that provides evidence for the continued occurrence of the pose (Fig. 4). This statuette, now in the Gela Museum, depicts a woman with breasts covered, who raises her sleeved chiton (?), exposing her genitals and stomach. Her coiffure, apparently with short bangs, is rendered in a series of thick grooves running straight back from her brow, and her distinctively modelled face suggests that she should be considered a caricature of some kind. The figure is identified by the museum vitrine as a pregnant woman, and in fact, her slightly bulging stomach may support this identification. That there might actually be some connection between the earlier Cretan figures and this Geloan statuette is at least a possibility, since Gela, according to Thucydides, was founded by Cretans and Rhodians in 688 B.C.[16]

After the Daedalic figurines on Crete and this single Sicilian example, the earliest clear evidence for the _anasyromenos_ gesture comes from the Athenian Agora. The fragment of a clay mould for a terracotta figurine preserves just enough of the essential details to make the pose unmistakable (No. 36, Fig. 5).[17] This fragment is especially important because it actually appears to be a representation of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_, the earliest example documented so far. The mould fragment was found with pottery and figurines that constitute the so-called Coroplasts' Dump, located on the north slope of the Areopagus.[18] According to S. Rotroff, who recently reviewed the chronology of this deposit, its date, established by coins, must fall within the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.[19]

With a preserved height of 0.074m and a preserved width of 0.085m., the fragment, broken all around, has along its upper edge horizontally gathered folds of drapery and, on each side, remains of the figure's hands holding up the garment. Below this gathered drapery the upper thighs, held close together, and male genitals are preserved. The testicles are obvious, and a small penis, not erect, can be seen over the left testicle. With its small genitals, it is likely that the figure represents Hermaphroditos, rather than Priapus, who is customarily shown with an inordinately large, erect phallus.

According to Dorothy Thompson, this mould fragment was one of the freshest, and presumably among the latest items in the deposit.[20] A late date is supported by the crisp, unworn look of the details. The mould apparently was made by being loosely pressed against a figurine. On the back of the mould, roughly finished, it is possible to see where separate pieces of clay were pressed into place, and their surface left unsmoothed, in contrast to other contemporary mould fragments in the deposit. Thompson suggested that the mould might have been used as a study piece, and would probably not have actually produced a series of figurines.[21] What the presence of this fragment in a late fourth century context indicates is that by this period -- in Athens, at least -- images of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ were already being manufactured.

That the mould fragment is in fact a local Athenian product was demonstrated in 1978, when it, along with one hundred other pottery fragments, wasters, and figurines, most of them found in Athens, was subjected to neutron activation analysis at the

Brookhaven National Laboratories in New York.[22] This examination determined our mould fragment to be part of the researchers' Group A, consisting of Attic ware, all classical to Hellenistic in date.[23]

The fragmentary mould preserves some of the canonical features of the _anasyromenos_ type, the only one in which Hermaphroditos wears more than a loosely draped mantle and the occasional short veil or sandals. In this representation, Hermaphroditos generally wears a long, high belted chiton, sleeveless or with short sleeves, often with a mantle draped over both shoulders and arms and sometimes also covering the head. Occasionally a female headdress, a short, folded veil is worn. Both clearly female breasts are usually covered, but in one variation, found both in Memphis and Southern Italy (Nos. 41, 42), the slipped sleeve or strap (often the left) exposes a clearly female breast. Hermaphroditos raises the skirt of its garment with one or both hands.

Most representations of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ are small, but a few large scale sculptures are known as well. One large marble version, now in the Museo Torlonia in Rome (No. 44, Fig. 6), wears a costume unique within the sculpted repertoire. Extensively restored, its legs below mid thigh, head, and edges of drapery are modern. Hermaphroditos here raises with both hands the front of a thick fringed garment. Its prominent breasts are both covered. The fringed mantle, and the rather stiff pose, with the torso leaning slightly forward, impart a vaguely Egyptian tone to the work.

Similar to this sculpture (of Roman date) in garment and pose is a figure, identified as Hermaphroditos, decorating the mosaic floor in one room of a large villa at Timgad, in modern Algeria (No. 79). On the basis of its vegetal border decorations, the mosaic has been dated late in the third century A.C.[24] The fragmentary panel (3.15 x 2.20m. preserved dimensions) contains portions of three draped standing figures. The central one, on a low plinth, raises its heavy fringed costume, but its genital area and head are lost.

Because of its pose, this figure was identified as an hermaphrodite by the French excavators, who in fact named this villa the "Maison d' hermaphrodite." Flanking "Hermaphroditos" on each side are fragmentary, probably female figures, who appear to be assisting the central personage in a toilette scene. The mosaic at Timgad is one of the few objects in this assemblage with a secure context and date. It is in fact one of the latest examples, not only of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_, but of any representation of Hermaphroditos.

Near the beginning of the chronological range, after the important Athenian mould, are a few terracotta figures of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ found in dated votive deposits. These objects are of great significance because they provide direct evidence for the ancient use of images of Hermaphroditos in religious contexts. In addition, they demonstrate a wide and contemporary distribution of votive function.

For example, a Hellenistic votive deposit associated with the temple of Athena at Paestum yielded a terracotta figurine of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ (No. 40, Fig. 7). It lacks the head,

and the left, slipped strap of the chiton reveals the female breast. The figure raises its skirt with both hands showing the erect phallus beneath, and leans to its left upon a bearded, ithyphallic herm, one of the few examples preserving such an element. Other objects from this deposit include terracotta figurines of nude Aphrodite, Silens, Erotes, birds, reclining, bearded male figures and miniature vessels (Fig. 8).

Another figurine of Hermaphroditos in the anasyromenos pose came to light during the 1989 campaign of the joint Canadian and Greek excavations at Mytilene on Lesbos. Found in a votive deposit dated to the third-second century B.C., and connected with the sanctuary of Demeter, the figure lacks its head and torso, but raises its garment in the customary way.[25]

That a few figurines of Hermaphroditos find their way into votive deposits of goddesses like Demeter and Athena[26] indicates that such gifts, though infrequent, must have been appropriate for these divinities. While the literary record associates Hermaphroditos with Hermes and Aphrodite, the presence of its images in archaeological contexts sacred to these other divinities suggests that one aspect of its function may have been concerned with fertility and regeneration.

Later Representations

Hermaphroditos' role as an agent of fertility is more clearly expressed in a group of later representations, which will be considered here because of the light they may shed on the earlier votive images. These compositions depict Hermaphroditos carrying or nursing infants. At least two sculptures are actually

of *anasyromenos* type, where the lifted folds of drapery form a cradle for the infants supported by both. One of these under life-sized works, the so-called Hermaphroditos Chablais (first century A.C. ? No.75, Fig. 9), is on display in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. Instead of a chiton, it wears a heavier mantle, draped over its chest; the edge pulled back on the left side exposes the female breast. With both hands, Hermaphroditos raises the front of this garment and cradles a small reclining Eros (the stumps of its wings are visible) who lies back and once raised its arms, now missing below the shoulders.

A similar figure in marble, found in a villa southwest of Pompeii near the Sarno, stands 0.93m high on its 0.10m base (No. 75a). Also wearing a mantle, the figure lifts the front of its garment revealing male genitals as it raises its right hand to its breast. Like other *kourotrophoi*,[27] Hermaphroditos supports in its left hand a small seated figure of which now only the lower portion remains. An especially close parallel can be found between this statue and a more complete terracotta figurine of Isis[28] in which she nurses a baby supported in her left arm, the upper left side of her mantle lowered to expose her breast, and the lower right side held up by her bent right arm. It is possible that the Sarno image of Hermaphroditos may also have nursed the baby it held.

In addition to these *anasyromenos* figures, another type emphasized the maternal aspect of Hermaphroditos. Some of these sculptures were significantly altered by their modern owners. One of them, now a reclining, half draped female (No. 76), is

discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 below.[29] We know the original state of the work only from an early nineteenth century sketch that shows its male genitals, and a baby nursing at its breast, with two more infants by its side. Yet another reclining (now) female figure in a British collection may have undergone a similar fate at the hands of its modern owners. Returning to our earlier <u>anasyromenos</u> figurines from deposits dedicated to Hera Athena, and Demeter, it is possible that their presence in these assemblages may be explained in terms of their function as divinities who oversee fertility and childbirth, since Hermaphroditos' role later becomes expressed iconographically. It may also be noted here that Hermaphroditos itself is often depicted as a youthful, immature male, with undeveloped musculature and female breasts, and that the mythological tradition recounted by Ovid also presents a young person. Perhaps, since it was perceived and depicted as a youth, Hermaphroditos was considered a patron of the young.

But that a maternal, nurturing function was not the only one we can assign to Hermaphroditos <u>anasyromenos</u> is suggested by a group of Hellenistic and Roman objects found on the island of Delos. Delos, like Athens, has produced a relatively large number of Hellenistic representations of Hermaphroditos <u>anasyromenos</u>, both reliefs and figures in the round, and provides further clues concerning the function and placement of these images.

Some items in this group were found during the excavation of the Maison de Fourni,[30] an extensive structure on the south edge of the site, thought to have housed one of the many still anonymous religious organizations active on the island. The final study of

this installation has not yet appeared, but the mosaics from the villa have been published, and are dated to just around 100 B.C.[31] The finds from the Maison de Fourni include several objects with Egyptian connections, as well as reliefs of phallus birds, and images of Hermaphroditos, Herakles and Aphrodite.[32]

One well preserved relief slab depicts Hermaphroditos <u>anasyromenos</u> garbed in the usual high belted chiton covering both breasts, with both hands raising its skirt, a mantle draped over its shoulder and tucked between its arms and sides (No. 30, Fig. 10). Hermaphroditos here also wears a veil. The relief, with a small shelf projecting at the bottom edge onto which Hermaphroditos' feet extend, is 0.345 m. high by 0.22 m. wide at the base. On the back of the slab is a boss which might have aided its insertion into a wall.

A similar relief plaque of almost identical size was also discovered at this site, but this one depicts a standing, frontal Herakles holding a club.[33] On Delos, images of Herakles or of his club alone have been found carved on blocks set into the exterior walls of houses and are thought to have served as protective agents for the house and its inhabitants against the evil eye.[34] The Herakles relief from the Maison de Fourni may well have served a similar purpose, and the Hermaphroditos - <u>anasyromenos</u> relief that matches it in size could also have functioned as a household guardian.

<u>Herms of Hermaphroditos Anasyromenos</u>

Another relief plaque from the Maison de Fourni, slightly shorter and wider than the examples discussed above, depicts Aphrodite in the Knidia's pose flanked to her right by a small

Eros holding an alabastron and Pan pipes, and to her left by a nude herm, probably of Hermaphroditos (No. 59). Elsewhere on Delos, Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ appears similarly posed with Aphrodite, and in at least two marble groups in the round, serves as a statue-support for the goddess. Fragments from one such group were found in the area northeast of the Agora of Theophrastus (No. 60). Here a herm of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_, accompanying a nude Aphrodite, wears a kalathos topped by a long veil. It also wears a chiton covering both breasts, and raises the front of its skirt with both hands. Another small group of this kind, in the round, where Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ -- a small statue rather than a herm -- is a statue-support for Aphrodite (this time draped) was found on Corfu (No. 61, Fig. 11).[35]

Also at Delos, _anasyromenos_ herms of Hermaphroditos were employed as the supports for monopodia. Two of these table legs have been published (Nos. 54, 55), and Marcade reports another _in situ_ "dans la premiere habitation de la Maison de Kerdon."[36] These herms, with their rectangular, untapered shafts, and all details of drapery carved right on the shaft in low relief, have been dated to the end of the first century B.C/beginning of the first century A.C. by Wrede.[37] Hermaphroditos in these representations also wears a short folded veil. Because this herm type is customarily without arms, the front of the garment is raised and tucked behind the erect phallus. Two other examples of similar herms are known, one from Pompeii (No. 53), the other now in the Barracco Museum in Rome (No. 52).

Monopodia, tables supported by only one leg, were, according

to Livy (39.6), an Eastern development imported to Rome. There is little evidence that they occur in earlier Greek furniture styles and are predominantly a Roman form. Several other mythological personages adorn the supports of monopodia. R. Cohon lists Aphrodite, Attis, Dionysos, Eros, Ganymede and Zeus, Herakles, Marsyas, Nike, Pan, Priapus, Satyrs, Silenus -- a preponderance of Dionysiac figures. Cohon does not include the examples of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ from Delos or Pompeii.[38]

Some of the earliest images of Hermaphroditos, like the most clearly recognizable early representations of Priapus, might indeed have also been herms. Perhaps the roughly square cutting in the inscribed votive base discussed in chapter 1 supported a herm of Hermaphroditos. However, as Harrison points out, the tradition of adorning herm shafts with drapery, and the attempt to integrate the shaft into the "body" of the sculpture are Hellenistic traits. The use of drapery in the _anasyromenos_ herms serves to make the compositions more coherent, since it is the garment, both above and below, that is so important in emphasizing Hermaphroditos' special nature.

Hermaphroditos and Priapus

Some other divinities were also depicted in this *anasyromenos* pose, and among these, Priapus presents the closest and most interesting parallels.[39] In Hellenistic and Roman representations he often appears similarly garbed, sometimes wearing a veil, in a long dress, and even with what seem to be female breasts beneath his chiton, although this could be an indication of his general corpulence. Like Hermaphroditos, he sometimes wears a short folded veil. How were these two divinities related ? Because of the close connections in chronology, iconography and meaning between representations of Hermaphroditos and Priapus, and because the archaeological record is somewhat fuller for the latter, it may be illuminating to consider him here.

A variety of genealogies is assigned to Priapus by ancient authorities. According to one tradition, he is a child of Aphrodite, and thus a half-brother of Hermaphroditos.[40] Priapus appears infrequently in the visual record until the third century B.C., and although a few earlier images have been identified, none of these is of Priapus *anasyromenos*. Erika Simon, for example, has recognized Priapus, rather than Hermes, in the small bearded herm to the right of the famous scene on the Pan Painter's bell krater where Pan pursues a youth.[41] She notes that the herm's wild eye and unkempt hair, as well as the large phallus, may be more appropriate for Priapus in his role as a vegetation deity.[42]

Several small, bearded herms made of lead, from fourth century B.C. contexts at Olynthus, have been identified

as Priapus by D. Robinson, but are thought by others to be herms of Hermes.[43] These herms occasionally share bases with separate, female herms identified as images of Aphrodite.[44] With no other attribute than a bearded head, it is difficult to associate such images firmly with Priapus.

The earliest representations that can more securely be identified as Priapus occur in small scale reliefs. The decoration of a bronze mirror cover dating to the beginning of the third century B.C. shows Hermes, a nymph and the baby Dionysos, along with a herm of a draped Priapus _anasyromenos_.[45] Relief ware bowls of the third century and later depict him in herm form, raising a garment, as he also does on Calenian relief ware tondos.[46]

At Lampsakos on the Hellespont, which Priapus founded, according to one tradition,[47] and which was considered to be the center of his cult,[48] bearded, wreathed heads with horns, identified as the god, begin to appear as obverse types on bronze and silver coins soon after 190 B.C.[49] But it is not until later, beginning with the bronze coinage of Augustus at Lampsakos, that reverse types identified as anasyromenos "sculptures" of Priapus occur, with garment raised and phallus erect.[50] Occasionally the god stands within a temple facade, and such numismatic types continued to be produced through the reign of Gallienus.[51]

The attributes shared by Hermaphroditos and Priapus occasionally make it difficult to identify with certainty figurines whose heads are missing or whose torsos are damaged. At first glance, for instance, the _anasyromenos_ figure now on display at the Selcuk Museum (Fig. 12)[52] may appear to be a

representation of Hermaphroditos. But there are several clues that help to distinguish this sculpture as an image of Priapus instead. Priapus' erect phallus is generally much larger than that of Hermaphroditos. In addition, he often wears covered shoes or boots.[53] Hermaphroditos' feet are usually bare, although a few images wear sandals (notably No. 17).

Furthermore, it may be important to examine the area where the head of the figure has broken away, because in small, roughly worked figures, the ends of Priapus' beard could be mistaken for folds of fabric. Remains of such a beard are probably visible on a small (0.65 m.) terracotta figurine (No. 37, not cast from the late fourth century mould fragment) found at the Athenian Agora in a late Hellenistic context (Fig. 13).[54] Although the piece has been identified as an hermaphrodite, it is probably Priapus.

Nearly all of the herms of Hermaphroditos are small, but one fairly large example (1.24 m.) was found at Pergamon (No. 48, Fig. 14). Its head, neck and shoulders, left arm and phallus were dowelled on and are now missing. The figure wears a high belted, short-sleeved chiton covering both developed breasts. Folds of drapery were carved free of the herm shaft and frame it on either side. A mantle worn over both shoulders hangs down on both sides of the figure.

Considering this work once more, it is less clear to me now that it must be an image of Hermaphroditos. It may actually represent Priapus. With the sculpture in its present fragmentary condition, there is no way of being absolutely sure about its identity. But the cutting on the shaft for the phallus suggests that this addition may have been substantial, and thus more

appropriate for Priapus than Hermaphroditos. Also, there appear to be more large scale sculptures of Priapus _anasyromenos_ than of his hermaphroditic counterpart, another possible argument for identifying this sculpture as Priapus. Winter, in the original publication of the herm called it a "Hermaphroditische Priaposherme,"[55] but Wrede more recently has grouped it with the category of herms of Hermaphroditos.[56]

Isis/Aphrodite Anasyromenas

Besides images of Hermaphroditos and Priapus _anasyromenoi_ there is another group of Hellenistic terracotta figurines, all female, who raise their dresses. From Egyptian contexts -- Saqqara, Alexandria, and Memphis, they characteristically wear an elaborate headdress, consisting of a high polos decorated with garlands that has been identified as an attribute of Isis.[57] Dunand believes these figurines are images of Isis-Aphrodite. At least one figurine of this type was found in the West Necropolis at Alexandria.[58]

Hermaphroditos in Related Poses

Some other representations of Hermaphroditos exposing itself should be considered as corollaries to the images discussed above. Unlike the canonical _anasyromenos_ types, these works, both figurines and larger marble sculptures, pose with drapery unfastened and held out behind, forming a screen for the nude body. These frontal images, in contrast to their _anasyromenos_ counterparts, have clearer parallels with Hellenistic types of Aphrodite, as we will see.

One of the larger examples of this type was found at the

Roman site of Virunum, northeast of Klagenfurt in Austria (No. 23). The sculpture was excavated in the early nineteenth century in the so-called "Tempelacker", and some small joining fragments were recovered early in this century northwest of a large peristyle building in the bath complex. The work has a preserved height of 1.14m. and lacks its head, right arm just below shoulder to wrist, and left arm from the elbow down. It is one of a group of sculptures made of the local Klagenfurt marble, apparently produced by a workshop active during the Hadrianic and Antonine periods, according to H. Kenner.[59]

Hermaphroditos here stands with its weight on the right leg, left leg flexed, feet flat on the plinth and close together. The lowered right hand holds out folds of drapery which is drawn behind the body and draped in a Bauschnest on the left shoulder, and then falls to partially cover the pilaster upon which Hermaphroditos rests its left arm. The body is softly modelled, with little muscular definition of the epigastric area, and only slight articulation of the hip muscles.

This frontal pose, with the legs and feet held close together and the left leg extending forward slightly has been compared with that of the Aphrodite found in the baths at Cyrene, now in the Terme Museum in Rome.[60] This sculpture has been variously dated in the Imperial period, between the first and the third centuries A.C.[61] For the treatment of the drapery forming a shell behind the figure several Hellenistic comparanda can be found.[62] One of the earliest examples of the pose is preserved by the type known as the Aphrodite Frejus, or Genetrix, generally thought to have been inspired by a Greek prototype of

the late fifth century.[63] This is one of the well known, but certainly not the first works of the fifth century employing a gesture that exposes and emphasizes the female body. But here of course, Aphrodite is clothed beneath her mantle and the clinging, transparent chiton reveals every contour and detail of her figure.

What apparently is the earliest well dated representation of Hermaphroditos in this pose (No. 26) is important because it comes from a tomb at Sciatbi near Alexandria. The use of this necropolis, on the basis of the pottery finds, extends from the late fourth to possibly the middle of the third century B.C.[67] However, the late red-figured ceramics have suggested to some commentators that the cemetery may have gone out of use by the end of the fourth century B.C. A figurine of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ was reported to have been found at Sciatbi, but it is not clear that it came from a grave.

Conclusions

Anasyromenos imagery, and this imagery specifically applied to representations of hermaphrodites, appears to be in a developed form by the late fourth century B.C., with at least one fifth century Sicilian terracotta of a female in this pose. It is difficult to find images of Priapus *anasyromenos* that can be dated to this period, so possibly this god and his iconography, resembling closely that of Hermaphroditos, draw on Hermaphroditos, rather than the other way around.

Representations of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos* are the earliest images of Hermaphroditos, and they are also the earliest to which a fairly certain ritual function can be assigned. It is likely that these objects, dedicated to Athena and Demeter, both in Greece and Southern Italy, may have been considered to have a religious function. But the significance of such works, mainly small terracottas, was not limited to their use as votive offerings, since examples have also been found in graves. Images of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos* were also appropriate in funerary contexts. Possibly the same protective function wielded by Delian reliefs bearing images of Hermaphroditos in the *anasyromenos* pose was employed in Hellenistic graves.

NOTES

1. P. Chantraine. Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque (Paris 1968)85; J. Henderson, The Maculate Muse (New Haven 1975) 21; also see A. King, "Agnodike and the Profession of Medicine." ProcCamPhilSoc 32-33(1986-1987)53-75; esp. 61.

2. M. L. West, The Orphic Poems (Oxford 1983)266; W. K. C. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion (London 1935)133-136; O. Kern, Orphicum Fragmenta (Berlin 1922)126-129, no. 52. On the connection of Iambe in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and Baubo in the Orphic fragment see N. J. Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (Oxford 1974)213-217.

3. H. Diels, "Arcana Cerialia," in Miscellanea dedicata al Professore A. Salinas (1907)3-14; King, (supra, n. 1) 72 n. 1. Figurines of so-called Priene type have been associated with Baubo's gesture. These small images consist of a female lower torso and legs, with feminine face and hairdo superimposed upon the belly (see LIMC III.1 87-88, sv. "Baubo"; M. Olender, "Aspects de Baubo," RevHistRel 202(1985)4-55; F. Dunand, "Une 'Pseudo-Baubo' du Musée de Besancon," Hommages á Lucien Lerat (Paris 1984)262-270. Another group of terracottas identified as images of Baubo are of nude, squatting women who point at their genitals. No anasyromenos images have been identified as representations of Baubo.

4. P. E. Easterling, B. M. W. Knox, The Cambridge Ancient History of Classical Literature (Cambridge 1985)158-164, 735; O. Masson, Les fragments du Poete Hipponax (Paris 1962)Nos. 135-135a.

5. For an analysis of Herodotos' use of sources for his Egyptian sections see D. Fehling, Herodotus and His Sources (Leeds 1989).

6. R. G. Ussher, The Characters of Theophrastus (Oxford 1960).

7. King (supra, n. 1) 63-68.

8. On Agnodike see most recently King, n. 1 above, and C. Bonner, "The Trial of Saint Eugenia," AJP 41(1920)253-264, and n. 9 below.

9. H. von Staden, Herophilos: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria (Cambridge 1989)38-39, 40 n. 11, 53.

10. On Alexander Balas see E. R. Bevan, The House of Seleucus. (London 1902)212-221.

11. See Chapter 1, pp.

12. G. Rizza, "Le Terrecotte di Axos," ASAtene 29-30(1967-1968)237-238, No. 86; A. C. Brookes, "The Chronology and Development of Daedalic Sculpture," Diss., Univ. of Penn, 1978, 117-118, No. 274; on Axos see D. Leakley, R. Noyes,

Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands (Park Ridge 1975)102. According to Dr. Vance Watrous, similar figurines were found at Itanos in northeastern Crete; these have not been published.

13. Rizza (supra, n. 12) 214-268.

14. Rizza (supra, n. 12) 238.

15. A. Lebessi, "A Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite on Crete," _Expedition_ 18(1975-1976)2-13, esp. 12; _Praktika_ 1972, 193-203, pl. 190g.

16. Gela Museum Inv. no. 13859, well preserved, approximately 0.10m in height.

17. Athens, Agora, T1808: D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas I, A." _Hesperia_ 21(1952)116-164, esp. No. 50, 145, 162. This mould fragment is an important piece of evidence. One problem presented by its fragmentary condition is that it does not satusfy the criteria for making a conclusive identification oof an image of Hermaphroditos since the upper portion of the mould is missing. It is possible that the mould could have been intended to produce a figurine of Priapus, but if it were, male genitals would have been added separately. I have examined the fragment carefully, and can report that small, but distinguishable male genitals are present on the mould as it is preserved. If Thompson is right about the use of this mould for studying an existing type of figurine, rather than as an actual working mould for the production of new statuettes, then its identification as a mould from a figure of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ is probably correct.

18. Thompson, (supra, n. 17) 120-121.

19. S. Rotroff, "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, Preface. A Chronological Commentary on the Contents," in _Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas_ (Princeton 1987)184.

20. Thompson, (supra, n. 17) 125.

21. Thompson, (supra, n. 17) 125; on study models see ead., "Mater Caelatura," _Hesperia_ 8(1939)285-316, esp. 312-316.

22. D. Fillieres, G. Harbottle, E. V. Sayre, "Neutron Activation Study of Figurines, Pottery and Workshop Materials," _JA_ 10(1983)55-69, esp. 64.

23. Fillieres (supra, n. 22) 59-60.

24. K. M. D. Dunbabin, _The Mosaics of Roman North Africa_ (Oxford 1978)275.

25. Personal communication by Dr. Hector Williams, Director of the excavation. I saw a slide of this object during Dr. Williams

report of the season's work at Mytilene, presented at the Archaeological Institute of America meetings in Boston, December, 1989. He has kindly agreed to send me a photograph of the figurine. For a report on the 1988 excavation season at Mytilene see C. and H. Williams, "Excavations at Mytilene, 1988," EMC 33(1988)167-181, and on the Demeter sanctuary there, pp. 176-177. Another terracotta figurine of Hermaphroditos -- not of anasyromenos type -- was found in Locri (No. 19), also in a votive deposit, this one dedicated to Athena. It is nude, with a mantle falling from its shoulders and draped behind it. It holds a bowl of fruit in the left hand. I am indebted to Dr. Rebecca Miller Ammerman for alerting me to this example.

26. For another figurine of Hermaphroditos anasyromenos, in marble, found in association with a temple possibly dedicated to Demeter and now in the Varvakeion Museum, see A. Schachter, Cults of Boiotia v. 2 (London 1986)39, 132-136; G. Korte, "Die antiken Skulpturen aus Boeotien," AthMitt 3(1878)396, no. 174. A fragmentary relief dated to the late fifth century B.C., has not been identified conclusively as representing Demeter or Meter. Hellenistic evidence from the area points to worship of Demeter, but in the Roman period, based on inscriptions mentioning Meter, this goddess was worshipped as well. Worth noting also is some evidence from the Demeter sanctuary at Mytilene that the Mother was also worshipped there (Williams [supra, n. 25] 135). It is just possible that there is a connection between the Mother at these sanctuaries and Hermaphroditos.

27. On kourotrophoi: T. H. Price, Kourotrophos (Leiden 1978); although she does not mention Hermaphroditos or Priapus in this role. A few images of Bes kourotrophos appear to have a clearly hermaphroditic appearance. In these figurines, the god cradles a small reclining image of himself with the left hand, and with the right, holds his developed female breast. See J. Furio, "Bes bifronte e Bes Ermafrodito," Aegyptus 43(1963)239-255, esp. 239, fig. 4.

28. Breccia (1930; see below, n. 57)31.143, 2.2, pl. 48.

29. Chapter 3, pp.

30. Delos, Maison de Fourni: P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, Guide de Délos (Paris 1983)260-262, plan 7; J. Marcade, Au Musée de Délos (Paris 1969)400-405; id., "Reliefs Déliens," BCH Supp. 1(1973)329-369, esp. 342-351.

31. P. Bruneau, Explorations Archeologiques de Délos, v. 29: Les Mosaiques (Paris 1972) 305-316.

32. Bruneau and Ducat (1983, supra, n. 30)262-264; Marcadé (1973, supra, n. 30) 329-369.

33. Herakles relief: Marcadé (1973, supra, n. 30) 336-338, No. 7, fig. 11.

34. P. Bruneau, "Apotropaia Déliens: La Massue d'Héraklès," BCH 88(1964)159-168.

35. Images of Priapus were also used as supporting statuettes in groups with Aphrodite see E. Kunzl, "Venus vor dem Bade - ein Neufund aus der Colonia Ulpia Traiana und Bemerkungen zur Typus den 'sandelosenden Aphrodite,'" BonnJbb 170(1970)113-116, Nos. M12, M15, M40, M41, M50, B17, B18, B50, S25-28, F7. The earliest of these images has been dated to the late second century B.C. Such works may reflect the tradition prevailing from at least the first century B.C., that Aphrodite in fact was the mother of Hermaphroditos, and so the goddess was shown with her bisexual child, as well as, more commonly, with her other children, Eros and Priapus. Yet another fragment, possibly of a Hermaphroditos with short veil, from one of these groups was found at Delos, on the road to the Theater.

36. Marcadé (1973, supra n. 30) 345, n. 29.

37. Wrede, H. Die antike Herme (Mainz 1986) 25.

38. R. Cohon, "Greek and Roman Stone Table Supports With Decorative Reliefs," Diss., New York University, 1984; Lehmann-Hartlebein, RomMitt 38-39(1923-1924)264-280. G. M. A. Richter, Ancient Furniture (Oxford 1926)140.

39. On Priapus: H. Herter, RE 22A(1954)1916-1918, s.v. "Priapus"; id., De Priapo (Giessen 1932); E. Paribeni, EAA 6, 466-467, s.v. "Priapo". H. Blanck, "Il Maripara: Eine Priaposstatue in Formello," RomMitt 86(1979)339-350. Herter argues that in fact Priapus' cult did develop in Greece until after the time of Alexander the Great.

40. Paus. 9.31.5; for other genealogies see Herter (1954, supra, n. 39)

41. Now in Boston at the Museum of Fine Arts. E. Simon, Die Götter der Griechen (Munich 1985)312; also see Paribeni, (supra, n. 39)467, and J. D. Beazley, The Pan Painter (Mainz 1974)2 n. 9.

42. Simon (supra n. 25) 312. Ithyphallic herms on Thasian stamped amphora handles of the late fourth-early third century have been identified as images of Priapus: F. Salviat, "Religion populaire et timbres amphoriques: Hermes; Helene et les ΔΟΚΑΝΑ," BCH 88(1964)486-495. Two images of Priapus were included in the third century Pompe of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but what these representations may have looked like has been disputed (see E. E. Rice, The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus [Oxford 1983]). In addition, A. D. Trendall identifies as Priapus herm on a south Italian nestoris painted by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter (380-360 B.C.): The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily (Oxford 1967)113, no. 584.

43. D. M. Robinson, Excavations at Olynthus X (London 1941)6-14, pl. II, III.

44. Robinson (supra n. 43) Pl. II.3-7.

45. H. Wrede (supra, n. 37) 28-29; G. Bordenache-Battaglia, "Bronzi Castellani (fine IV-IIIc. a.C.) recentemente restaurati," in _Nuove scoperte e acquisizioni nell Etruria meridionale_ (Rome 1975)87-88, No. 5, pl. 25.5. 46. Berlin F2900, B. Neutsch, "Das Epigrammenzimmer in der 'Casa degli Epigrammi' zu Pompeji," _JdI_ 70(1955)168, fig. 13; also a Calenian relief tondo decorated with Hermes and an _anasyromenos_ herm of Priapus: _CVA_ Capua (3) Museo Campano no. 7787, 23, pl. 18.2.

47. Priapus as founder of Lampsakos: Strabo, 587, schol. Theocr. 1.21.

48. Priapus at Lampsakos: Pausanias 9.31.2.

49. Coins of Lampsakos: B. V. Head, _Historia Nummorum_ (Oxford 1911)530-531; W. Wroth, _British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia_ (London 1892)86-90.

50. Augustan coins: Wroth, (supra, n. 49) 87, No. 79, pl. 20.13.

51. Priapus in a temple: Wroth, (supra, n. 49) 89, No. 88, pl.20.12.

52. Selcuk Museum Priapus

53. K. D. Morrow, _Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture_ (Madison 1985) .Recently on this shoe type in Roman sculpture: H. Goette, "Mulleus - Embas - Calceus," _JdI_ 103(1988)401-464; also see Herter (1932, supra n. 39) 198.3.

54. Athens, Agora, T3002.

55. Winter (below, n. 57) VII.2 220.

56. Wrede (supra, n. 29) 25.

57. For examples of female _anasyromenai_ see: E. Breccia, _Monuments de L'Égypte Gréco-Romaine_ (Bergamo 1930)46, Nos. 181-182, Pl. 4.1, 3. P. Perdrizet, _Les Terres Cuites Grecques d'Égypte de la Collection Fouquet_ (Paris 1921)54-56, pl. 5; P. Graindor, _Terres Cuites de L'Égypte Gréco-Romaine_ (Antwerp 1939)49; W. Weber, _Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Die aegyptisch-griechische Terrecotten_ (Berlin 1914) 119-120, 131, figs. 78, 81; F. Winter, _Die Typen der figurlichen Terrakotten_ II (Berlin 1903)220.1-8. On the dating of these figurines see P. M. Fraser, "The Cult of Serapis in the Hellenistic World," _OpAth_ 3(1960)1-54, esp. 13. A fragmentary marble figurine of a woman in _anasyromenos_ pose was found on Delos. Only the lower half of the torso and legs are preserved (see J. Marcade, "Relief Deliens," _BCH Supp._ 1[1973]A3856, 343, pl. 16).

58. F. Dunand, _Le Culte d'Isis dans le Bassin Oriental de la Mediterranee_ v. 1 (Leiden 1973)85, pls. 21, 22.1-2. Also see S. K. Heyob, _The Cult of Isis Among Women in the Graeco-Roman World_

(Leiden 1975)51 on anasyromenos gesture. On Isis-Aphrodite see P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria (Oxford 1972)192, 198, 239, 261, 671-672. Isis is associated with Aphrodite in a hymn of the first century B.C. carved on the anta of the temple of Isis-Hermouthis at Medinet-Madi (Fraser [supra n. 36] 670-672). For another anasyromenos figurine (female) from the West Nekropolis at Alexandria see Breccia (supra n. 36)46, No. 181, pl. 4.3. For another example from a funerary context at Alexandria see A. Adriani, "Le Necropole de Moustafa Pasha," AnnMus (1933-1934)156, No. 11, fig. 79 (possibly from Hellenistic Tomb 3).

59. H. Kenner, Die Bäderbezirk von Virunum (Vienna 1947)69. The so-called "Virunum Master is thought to be an Italian artist (A. Mocsy, Pannonia and Upper Moesia [London 1974]179-181). For a Third Style wall painting from Herculaneum with Hermaphroditos in a similar pose see Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli (Rome 1986) 140, No. 115 and R. Herbig, Nugae Pompeianorum (Tubingen 1962) 16, pl. 21.

60. Cyrene Aphrodite: O. Vasori, "Statua acefala dell'Afrodite da Cirene," MusNazRom I.1, 170-176, no. 115.

61. LIMC II.1 56-57, no. 455.

62. By the early fourth century B.C., the lifted mantle is attested both in large and small scale originals. The running Nereids in marble, adorning the podium of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, in the third decade of the fourth century B.C., hold their mantles out behind them, accentuating their active, off balance poses and providing a visual focus for each sculpture. The Nereids are completely dressed, but again, their drapery, clinging and translucent, reveals their bodies beneath, almost as though they were nude (Nereid Monument: P. Coupel and P. Demargne, Fouilles de Xanthos: Le Monument des Nereides [Paris 1963] pl. 3; Nereids: A. H. Borbein, "Die griechische Statue des 4.Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," JdI 88[1973]43-212, esp. 104-113, figs 13-22). See BM 909, Borbein, figs. 13-14. It should be noted that the gesture of the raised mantle here not only emphasizes the body, it also intensifies the sense of motion and speed conveyed by the sculptures. At Olynthos, undraped, terracotta figurines with mantles held out behind, in frontal, static poses date to the early fourth century B.C. (Olynthos v. 7: The Terra-cottas of Olynthos found in 1931 (Baltimore 1933) Nos. 265-271, pl. 34). A series of young male images, identified as Eros, all from the same mould, depict a nude boy holding his mantle out behind him. He leans to left on a pillar, and to right on a herm with a female head identified by Robinson as Aphrodite. Terracotta figurines of females similarly posed also occur in the fourth century B.C., including an example from Athens, now in Copenhagen, dated to the second half of the fourth century (N. Breitenstein, Danish National Museum: Catalogue of Terracotta [Copenhagen 1941]29 No. 273; for other examples see Nos. 295, 297, 298). So by this time the motif of the mantle used as an emphasizing backdrop for the body is well established, for males as well as females.

63. Aphrodite Frejus: B. S. Ridgway, Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture (Princeton 1981)198-200. A variant of the exposing gesture is preserved by a few figures of a type known as the Aphrodite Kallipygos (LIMC II.1). The name is drawn from a mentioned in Athenaeus of a Syracusan temple that housed a sculpture of Aphrodite bearing this epithet. In these works, characteristically lifts her garment, not only exposing her genitals, but also her buttocks. But known representative of the type is the much restored Roman sculpture now in Naples. The pose is also reflected in small scale terracotta, on a gem, in relief, and by the decorative finial of a silver spoon. The large scale marble version lacks its original head and neck, and Saflund has argued that the pose would actually have been less torsional based on that of the well preserved figure in silver. However, this miniature example is so small that it might not be an acceptable comparandum for a large scale sculpture. A variety of dates for the prototype of the Naples Kallipygos has been proposed, the earliest of these being in the fourth century B.C. A terracotta figurine of this same type has been assigned a late Hellenistic date, and a limestone relief found on Kos is also considered to be late Hellenistic (A. Laurenzi, Clara Rhodos 9[1938]112). Some other evidence for the gesture of exposing the buttocks, all from Southern Italy and Sicily, can be mentioned here. These objects include Campanian hell krater painted by a member of the SS Subgroup, where a women reveals her buttocks to a reclining symposiast (A. D. Trendall, The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily v. 1 [Oxford 1967]460, No. 71. Naples NM 2855[82570]), dated in the mid-fourth century B.C., and a group of terracotta figurines from late fourth century/early third century B.C. graves on the island of Lipari (L. Bernabo-Brea and M. Cavalier, Meligunis-Lipara v. 2 [Palermo 1965]316, pl. 199.1 and 3). These statuettes, while they are not wearing masks, as do many of the distinctive theatric figurines from Lipari, have grotesque faces.

64. Fraser (supra, n. 58) 32-33.

CHAPTER 3

Sleeping Hermaphrodite I

Replicas

Even a cursory examination of the varieties of hermaphrodite representations in Greek and Roman art reveals that standing, frontal figures are by far the most numerous, reproduced in various scales, materials, and with some variations in costume and pose. However the distinctive recumbent type popularly called the Sleeping Hermaphrodite is the best known and most frequently illustrated of ancient hermaphrodite sculptures.[1] These works have intrigued artists and scholars for centuries. Bernini and other famous modern sculptors were responsible for restorations and additions to the ancient replicas.

In spite of the standard scholarly assertion about the ancient popularity of the work, based on the number of copies, it should be pointed out that the preserved replica group is relatively small. There are six full figures, two fragments, and three variants. Most familiar is the replica in the Louvre, now resting upon a tufted marble cushion sculpted by the Italian artist Bernini, probably around 1620 (No. 56, Fig. 15).[2] The eighteenth century sculptor Bergondi created the mattress and crumpled sheets beneath the replica now in the Villa Borghese in Rome (No. 56e, Fig. 16).[3]

A replica in the Terme in Rome had the rocky part of its plinth completely trimmed away (No. 56c, Fig. 17). This work was found in 1879 during the excavation of an Antonine house in Rome discovered beneath the foundations of the Teatro Costanzi, in the neighborhood of Via Firenze and Via Roma. From the fragmentary

inscription on a lead water pipe, the house was determined to have belonged to C. Julius Avitus, a Syrian from Emesa who was the husband of Julia Maesa, sister of Julia Domna. Avitus was proconsul of the province of Asia sometime in the early third century A.C. The Sleeping Hermaphrodite replica was found walled up in a niche in a peristyle of the house. It is impossible to determine whether this niche was the original setting of the work, but it is important because of all the Sleeping Hermaphrodite types, only a few have precise findspots, and this is the only one in a domestic site.[4] When it was excavated, the sculpture had apparently already lost its plinth.

Several other copies, however, preserve the rocky ledge covered with drapery, and sometimes the additional feature of an animal skin upon which the figure slept in antiquity. These include a second example in the Louvre (No. 56a), one in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence (No. 56b, Figs. 18a-b), another in the Hermitage (No. 56f), and a variant in the National Museum in Athens (No. 56i, Fig. 19a-b). A smaller variant found on the Greek island of Kos (No. 56g) preserves not only the rocky plinth, but the erect phallus, which some other replicas do not.

A fragmentary figure now in the Carnegie Institute Museum in Pittsburgh (No. 56h) is of special interest because of the unique additional attribute, a branch bearing pomegranates held in the left hand. As proposed below, this element may actually reflect a specific mythological tradition involving the Phrygian divinity Agdistis. In all respects -- hairstyle, pose -- this fragment corresponds to other examples, but not enough is preserved to establish whether it was originally an hermaphrodite.

This is a problem that must be considered because of another fragmentary replica, this one in the storerooms of the National Museum in Athens (No. 56i, Fig. 19a-b). In most details resembling other exponents of the type, the Athens figure diverges from them in one essential respect--it lacks male genitals. Found on the South Slope of the Acropolis in 1880, built into a Byzantine wall in the vicinity of Makryannis, it was published as a maenad by Kavvadias in the 1892 catalogue of the National Museum collection.[5] One other fragment, in the storerooms of the Terme Museum (No. 56d, Fig. 20), is also ambiguous because it preserves only the lower legs, along with a portion of plinth draped with animal skin as well as fabric.

As for the dates of the copies, some have been dated within the first century A.C. The small variant from Kos was assigned to the late Hellenistic period by Laurenzi, but there is no contextual support for this early date. If Laurenzi is correct, however, this example would be the earliest, along with the sleeping Maenad (see Appendix 1) which some authorities also have placed in the late Hellenistic period. The majority of the replicas are probably to be dated later than these two, within the first century A.C. The date of the prototype is traditionally considered to be in the middle of the second century B.C., through a combination of literary and stylistic considerations. As we will see, however, a chronology and attribution for the original Sleeping Hermaphrodite cannot easily be established.

Attribution

The ancient sources provide little information concerning artists who created hermaphrodite sculptures, so at least since the mid-nineteenth century the type has been associated by scholars with Pliny's (NH 34.80) mention of a bronze hermaphroditus nobilis made by the sculptor Polykles.[6] But the dating and genealogy of this artist and his family are still disputed. First, which of several artists named Polykles is Pliny talking about ?

According to him, there were at least three sculptors with this name. The earliest flourished in the 102nd Olympiad (NH 34.50.80), that is, between 372 and 369 B.C., and his name appears together with those of some well known contemporaries like Kephisodotos and Leochares. The floruit of this Polykles is generally considered too early, on stylistic grounds, for him to have created the sleeping hermaphrodite, although he is associated by some scholars with a frontal, standing nude hermaphrodite type best represented by a replica in Berlin (No. 5).[7]

Pliny also says (NH 34.52) that there was a Polykles of Athens active at the time of the important 156th Olympiad (156-153 B.C.). This artist, according to Pliny, is the one who played a role in the much discussed artistic revival during the time of that same Olympiad,[8] and he is usually assumed to be the creator of the bronze hermaphroditus nobilis, the hypothetical inspiration of the sleeping hermaphrodite type.

The family tree of this mid-second century Polykles is complex and still disputed, because of ambiguities in the ancient

sources--Pliny, Pausanias, and a few inscriptions. According to the most generally accepted version of his stemma,[9] Polykles had two sons, Timokles and Timarchides. Pausanias says (10.34.6) that Timokles and Timarchides made a bearded Asklepios for a temple at Elateia. Further on in this same section (10.34.8) he tells us that the sons of Polykles -- he does not name them here -- also made an image of Athena Kraneia for her sanctuary at Elateia.

Timarchides, we learn from both Pliny (NH 36.35) and Pausanias (6.12.8-9), also had two sons: Dionysios and another Polykles. That the family may have continued to be associated with Elateia and that Polykles II, at least was at work there is suggested by the inscribed fragment of moulding from a statue base actually found in the temple of Athena Kraneia that has been restored as follows:

Πολυκλῆς Τιμ[αρχιδου Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε]ν.

The letter forms are dated to the second century B.C., and it is thought that the Polykles mentioned here would have been the grandson of Polykles I.

From Pliny we learn that the brothers also worked in Rome at the Porticus Metelli. According to Coarelli's reading of the passage, together they created a statue of Juno for the temple there, and Dionysius by himself made a Jupiter for the other temple in the same portico. Timarchides, their father, is said to have fashioned a statue of Apollo that stood somewhere in this vicinity even after the Porticus Metelli became the Porticus Octaviae in the reign of Augustus. However, the first part of this reading has been revised by Goodlett, who believes that

Dionysius alone made the cult statue of Juno, and that Polykles made another image of the same deity.[10]

Probably in the last third of the second century B.C., then, according to a recent analysis,[11] Polykles and Dionysius, along with their father Timarchides, were working at the Porticus Metelli in Rome. So for the authorship of the <u>hermaphroditus nobilis</u>, we really have two second-century candidates: Polykles and his grandson of the same name, the younger man actually having worked in Rome as well as Greece. Goodlett has recently suggested that the hermaphrodite, along with a Herakles on the Capitoline in Rome and some statues of Muses might have been made by this second Polykles (her Polykles II).[12]

One additional piece of evidence has only recently been considered in connection with the stemma of Polykles, but should be mentioned here, a fragmentary inscription found in the Athenian Agora and published in 1977.[13] This inscription has been interpreted as an inventory of sculptures of gods and other mythological figures that stood in various parts of a gymnasium. It has been dated by letter forms to the first half of the second century B.C.[14] The name Hermaphroditos occurs toward the end of the inscription and has been understood as referring to one of the sculptures. This work has then been tentatively associated with the name of an artist called Hermokles who appears in the list ten lines above. This artist, according to Lucian, made an image of Kombabos that had a woman's shape, but wore men's clothing.[15]

It is at least a suggestive coincidence that the mention of what apparently is a sculpted hermaphrodite turns up three

lines before a name restored as Timarchides, possibly a relation of the Polykles who made a bronze hermaphrodite, according to Pliny. But what is even more important about this inscription is the evidence it provides that in the second century B.C. there was a sculpture of a hermaphrodite and that it was appropriate decoration in, presumably, an Athenian gymnasium.

However, the intriguing problems of Polykles' family stemma should not distract us from the fact that there is really no evidence at all linking the original inspiration of the sleeping Hermaphroditos type with the hermaphrodite sculpture created by this artist. Pliny never says that Polykles, whichever one he meant, made a sleeping figure, so the attribution, at best, remains highly tentative.

Polykles and the _hermaphroditus nobilis_ appear in Book 34(82) of the _Natural History_ where Pliny discusses bronze working and sculptures in bronze. The passage is embedded in a long alphabetical and roughly chronological list of artist and their works, beginning with Alkamenes, and concluding with Xenokrates, who made statues and _de sua arte composuit volumina_ (34.83). This man is assumed to be Xenokrates of Sicyon, who flourished in the early third century B.C.,[16] and from whom Pliny adapted his material in this book and elsewhere. Jex-Blake, in her analysis of this section of Book 34,[17] suggests that much of it was drawn from Xenokrates' lost treatise on art. She detects stylistic differences between the original Xenokrateian material and parts added by Pliny or an intermediary author. The earlier entries, according to her, are brief and concisely stated, the later ones more anecdotal or epigrammatic.[18]

Thus, in the list containing the mention of Polykles and his hermaphrodite, according to Jex-Blake, nineteen of the thirty-five artists should be derived from Xenokrates, including the important entry mentioning Polykles. If she is right about Pliny's use of sources here, then it means that this Polykles must have been at work even before the second century B.C., and at least a contemporary of Xenokrates himself.

But other commentators have paid more attention to the subsequent Greek authors, Antigonos of Karystos and Pasiteles of Naples, who expanded and changed the original Xenokrateian text. According to Coulson, Antigonos added some of the anecdotal material concerning artists' lives. It was Pasiteles, he suggests, active between 108 and 48 B.C., who developed the concise, alphabetical format in order to present a large body of disparate information in the form of a handbook.[19] Jex-Blake's attribution of all concise entries to the third-century author may in fact oversimplify the number of permutations undergone by the earlier text.

Where the "seam" of the earlier sources and Pasiteles' contribution may be detected is in Pliny's controversial passage concerning the renewal of art in the 156th Olympiad. The artists involved in this movement, and those following, would have been added by Pasiteles, Coulson has suggested.[20] It is even conceivable that Pasiteles and Polykles II, grandson of the artist who played a role in the artistic revival earlier in that century, may have been contemporaries in Rome, with Polykles II perhaps the older of the two. Thus, the information may be full here because it concerns masters active in Italy,

whose work would have actually been visible to both the writer and his audience.

Pose

We turn now to the sculptural type itself. The figure lies asleep face down, but its torsional movement twists the upper body and head to the right and shifts the hips in the opposite direction, raising the left side enough so that the erect phallus and swelling left female breast are visible. Straightening, the right leg stretches taut an edge of drapery around the flexed right foot. The left leg weight down a section of fabric, drawing it back over the right calf. In its sleeping movements the creature, entangled in the drapery, thrusts the left leg free of this constriction. Muffled in folds of fabric, the left arm extends past the head, but the bent right arm is bare, corresponding in horizontal chiasmus to the uncovered, projecting left foot.

This distinctive pose, with disordered drapery that entangles some limbs, while others jut free of it, has suggested to modern commentators that the creature is tense and uneasy, that its sleep is restless, unlike that of the sleeping satyrs, for example, whose limbs appear limp and relaxed despite the sometimes awkward, almost upright poses. In addition, the phallus of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, when this feature is preserved, is erect, or partially erect. What this details might mean is suggested below.

The best parallel for the pose -- admittedly in a different scale and medium -- is a terracotta figurine of a sleeping woman

(maenad ?) found in Taranto (Fig. 21) in a grave dated to the second century B.C.[21] The figure, 0.10m high and 0.30m long in its preserved state retains much original paint. Missing is the end of the plinth that supported the figure's feet, and there are some gouges and chips elsewhere on the body; otherwise the work is in fairly good condition. The woman lies asleep on a mantle draped over an animal skin covering most of the plinth. Because of the pelt, and her rocky bed, she should probably be considered a maenad. The support itself is built up under the sleeper's head and arms, and is lower beneath her legs. The maenad sleeps in a torsional pose, with her right hip raised and her weight supported on the right side of the body.

The chief difference between this terracotta and the large scale marble figures is that the maenad's head turns in the opposite direction, towards the front of her body, rather than away from it. She cradles her head on the left, rather than the right arm, which extends out past her head. Also, the mantle does not wrap around the arm supporting the head but only covers the lower limbs. Here again is an important distinction between the two types. The Hermaphrodite is completely nude except where the drapery entangles a limb. However, in this terracotta figurine, the edge of the drapery does appear to have stretched around the leg in a way similar to that of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite.

This figure is important to our consideration of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite for several reasons. First, it demonstrates that such a pose was current at least by the second century B.C., in southern Italy, rather than Greece, generally

considered to be the source of the prototype. In addition, it may be significant that a composition of this kind was an appropriate grave good. However, the funerary value of such a work may have been its Dionysiac theme.

Coiffure

The hairstyle of the hermaphrodite (Fig. 22) is unique, although elements from a variety of sources, both male and female, can be recognized. A central braid, with short locks over the brow, is combined with long side locks rolled under and pulled back. Most replicas have the additional feature of a fillet that sometimes appears also to be braided hair, but sometimes is rendered as an added strip of cloth. At the crown of the head, where the central braid appears to end, is an oval ornament, and just behind this, a knot of hair.

For this distinctive "Phantasiefrisur," as Trillmich has called it,[22] with its combination of central braid, sometimes a braided fillet, jewelled fastener, and lampadion, there are no real parallels, although some of the individual elements can be recognized from other hairstyles in Greek and Roman art. A well established Greek convention in sculpture provides children and young people, both male and female, with long front hair braided and pulled back along a central part. Not only mortal children, but Erotes as well wear the braid, and a connection was seen long ago between the arrangement of Hermaphroditos' hair and numerous sculptures of sleeping Erotes, especially in the braid and the small spit curls in front of the ears.[23]

The braided coiffure of children in sculpture reflects the

practice, recorded in literary sources, of dedicating the long front hair, by boys to Apollo and to Artemis by girls. This special element of the coiffure was cut off and offered to these divinities at the time of a rite of passage determined by gender -- puberty for males, marriage for females.[24] Elizabeth Milleker has recently pointed out that the fourth century sculptural type known as the Apollo Lykeios, otherwise mature in size and physique, wears this braid as an emblem of his youthful dedicants -- the ephebes -- and an expression of the transitional period from immaturity to formal adulthood of which he was considered a guardian.[25]

As for the distinctive oval ornament at the crown of the head, exact comparanda are hard to find. Possibly it should be understood as an amulet of some kind, like those worn on strings and ribbons by Aphrodite and Eros, and some mortals, including children and prostitutes.[26] Or it may simply be an element of decoration evoking a recognized feminine coiffure. By the third century B.C. similar decorations are worn on the heads of female images in terracotta.

One of the earliest examples of such an element appears on a terracotta female head in Basel, approximately half life size, with its hair pulled back from a central part and secured with a fillet.[27] On the fillet, centered over the brow, is a large oval ornament that looks like a gem in an oval setting. This head, according to D. B. Thompson, dates possibly to the end of the third century B.C., and she tentatively identified it as Artemis, because of the simple fillet.[28] A Hellenistic terracotta protome of a female from Troy has over its brow an ornament that

appears to consist of large and small circular elements.[29]

The so-called Torlonia Maiden provides some interesting comparanda for elaborate added decorations in the hair. Although this complicated coiffure is distinct from that of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, there are similarities in the braided fillet and the reconstructed added ornaments. The complex headdress of the Torlonia maiden consists of several distinct elements, including braids running back from the brow and areas prepared for a diadem, probably in metal.[30]

Braids over the crown were drawn back from a central part and indicated in marble at the points where they would have been visible beside the headdress. A thin braid runs from the nape to the lower edge of the circular ornament. On the basis of other sculpted and painted examples in which the coiffure is surmounted by complex attachments, Trillmich reconstructs an elaborate diadem studded with jewels. He dates the head to the middle of the first century B.C., and finds iconographic parallels with Ptolemaic portraits of this period. The head, found in Vulci, may have been a private portrait sculpture commissioned by a wealthy Vulcian family, possibly of a daughter of the household during her lifetime.[31]

Closer to Hermaphroditos' headdress is that on a terracotta head from Fayoum of what has been identified as a young girl.[32] Her hair, short in front, grows back from a central parting over which has been placed a strip perhaps of fabric studded with oval decorations that may represent jewels in their settings. Dangling from the front of this headpiece, over her brow, is a single round ornament.

Although some general similarities of detail can be found between these pieces and the head type of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, none, however, provides a clear link stylistically, iconographically or geographically. The hairstyle of this type is unique and must have been created to express the unique character of this bisexual creature. Possibly the braid would have been recognized as an element worn by both males and females, and the "jewel" as a feminine adornment.

Dimensions

All the replicas, except for the small one from Kos with a preserved length of 0.41m, measure about 1.48-1.50m, the actual length of the body in its contracted pose. If the figure were to stretch out, it would actually be somewhat longer. This dimension is significant. Zanker has shown that three nude male Polycleitan types reproduced in many Roman copies correspond to three specific age groups, neos (1.70m.), ephebe (1.50m.), pais (1.10), as characterized by their size and degree of physical development. 1.48 m., the standard length of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite replicas, is also the consistent height of ephebe types like the Westmacott Athlete.[33] Other young and physically immature figures not associated with the Polycleitan canon, like the Praxitelean Pouring Satyr type and the Apollo Sauroktonos, also share this dimension.

It is worth noting here that this measurement in meters is just about equal to 5 Roman feet (5.02 Roman feet: 1 Roman foot = 0.295m, 0.295 x 5 = 1.475m), the smaller pais length, 1.10m.,

equals just about three and three-quarters Roman feet (3.72 Roman feet), and the tallest and most physically mature Polycleitan types, the neoi, measure about five and three-quarters Roman feet (5.76 Roman feet). So if, as it appears to be the case, Roman craftsmen were cutting sculptural types to standard specifications, the measurement would have been a whole number of the common unit of Roman scale.[34] The Sleeping Hermaphrodite, then, might have been perceived as a young, still physically immature person of "ephebe" scale.

Closer examination of the sculpture reveals how deliberate and extensive was the manipulation of proportions to create a specific visual effect. The dimensions of various parts of the body were carefully worked out to emphasize the buttocks. They are too large in proportion to the slim torso and shoulders, and the facial measurement of 0.13m from forehead to chin appears too small in relation to a body of this size. So the focus of the viewer is drawn first, by the proportions of the sleeping figure and by the pose, to its buttocks. The traditional assumption about the deliberately posed unconsciousness of this sleeper, that the viewer was intended first to encounter the back, and then the front, is probably correct.

Meaning

The Sleeping Hermaphrodite, along with other Hellenistic types -- the old market woman and the seated old drunken woman, the elderly fishermen and shepherds, for example -- has traditionally been considered by modern commentators to be a "genre" figure. It may be, however, that relatively few of these types, humans or Mischwesen, can actually be considered "generic", without some specific identity and function in antiquity. Recently, some scholars have proposed that some of these compositions had more specific religious meanings in antiquity.

E. Simon, for example, has suggested that the old seated drunken woman, clutching a lagynos and wearing the short, folded veil, may actually be a priestess of Dionysos in the guise of a nurse.[35] B. Ridgway has presented a new interpretation for the Pseudo-Seneca type as a representation of the fisherman Glaukos, suitable dedication in a shrine of Poseidon.[36] It might be that the old market woman in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, whose body looks surprisingly firm beneath her garments, actually is Aphrodite in disguise,[37] and that the old Capitoline shepherd carrying a lamb could be connected with Hermes,[38] rather than simply presenting glimpses of everyday life. Similarly the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type may also have been connected with a specific mythological character and conveyed a precise cult meaning.

Although the sleeping Hermaphroditos is generally considered part of a group of generic Hellenistic sleepers -- satyrs,

maenads, and Erotes -- in its more closed, torsional pose it is quite different from them. It has not been identified, even tentatively, with a specific mythological episode, like some Roman works thought to represent the sleeping Ariadne or Endymion, even though Hermaphroditos is a mythological character provided with a genealogy in ancient literature.

The sleeping satyrs are assumed to have fallen asleep just where exhaustion and wine overtook them, in abandoned, drunken poses. They do not actually even lie down in all cases, but just slump back where they sit. The sleeping bronze satyr boy from Herculaneum now in the National Museum in Naples,[39] is poised on a small rocky outcropping, with his right arm thrown back over his head. Although asleep, he really sits up, with nothing supporting his back. It is hard to imagine that there was not some additional element of support behind him, maybe a sculpted one; or perhaps an actual rock was incorporated in the composition.

Another famous sleeping satyr, the so-called Barberini Faun,[40] also sprawls in a half leaning, open pose, with more support for his back. As McNally has reemphasized, this marble sculpture was considerably restored by its modern admirers. The only part of the plinth with an original surface is at the back on the left side. The position of his left arm is not antique, and the right leg was restored by Vincenzo Pacetti, late in the eighteenth century.[41]

A group of Silenoi sleep in a more extended position, slumped over the vessels sometimes prepared for use as fountains. These figures rest their heads and drape their left arms over the

container, and sleep on a rocky plinth partially obscured by an animal skin. Again, while they can simply be understood as generic sleepers, they might reflect some version of an incident related by Xenophon, (Ana. 1.2.13) where Midas captures the wise Silenus by putting wine into the spring from which he drinks. A different account of the incident appears in Vergil's sixth Eclogue, where shepherds catch Silenus passed out in a cave and make him sing for them.[42] In their drunken sleep and their occasional function as fountains, these Silenoi may represent a specific mythological character -- Silenus himself. The amphora provides the narrative background of the scene as well as a physical link with an actual spring or pool, especially in the compositions where the container was pierced for use as a fountain.

Common to these sleepers are the rocky plinths that provide a natural, outdoor setting. [43] These rock seats and ledges establish the scene for beings who live outside ordinary society and sleep in apparent comfort on the ground. An anecdote in Plutarch's Life of Sulla (27.1-5) about the capture of a sleeping satyr near Apollonia in modern Albania is intriguing for several reasons.[44] In 84 B.C., after departing from Macedonia, Sulla's soldiers found the creature asleep in the woods, like the ones made by painters and sculptors. It may be significant that the action occurs in the Greek world, during the time of Sulla, who brought many Greek art works back to Rome.

Many sarcophagi bear scenes from the myth of Endymion and Selene, and a group of three-dimensional versions of the sleeping youth is known as well.[45] Although in one of the Spada reliefs

Endymion sleeps sitting up, his head and shoulders slumped forward,[46] more typically he sleeps on his back, stretched out on a rocky bed, his arms relaxed by his sides. For the sculptures in the round, a Hellenistic prototype is often proposed, but recently H. Gabelmann has suggested that these works are Roman creations of the second century A.C., extracts from the scenes in relief on Roman sarcophagi.[47] Endymion's frequent role in Roman funerary reliefs suggests a similar function for the three-dimensional figures.

Ariadne is another sleeper who frequently occurs in Roman funerary art. Again, there are many images in relief on sarcophagi. Two large-scale sculptures in the round of a draped, sleeping woman have often been identified as Ariadne. While the type is generally thought to have a Greek prototype, B. Ridgway has recently questioned the connection of this sleeper in the three-dimensional form with a Hellenistic prototype.[48] For these mythological characters, sleep is an essential attribute, representing a critical phase in their myth, though for each its meaning is slightly different. It is in this unconscious state that Endymion is loved by Selene. For Ariadne, sleep is the liminal state in which she is abandoned by Theseus, her human lover, and discovered by a divine one. The sleeping state permits these mortals to transcend their human limitations and become, through their association with the gods, immortal.

But why is the hermaphrodite asleep ? The meaning of this composition is still unclear in part because the meaning of hermaphrodites in ancient art is not yet fully understood. Should the sleeping hermaphrodite type, like the sleeping satyrs, be

considered part of a genre group of Dionysiac figures, or can we connect this type, at least, with some specific mythological incident ? Unlike Ariadne and Endymion, Hermaphroditos' funerary role is not explicit. No image of an hermaphrodite can clearly be identified on sarcophagi. A few figurines of Hermaphroditos have been found in late Hellenistic graves, but our sleeping type cannot be associated, by its provenience, with a grave.

In Chapter 1, we considered the Phrygian mythological personage Agdistis, who began life as a creature possessing both sexes, and then was transformed, through emasculation, into a powerful female divinity.[49] Some tentative connections were proposed in that chapter between the Phrygian story recounted by Pausanias, and later by Arnobius, and the myth of Hermaphroditos presented by Ovid.

Where the two mythological strands, Greek/Roman and Anatolian, might more clearly be seen to merge is in the sculptural type of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite. This composition may reflect a particular moment in the myth of Agdistis, when the hermaphrodite lies drunk and asleep by its pond, just before the self-emasculation. It is perhaps this scene, this moment, that is represented by these sleeping figures. The Roman replicas may depict a critical episode in the myth of Phrygian Agdistis, expressed in terms of a Greek, or possibly a Roman, aesthetic, as we will see. Removing the sculpture from the group of generic sleeping figures may lead to the conclusion that this composition might also have had some kind of cultic or religious meaning. And such a narrative setting for the composition would account for the often noted tense pose, rocky plinth, and plinth: Agdistis, the

wild creature moving restlessly in its drunken sleep, and the rocky bed reflecting not only the outdoor setting of the action but also the sleeper's mountain origins.

In fact, it is just possible that the fragmentary replica now in the Carnegie Institute Museum in Pittsburgh actually provides an additional echo of the Phrygian story. The figure, preserved only from the waist up, holds in its left hand a branch with pomegranates. This additional attribute is unique among the preserved replicas. In Arnobius' version of the Agdistis story, the blood spilled during the emasculation produces a pomegranate tree whose fruit eventually impregnates Nana with Attis. Possibly this fragment with its pomegranate, inspired by a version of the myth presented in the _Adversus Nationes_, foreshadows the birth of Attis, thus tying this sculpture, at least, even more closely to the mythological tradition of Attis and Kybele.

One clue to the original meaning of the type may be found in the distribution of the surviving copies. While the group of replicas is relatively small, most of these works are from Italian, primarily Roman, contexts, and one at least is said to come from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Both replicas found in Greece are variants of the type: the reduced version found at Kos, and the sleeping maenad found on the South Slope of the Athenian Akropolis.[50] Although the preserved replica-group itself is the product of many distillations, both ancient and modern, and thus cannot provide a reliable idea of the original number of monuments or their location, the distribution and dating of the survivors suggest some specific impulse for the generation

of the type primarily for a Roman clientele.

What event might have created a demand for these sculptures in Rome, some time during the first century A.C. ? A brief consideration of the history of the Great Mother and her cult in the west, and especially in Rome, may provide the answer. Greece appears to have received the Magna Mater first. She was worshipped early in the fifth century B.C. in the Athenian agora at the building most scholars identify as the Metroon. After this structure was destroyed by the Persians, her cult in the Agora was moved to the Bouleuterion, and the epigraphical evidence suggests that the Mother presided over record keeping and legal documents in Athens.[51] She is securely established at the Piraeus in the fourth century B.C., along with Attis. At first she was worshipped there by foreigners, but by the mid-third century B.C., Athenian citizens, members of orgeones, were participants in her cult.[52]

The introduction of Kybele into Rome is securely dated to 204 B.C., when a black rock thought to be the goddess was brought to the city on the recommendation of the Sibylline Oracle,[53] and by a vote of the Senate,[54] the only time this body was so directly involved with the installation of a new cult. An illustrious delegation was sent to Phrygian Pessinus to secure the goddess and she was established in Rome, first at the Temple of Victory on the Palatine,[55] where her Phrygian priest and priestess and their servants lived. This temple underwent several renovations and its third phase is depicted on a relief fragment now at the Villa Medici in Rome.[56]

Many details of official preparations for the goddess, and

the debates that must have taken place concerning the Oriental nature of this divinity are not recorded, but when Kybele comes into Rome she arrives in a "dephrygianized" form, without her mendicant Galli, who castrated themselves during religious frenzies, or Attis, inseparable from the mother in her more traditional eastern manifestation. Although there are a few scraps of evidence suggesting that Attis was known in Rome during the Republican period, there is no indication that he was actually worshipped, and certainly not by the aristocrats, who from the beginning were the chief participants in the Roman cult of Kybele.[57]

A festival called the Megalesia, established when Kybele was first installed in Rome, was patronized chiefly by Republican aristocrats. Celebrated in April (4th - 10th), the Megalesia consisted of sacral banquets and games, both ludi circenses and ludi scaenici.[58] These events were sponsored by the leading Roman families who had engineered the introduction of the cult. In fact, until the first century A.C., Kybele remained chiefly a divinity of the upper classes.

Augustus apparently introduced some changes in the administration of the Mother's festival toward the end of the first century B.C.,[59] but broader reforms in the cult were instituted by Claudius in the middle of the first century A.C., reflecting official recognition of the changing social and ethnic nature of Kybele worship. According to a sixth century source, Ioannis Lydus, Claudius established a festival for Attis, the Hilaria, celebrated in March.[60] The foreign, Phrygian aspects of the goddess Kybele during Claudius' reign finally began to be

recognized. This liberalizing of Phrygian cult activity in Rome coincides with the expansion of the city's Phrygian population, consisting not only of slaves and freedmen, but of wealthy Phrygian merchants as well.[61]

If this new interest in Phrygian Kybele and Attis began to receive official support around the middle of the first century A.C., as the evidence suggests, then perhaps other aspects of the Phrygian Magna Mater may have reached Rome as well, including the myth of Agdistis, a tradition apparently established several centuries earlier in Greece. If the story of Agdistis is as integral a part of Attis' history as Pausanias and later Arnobius suggest, then it may finally have received attention in Rome during a period when religious horizons appear to have broadened. To fulfill a religious need connected with the worship of Kybele, the Sleeping Hermaphrodite/Agdistis may have been a sculpture commissioned by a wealthy Phrygian established in Rome, or perhaps it was acquired by a Roman citizen who participated in the worship of the Mother and Attis.

Would the sculptural type have been created in Rome to new Roman-Phrygian religious specifications, or did it in fact draw on an existing Hellenistic tradition ? And if there was an earlier Greek prototype, was it also perceived as representing Agdistis ? Since all the evidence is late, and so little of it is Greek, it is at least a possibility that the sculptural type is actually a Roman creation. As has been discussed above, however, it is certain that the female Agdistis was known in Greece by the fourth century B.C. It is likely that the Hermaphroditic tradition of Agdistis may have been known there as well.

There is a faint possibility that the prototype of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite could have been Greek and Roman at the same time, and that it might have existed before the official introduction of Attis and his cult in the mid-first century A.C. The temple of Kybele in Rome burned down in 111 B.C. A Metellus, according to Ovid,[62] rebuilt it, but it is unclear which one of at least four Metelli this may have been. It cannot have been Metellus Macedonicus, since he died in 115 B.C., M. Caecilius Metellus, Macedonicus' third son, and Q. Metellus Numidicus, consul in 109 B.C., are possible candidates.[63]

As we have seen, the elder Metellus had employed Greek artists, among them Dionysius and Polykles, probably the grandsons of the mid-second century Polykles, to make cult images at his Portico. If the younger Polykles working in Rome was the one who created the bronze hermaphrodite mentioned by Pliny, then just possibly, still working for the Metelli, he might have made it as a statue of Agdistis for the decorative program of the new Kybele temple. As a Greek artist working in Rome, Polykles could have introduced elements from his own cultural tradition that might have been suppressed or overlooked previously in Rome. Perhaps if this period in Roman as well as Greek art was a vital and creative one, then foreign themes as well as techniques might have flourished.

The prototype, then, could have been seen in her sanctuary, and later, the new popularity in Rome of Phrygian traditions might have created a demand for replicas of the sleeping Agdistis sculpture. Admittedly -- it bears repeating here -- there are several problems facing any attribution of the

Sleeping Hermaphrodite to Polykles: several artists have the same name, and we do not know which one actually made the figure. Also, we have no idea what this bronze sculpture looked like, and no evidence at all that it was a sleeping figure.

However, assigning this specific mythological identity to the sleeping hermaphrodite sculptural type might explain why there are relatively few replicas, and why it is difficult to establish a clear funerary function for the figures. The Sleeping Hermaphrodite apparently does not occur in relief on sarcophagi, like Endymion, Ariadne, or even Attis. The meaning of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite may have been specialized enough that only certain people -- Phrygians, or Romans involved with the administration of the cult in its later phases -- would have been interested in such a work. And subsequently the popularity of this unusual composition may have been spread, since one replica is said to have been found at Hadrian's Villa south of Rome.

As we have seen, the basic pose had already been executed in the small scale terracotta figurine of a maenad from a Tarentine grave, dated in the second century B.C., a date that appears to be more secure that those of the Greek examples. The essential compositional elements of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type then, were already available in Italy, even if we propose a late second century date for the prototype, whether made by Polykles II or an unknown artist. If, as argued above, a specific religious movement in Rome during the mid-first century A.C. generated the majority of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite copies, then it is possible that the type was developed from an earlier work made on Italic soil, and that the image spread from Italy to

Greece, instead of the other way around. This sequence might account for the presence only of variant examples in Greece.

On the other hand, the variant work in Athens, found on the South Slope of the Akropolis, itself could have been the original work from which the others derived, if it really can be dated in the first century B.C., and the terracotta found at Tarentum be a similar, but unrelated composition. Whether or not this second hypothesis is correct, it would be important to know just where this sculpture of a Sleeping Woman might have been set in antiquity, and who she was intended to represent. If the work indeed is from some site on the South Slope, there are several monuments with which it could have been associated: the Theater of Dionysos, the Shrine of Dionysos Eleutherios, or even the sanctuary of Asklepios located on this side of the Akropolis.[64] Possibly sleeping figures may have been appropriate votives in the healing sanctuary.

The evidence available at the present time does not point the way toward a clear solution of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite's original meaning and source. However, it is very likely that for the Romans, at least, the Sleeping Hermaphrodite sculptural type was not a generic figure, with a primarily decorative function, but had a specific mythological identity and an established place in the cultic repertoire of Kybele in Rome. With these hypotheses in mind, it is possible to propose a Roman derivation for the type, possibly in the late second century B.C.[65]

Sleeping Hermaphrodite II: Recumbent on Back

While the well known Sleeping Hermaphrodite type has overshadowed the much larger group of standing semi-draped or nude figures, it has also eclipsed another reclining hermaphrodite type. In this composition, figures lie on their backs, and are closely related in pose to a large group of sleeping nymphs.[66] The best preserved hermaphrodite sculpture of this type was found at Pompeii and is now in the National Museum in Naples (No. Fig. 23). Its left leg is broken at mid-thigh, the right at mid-calf. A mantle partially covers the head, and is arranged below to fully expose the female breasts and male genitals, while covering the lower legs. Both arms are drawn up to cushion the head. Fast asleep, the creature's eyes are tightly shut and the mouth is open slightly. Hermaphroditos' hairstyle is feminine, long locks drawn back from a central parting. What is left of the plinth is rocky and uneven, and partly covered by fallen drapery.

This sleeper in its general pose resembles numerous Roman sculptures of sleeping women, thought to be water nymphs because of the vessels, sometimes pierced for use as fountains, that occasionally occur as attributes on the plinths. At least twenty-seven examples of such nymphs have been collected. Their findspots, when these are known, are usually Italian, although a variant form is from Magnesia on the Menander in Asia Minor. These works have been dated to the second and third centuries A.C., but are thought to have a late Hellenistic prototype.[67]

The female sleepers wear mantles loosely draped over their lower torsos, and characteristically support their heads on their

right arms which are drawn across the chest to the left shoulder. Our hermaphroditic examples have their garments similarly draped but there are variations in the position of the arms. Should we consider these differences in the pose of the upper body and the addition of the male genitals simply alterations of an existing type or evidence for separate sculptural compositions ?

One other sleeping hermaphrodite (No. 76), similar in pose to the Pompeian example, was altered, probably in the early nineteenth century, by its modern owner, Henry Ince Blundell. The original state of this work is known from a drawing in the Townley collection, and from the entry written by Blundell in the catalogue of his collection, published in 1809.[68]

The sleeping -- now female -- figure rests on its back, its wreathed head fallen back, the lips slightly parted. The relaxed right arm is slung over the edge of the the plinth and does not support the head, and the left arm rests against the thigh. As in the Pompeian counterpart, drapery covers the lower legs, but the upper body is nude.[69] The hair is centrally parted and drawn back. A bracelet is worn on the upper left arm.

The Lansdowne drawing shows that this sleeper originally was a hermaphrodite. However, not only does the sketch clearly include male genitals, but also a baby nursing at Hermaphroditos' left breast, with two more infants supported against its right side on folds of drapery. To the aesthetic and moral tastes of the Englishman's age, this scene was offensive: it was transformed into "a sleeping Venus and as pleasing a figure as any in this collection."[70]

Appendix 1: Athens, National Museum NM 261, A Sleeping Maenad ?

This sculpture (Figs. 19 a-b) was displayed in Athens at the National Museum for some time, with extensive restorations in plaster, but was then removed from exhibition some time before 1960. Just recently it has received renewed attention from archaeologists at the Museum, primarily Dr. Katerina Rhomiopoulou and Dr. Eva Raftopoulou. A publication of the sculpture is planned under the auspices of the Museum, and Dr. Rhomiopoulou intends to display this important work once again in the Galleries of the National Museum. It is not yet certain exactly when the sculpture will be on view there.

Since the sleeping Maenad is a unique work and has received no notice, discussion or description, outside of its inclusion in replica lists and the early Kavvadias catalogue entry, it is worthy of some additional comments here. I have seen the sculpture twice. The first time was in 1987, before the present restoration was begun, when the fragments had been disassembled and collected in a box in the storerooms of the National Museum. But in May of 1989 the sculpture occupied a prominent place in a Museum workroom and considerable restoration had already been completed. No new photographs are yet available to supplement the two views in the files of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. These photos present the sculpture as it appeared after its first restoration, with substantial additions in plaster and an accumulation of grime on the surface of the marble, which has now been carefully cleaned.[71]

One impetus for renewed study of the sleeping maenad was the possibility of finding additional joins among the holdings in the

new Akropolis storerooms at the Library of Hadrian. One piece of a rocky plinth found south of the Akropolis was recently brought to the National Museum in the hope that it might be part of this sculpture, but no join could be found, and it is not clear whether the fragment actually belongs to this work.

The marble is very fine grained, white-greyish in color, with some yellowing and rusty accretions on the surface. With a preserved length of 1.30m, the figure appears to be in the same scale as the majority of the "canonical" replicas. Much of the figure is preserved, although in many fragments, most of the major ones of which have been joined. The head, however, almost intact, has not yet been attached to the body because some intervening portions of the neck are missing and had been replaced with plaster in the earlier restoration.

Missing completely is the lower left leg, which originally was added as a separate piece; the surface where this portion joined the rest of the limb was prepared with rough picking and a dowel hole. Previously this lower limb was restored in plaster. Also now missing is the figure's left shoulder and arm. It appears that this limb was also added separately, judging from the irregularly shaped area, roughly picked, where the shoulder might have joined the body, but there is no evidence of holes for attachment. Could this piece have been cemented in place originally, or is this picked surface preparation for a later repair ? Enough of the right hand survives to show that its smallest finger was dowelled on.

Skill and care are evident not only in the attention to finished details, but also in the sensitive modelling of the

figure's musculature. Unlike the well carved, but colder Sleeping Hermaphrodite in the Terme Museum, whose limbs and torso are given little detail of internal movement, this sleeper's movements are expressed by subtle shifts of muscle beneath the skin, in the back, shoulders, and upper arms.

While the work corresponds in many respects to its hermaphroditic counterparts, several differences can be noticed. First of all, although the coiffure includes a central braid, it lacks both the topknot and the oval ornament on the crown of the head. The fillet, which in other replicas is thin and sometimes braided, here is rounder in section (ca 0.03m), thicker, and without a braided pattern.

In addition, the locks on the nape of the neck are arranged more loosely, without the rolled arrangement from which only a long lock escapes. Few curls with drilled centers survive, although the drill certainly was used to make long grooves delineating individual strands of hair. In fact there is no evidence of deep or abundant drill work although this tool was clearly used for defining contours. The outline of the right breast, for example, has been delineated by drilling a thin channel between it and the plinth against which it rests.

Besides the difference in gender, the most distinctive feature of the work is its well preserved plinth. Although it is now completely missing at the end supporting the figure's feet, it is nearly intact elsewhere. In fact, of all the Hermaphrodite replicas, this variant may actually have the best preserved plinth, well finished on both sides, with a carefully carved, irregular rocky surface visible all around.

As in some of the other replicas, the figure sleeps on an animal skin as well as a mantle, and this feature received careful detailing on both sides. The furry texture was rendered with a series of short, curved incisions at regular intervals all over it. The head and paws of the pelt are visible on the side of the plinth presenting a front view of the figure, and to judge from the short ears and generally feline look of the head, the skin was probably meant to represent a panther.

On this same side the plinth is built up under the head and arms and extends well beyond the left arm, giving the impression that the woman sleeps not on level terrain, but on a surface that is slanting as well as rocky. Since the front of the figure is emphasized by an extension of the plinth, well finished details and the distinguishing features of the animal pelt suggest that this side was probably the more important one, in contrast to the hermaphrodite replicas, where the appearance of the plinth suggests that the reverse is true.

As for the date of this work, the archaeologists at the National Museum believe that it may even be very late Hellenistic, possibly as early as ca. 50 B.C. For this date they cite the softness and skill of the modelling; there is no external evidence on which to rely. However the craftsmanship of this work is in general of very high quality, so this softness may be a mark of good work rather than early date. The monument could actually be assigned a date in the first century A.C. without difficulty.

How does the sleeping Maenad in Athens fit into the basically Italian group of Sleeping Hermaphrodite sculptures ?

As proposed above, it is possible that the type might have actually been created in Italy, rather than in Greece, and may represent a figure connected with the cult of Kybele in Rome. If it is possible that the prototype was made for the restored temple of Kybele on the Palatine, late in the second century B.C., then possibly the type went from Rome to Athens, instead of the other way around. This scheme might explain the absence of a canonical replica in Greece, and would even account for Hellenistic variants.

NOTES

1. In chronological order, beginning with the most recent discussions, bibliography on the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type includes the following, in addition to items presented in the catalogue: A. Pasquier, "Le reamenagement de la Salle des Cariatides: une Salle de sculpture hellenistique," RevLouvre 2(1989)46-58; esp. 53 with fig. 9; A. Ajootian, "Ex utroque sexu: The Sleeping Hermaphrodite and the Myth of Agdistis," AJA 92(1988)275-276; J. J. Pollitt, Art in the Hellenistic World (Cambridge 1986)149; fig. 160; L. de Lachenal, MusNazRom I6(1986)105-197; P. P. Bober and R. Rubenstein, Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture (London 1986); S. McNally, "Ariadne and Others: Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Antiquity," ClassAnt 4(1985); F. Haskell and N. Penny, Taste and the Antique (New Haven 1981)234-236, Nr. 48, fig. 12; L. de Lachenal, MusNazRom I1(1979)123-126; M. A. Robertson, A History of Greek Art (Cambridge 1975)551-553; G. Dickins, Hellenistic Sculpture Rev.ed. (Oxford 1972)57-58; C. Havelock,„Hellenistic Art (London 1971)123, No. 89; C. Dierks-Kiehl, Zu spāthellenistische bewegten Figuren der 2.Halfte des 2.Jahrhunderts (Koln 1970)90-93; M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age (New York 1961)112,124; A. W. Lawrence, Later Greek Sculpture (London 1972)23, 114, pl. 40; B. Ashmole, "Notes on the Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori," JHS 42(1922)244-246, fig. 10; BrBr 505. These writings are cited henceforth by author's name only. The two entries on the Terme replica of the sleeping hermaphrodite in the catalogue of the Museo Nazionale Romano provide an updated replica list for hermaphrodites of sleeping type and add some useful comparanda to the discussion. It might be pointed out here that the fragment now in the museum at Aix en Provence, listed by de Lachenal as a replica is almost certainly not ancient, since the tufted cushion upon which the figure sleeps (pillow and body are carved from the same piece of marble) was probably inspired by the famous one carved by Bernini for the Borghese replica now in the Louvre.

2. Bober (supra, n. 1) 98; Haskell and Penny (supra, n. 1) 234.

3. Haskell and Penny (supra, n. 1) 235.

4. G. Kieseritsky, "L'ermafrodita Costanzi," AnnInst (1882)245-R. Lanciani, "Supplementi al Volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum," BullComm 8(1880)22 No. 179; "Notizie degli Scavi," NSc (1879)113. On Julius Avitus: A. R. Birley, The African Emperor: Septimius Severus (London 1988)223.

5. See Appendix 1 at the end of this chapter for a fuller discussion of this work.

6. Pollitt (supra, n. 1), 149; Havelock (supra, n. 1) 123. A wounded Niobid, in a pose similar to that of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite has been identified on the sculpted frieze of the theater at Cilician Hierapolis (F. D'Andria and T. Ritti, Hierapolis Scavi e

Ricerche II: Le Sculture del Teatro [Rome 1985]133-134, No. ArIIIg, pl. 36.1). The Severan date of the theater is provided by a dedicatory inscription on the third fascia of the architrave which includes the name of a proconsul active in 206/7 (D'Andria and Ritti, xxvi). The fallen Niobid has been oriented diagonally across a narrow slab, occupying its upper half, so that his body is at a steep angle. Beneath this figure crouches another Niobid in a three-quarter backview. The dying Niobid, seen in a right, nearly profile view, has collapsed face down on a rocky surface. He cushions his head on his bent arms, the left forearm and hand disappearing under his head, the right hand protruding over the side of the rocky ledge. The Niobid's left foot crosses over the right leg at the ankle. Contributing a surprising element of action to the scene is a portion of flying drapery that emerges beyond his left side. While this pose resembles in general that of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite, some differences should be noted: both the Niobid's arms are bent beneath his head, and there is less torsion and compression in the arrangement of his body. While a craftsman at Hierapolis may have drawn on the pose of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite for his rendering of a dying Niobid (does this suggest that there may have been a replica of Sleeping Hermaphrodite type at the theater or elsewhere in this city, or that a pattern book made the composition available to local artists ?) it should be noted that the Niobid's pose also resembles that of the Florentine counterpart who lies on his back with his legs crossed, one arm bent, the other extended.Is it possible that this composition was in fact conceived of as being truly "in the round," finished on both sides and capable of being "flipped over" in space to accommodate the space and the composition of this relief slab ? But perhaps the correspondence between the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type and the dying Niobid at Hierapolis is coincidental. For a very close parallel in a famous earlier rendering of the same scene see the Niobid Painter's calyx krater in the Louvre (G341, ARV^2 601.22), where a dying Niobid lies face down on a steeply inclined rocky ground line (A. Hirmer and P. E. Arias, A History of Greek Vase Painting [London 1962]175).

7. A. Corso, in his recently published archaeological commentary on Pliny, assigns the hermaphroditus nobilis to the eldest Polykles, and identifies this work with the so-called Berlin Hermaphrodite (Gaio Plinio Secondo. Storia Naturale V. Mineralogia e storia dell'arte Libri 33-37, Trans. with notes by A. Corso, R. Mugellesi, G. Rosati [Torino 1986]581-586). For the Berlin Hermaphrodite see No. 14 in the catalogue.

8. For a discussion of Pliny's sources here, see pp. below. A. Stewart suggests that in fact the revival occurred in Rome, rather than Greece, and that it was caused by the presence of so many Greek artists in the city during the middle of the second century B.C. (Attika [JHS Supp. 14, London 1979]46).

9. On the complicated stemma of Polykles most recently see the dissertation "Collaboration in Greek Sculpture: the Literary and Epigraphical Evidence" (New York University 1989), 185-193 by G.

Goodlett, who kindly allowed me to read her discussion of Polykles and his family; also J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986)174, 313, n. 12; Stewart (supra, n. 8) 42-46; F. Coarelli, "Polykles," *StudMisc* 15(1969)75-89; G. Becatti, "Attika: saggio sulla scultura attica dell'ellenismo," *RivIstArch* 7(1940)7-116.

10. Porticus Metelli: E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Rev.ed. (London 1968)I 232, figs. 266-268; II 254-258, figs. 1004-1009; Goodlett, (supra, n. 9) 190, 241-242.

11. Goodlett (supra, n. 9) 190-191.

12. Goodlett (supra, n. 9) 192.

13. D. Clay, "A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 46(1977)259-267.

14. Clay (supra, n. 13), 262.

15. Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 26.

16. On Xenokrates: C. Picard, "Du nouveau sur le critique d'art et le sculpteur Xénocratès (d'Athénes)," *RA* 50(1957)81-82. 16. K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, Rev.ed. (Chicago 1968)xxii-xxiv; *Pline L'Ancien Histoire Naturelle, Livre 34*. Eds. H. Le Bonniec and H. Gallet de Santerre (Paris 1953)125, 205, 212, 260.

17. Jex-Blake (supra, n. 16) xxiii-xxiv.

18. See also W. D. E. Coulson, "The Reliability of Pliny's Chapters on Greek and Roman Sculpture," *CW* 69(1976)361-372.

19. Coulson (supra, n. 18) 362-363.

20. Coulson (supra, n. 18) 363.

21. E. Langlotz, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen* (Munich 1963)96, pl. XX; E. de Julius and D. Loiacono, *Taranto Il Museo Archeologico* (Taranto 1985)386. Other illuminating comparanda are the fragments of terracotta pedimental scenes found at Civita Alba (A. Andren, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* [1940]298-300, Nr. I.1, I.3, pls. 98, 100) that have been dated within the second century B.C. These groups include a satyr lifting the drapery from a sleeping woman, probably Ariadne, shown from the front. In another fragmentary pedimental group a similar scene is enacted, but here the lifted drapery reveals Ariadne's back. But see also a series of sleeping Ariadnes in wall paintings at Pompeii and Herculaneum (E. Richardson, "The Story of Ariadne in Italy," in *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology* [Locust Valley 1979]189-195; esp. 193 n. 32 for a list of these paintings). Characteristic of this reclining type is a fourth style example from Pompeii, House of the Citarista (now Naples NM9286; *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* [Rome

1986]146 No. 160; A. Adriani, "Epifania di Dioniso a Nasso," _BullAlex_ 39[1951]5-29; esp. 13-17, fig. 4; O. Elia, _Le Pitture della Casa del Citarista_ [Rome 1937]19-22, No. 3). This faded painting is from the southeast wall of Room V, Elia's "Esedra dell'Oreste e Pilade e del Dionysos," (see her figs. 1 and 2) that opened on to a peristyled atrium to the east. The sleeping Ariadne, approached by Dionysos and his retinue, reclines in the lap of a winged figure identified as Hypnos. Ariadne lies supported on her right side with her back to the viewer. She cushions her head on her bent right arm; it is not clear how the left arm is positioned. Her head also turns away from the viewer. A small Eros behind Ariadne lifts her mantle, revealing her body to just above the knees. Her right leg is completely concealed by drapery, but the left leg, drawn over the right, is bent, with the left ankle and foot bared. In the details of the lower legs especially there are some resemblances to the pose of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite sculptural type. If the similarities in pose between the figures in this series of paintings and the sculptural type of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite are more than coincidental, then they would be an interesting link between the three dimensional copies of the first century A.C. and some earlier prototype. For more on the question of the prototype of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite see pp. below.

22. W. Trillmich, _Das Torlonia Mädchen_ (_AbhAkadWissGött, Philologisch-Historisch Klase, Dritte Folge_, No. 99, Göttingen 1976)49.

23. B. Ashmole, "Notes on the Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori," _JHS_ 42(1922)244-246, fig. 10.

24. E. B. Harrison, " Greek Sculptured Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts," in _Early Greek Cult Practice_ (Proc. Stockholm 1988) 244-254.

25. E. Milleker, "The Statue of Apollo Lykeios in Athens," Diss., New York University, 1986, 49-58.

26. Amulets: P. Wolters, "Faden und Knoten als Amulet"

27. D. B. Thompson, "O Dea Certe" _AntK_ 18(1975)82-84, pl. 31.

28. Thompson, (supra, n. 27) 83.

29. D. B. Thompson, _Troy: The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period_ (_Supplementary Monograph_ 3, Cincinnati 1963)No. 15, 76-77, pl. 7.

30. On the Torlonia head see Trillmich, (supra, n. 22) and P. C. Bol, ed., _Forschungen zur Villa Albani_ (Berlin 1989)322-329, No. 105. Another marble head connected with the Torlonia Maiden is an even closer parallel for ours. Once in Jena, in a private collection, its present location is unknown. The coiffure here is a combination of _melonenfrisur_ extending back from the crown of the head, terminating in a bun, with a central parting and a braid pulled back to the crown. This braid ends in a knob-like

projection, but it is difficult to tell from the photographs whether this feature is completely preserved. Short locks escape their binding over the brow and curl toward each other. Just in front of the ears on both sides are spit curls. The long locks on the sides of the head are pulled back and rolled under, and from this section of the hairdo as well, short locks escape. In its central braid, short curling wisps, and long side locks secured in a roll, the "Jena head" is similar to that of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite; however, the melon coiffure, and the lack of an ornament are different. This head, like the Torlonia example, has been dated to the middle of the first century B.C. (Trillmich, (supra, n. 22) 50, pl. 13.2-2). A later example, also in marble, is from the horti Lamiani in Rome. A large sculpture of a young woman in chiton and diagonally draped mantle wears her hair centrally parted with a double fillet that intersects over her forehead in a knot or ornament. (C. Hauber, "Fanciulla con chitone e "himation," in Le tranquille dimore degli Dei [Rome 1986]85-86, fig. 55-56).

31. Trillmich (supra, n. 22) 82-84.

32. P. Perdrizet, Les Terres Cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet (Paris 1921)18, No. 71, pl. 79.

33. P. Zanker, Klassizistische Statuen (Mainz 1974)41 and n. 308.

34. On the Roman foot: W. L. MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman Empire v. 1(New Haven 1965)83 n. 21, 140 n.70.

35. Old Drunken Woman, Munich: E. Simon, "Hans Peter Laubscher. Fischer und Landleute [review]," GGA 236 (1984)32-33. The nude Berlin Hermaphrodite wears the short, folded veil variously called klaft, kekryphalos or mitra by modern scholars. Similar veils are worn by women on gems of the early third century B.C., and by the Horai, for example, on third century terra sigillata. A similar short, handkerchief-like headdress is worn by later figures as well:for example the bronze figurine of a dancing female dwarf from the Mahdia shipwreck and an old woman captive holding a baby on the Column of Trajan. A sculpted hermaphrodite anasyromenos supporting an infant in the raised folds of its mantle also wears this veil (see No. 75), as does Hermaphroditos depicted with Eros on one of the so-called Colonna Reliefs (No. 74). The klaft also appears on the head of a small marble figure in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, who wears a complicated long sleeved costume (No. 93). This figure may actually be a youthful representation of Priapus, who also is often shown wearing a similar veil.

36. Professor Brunilde Ridgway, in a talk at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, December, 1988; for a comparable approach see E. Bayer, Fischerbilden in den Hellenistischen Plastik (Bonn 1983)189-193.

37. Old Market Woman: G. M. A Richter, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Greek Sculptures (Cambridge 1954)111, No. 221,

pl. 154. Professor Gloria Pinney, Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College, presented this idea in her class on Roman sculpture in 1985. I am not aware that it has been published.

38. Capitoline Shepherd: Le tranquille dimore degli Dei (supra, n.) 100-102, pl. 24-25; H. P. Laubscher, Fischer und Landleute (Mainz 1982)108-114.

39. Pollitt, (supra, n. 1) 162, fig. 165; McNally, (supra, n. 1) 173; C. M. Havelock, Hellenistic Art (London 1971)125, No. 95; A de Franciscis, Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli (Naples 1963; A. Bulle, "Der barberinische Faun," JdI 16(1901)16.

40. Barberini Faun: McNally, (supra, n. 1), 174-175; Glyptothek Munchen (Munich 1980)48-49, fig. 35; D. Ohly, The Munich Glyptothek (Munich 1974)20-21.

41. Barberini Faun: Haskell and Penny, (supra, n. 1) 202-205, No. 33, fig. 105.

42. Sleeping Silenus: B. Kapossy, Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit (Zurich 1969)34-35; G. Bakalakis, "Satyros an einer Quelle gelaegert," AntK 9(1966)21-28; EA 3306. Also see L. E. Roller, "The Legend of Midas," ClassAnt 2(1983)299-313; esp. 303-308 for a discussion of representations of this story in Greek art. The episode is first recorded, briefly, by Herodotus (8.138), but visual renderings in vase painting date to the mid-sixth century B.C., as Roller points out. It is true that none of the Attic representations shows Silenus asleep. Commonly, in the scenes associated with this episode, he is drinking, or being captured -- awake -- or is being lead to the king.

43. For a discussion of rocky seats, chiefly in relief, see M. Carroll-Spillecke, Landscape Depictions in Greek Relief Sculpture (Frankfurt 1985)56-63.

44. Sulla: A. Keaveney, Sulla: The Last Republican (London 1982)126-127; E. Gabba, Appiani Bellorum Civilium Liber Primus (Florence 1967)211-212; E. Valgiglio, Plutarco: Vita di Sulla (Turin 1960)124-127.

45. H. Gabelmann, LIMC III.1 (1986), 726-742, s.v. "Endymion".

46. Spada Relief with Endymion: Helbig II[4] 1331; LIMC III.1, (supra, n. 45) 729, No. 7; R. Brilliant, Visual Narratives (London 1984)83-89.

47. LIMC III.1, (supra, n. 45) 736-742.

48. Ariadne: B. S. Ridgway, Hellenistic Sculpture I: The STyles of ca. 331 - 200 B.C. (Wisconsin 1990)331-333; M. -L. Bernhard, LIMC III.1(1986) s.v. "Ariadne," 1062, No. 118. McNally, (supra,

n. 1) 171-172; C. Laviosa, "L'Arianna addormentata del Museo Archeologico di Firenze," ArchCl 10(1958)164-171, pl. 52-56, with list of replicas.

49. Chapter 1, pp. 18-22.

50. See Appendix 1 at the end of this chapter.

51. The Magna Mater in Greece: See Chapter 1, n. 32; also W. Burkert, Structure and History in Greek Mythology (London 1979)102-122; H. A. Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," Hesperia 6(1937)115-217; id. "Note on the Identification of the Bouleuterion and the Metroon," Hesperia Supp. 4(1940)148-151; W. A. MacDonald, The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks (Baltimore 1943)128-141, 170-179; G. Roux, "Aristophane, Xenophon, le pseudo-Demosthene et l'architecture du bouleuterion d'Athenes," BCH 100(1976)475-483; G. Kuhn, "Das Neue Buleuterion von Athen," AA 99(1984)17-26; R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia (Princeton 1957)160. Dr. Judith Binder has pointed out to me that the name Kybele does not actually appear in any inscription or literary source dealing with the cult of the Mother in Athens. She suggests that the divinity worshipped by the Greeks in the Athenian Agora was not Kybele, but an indigenous goddess like Rhea, and that the Greeks adapted Phrygian iconography to suit their own religious needs. On this problem see R. R. Simms, "Foreign Religious Cults in Athens During the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," Diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1985, esp. 59-123. V. Brinkmann ("Die aufgemalten Namenbeischrift an Nord-und Ostfries des Siphnierschatzhauses," BCH 109[1985]77-130) has shown, through infrared recovery of painted inscriptions, that the figure identified as Kybele on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury is in fact Themis; the Mother's appearance here would have been the earliest in Greece. The temple and altar to the Mother at Olympia present additional interesting questions about the appearance of this goddess in Greece. Also see F. Naumann, Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und griechischen Kunst (IstMittBH 28[1983]).

52. R. Garland, The Piraeus (Ithaca 1987) 105, 114; The orgeones at Piraeus are well documented by inscriptions regulating their activities and organization. See W. S. Ferguson, "The Attic Orgeones," HarThR 37(1944)61-140, esp. 107-115.

53. Livy 29.10; Kybele in Rome: G. Thomas, "Magna Mater and Attis," ANRW II.17.3(1983), 1500-1535; R. M. Krill, "Roman Paganism Under the Antonines and Severans," ANRW II.16.1 (1978)27-43, esp. 30-32; J. Bremmer, "The Legend of Kybele's Arrival in Rome," in Studies in Hellenistic Religion (EPRO 78, Leiden 1979).

54. Livy 36.36.3

55. P. Pensabene, "Nuove acquisizioni nella zona sud-orientale del Palatino," in Quaderni del centro di Studio per l'archeologia Etrusco-Italica V(1981)101-118, esp. 114-116; P. Romanelli, "Lo

scavo al tempio della Magna Mater sul Palatino e nelle sue adiacenze," MontAnt 46(1963)201-330; G. Carettoni, "Excavations in the Forum Romanorum and on the Palatine," JRS 50(1950)200-201; E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London 1968)27-31. Other monuments dedicated to the Magna Mater in Rome include a shrine of Kybele and Attis at the foot of the Aventine near the Circus Maximus (Regio XI); a shrine to Kybele located in Regio XIII, where she was Navis Salvia; in Trastevere another shrine between the Janiculum and the Tiber; the Phrygianum, located near the Circus of Caligula. On Pessinus: J. Devreker, "Pessinus (Pessinonte) 1986," Arastirma Sonuclari Toplantisi V.1 (Ankara 1989)123-134; M. Waelkens, "An Early Imperial Sanctuary of the Emperor Cult at Pessinus (Galatia)," AJA 89(1985)355; Thomas, (supra, n. 53) 1534-1535; E. Akurgal, Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey (Istanbul 1978)277-278.

56. This fragment and others are traditionally thought to be part of the Ara Pietatis Augustae, but the identification has recently been questioned: F. C. Albertson, "An Augustan Temple Represented on a Historical Relief," AJA 91(1987)446-448, fig. 7; P. Rehak, "Ara Pietatis Augustae or Ara Gentis Iuliae ?: A study of the Reliefs Attributed to the Ara Pietatis and a New Attempt at Reconstruction and Interpretation," Diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1985; G. Koeppel, "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit. I" BonnJbb 183(1983)97-110; id., "Die 'Ara Pietatis Augustae': ein Geisterbau," RömMitt 89(1982)453-455; M. Torelli, Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs (Ann Arbor 1982)63-88, pl. III.20-29; M. Cagiano de Azevedo, Le antichita di Villa Medici (Rome 1951).

57. This evidence is discussed by G. Showerman, "Was Attis at Rome Under the Republic ?" TAPA 31(1900)46-59; also see Thomas (supra, n. 53) 1508-1512 on the lack of Republican evidence for Attis in Rome. There is evidence of a power struggle in Rome in the late third century B.C. between two prominent Roman families, the Claudii and the Scipiones, that appears to have resulted in the latter securing high positions in the bureaucracy of the new cult, and they continued to participate in its administration well into the fourth century A.C.

58. Megalesia: Cicero, De har resp. 12.24; Thomas (supra, n. 53) 1504-1508; M. R. Salzman, "The Representation of April in the Calendar of 354," AJA 88(1984)43-50, esp. 49-50.

59. Dion.Hal. 2.19.4; Martial 10.4.4; Juvenal 11.193-194. IN 22 B.C., probably by Augustus' order, the praetor replaced the curule aedile as president of the yearly Megalesia. The title of Kybele's priests was given greater dignity when it was changed to sacerdotes and members of Augustus' familia urbana were assigned to this priesthood. Kybele's Trojan connections -- she is known from her earliest appearance in the Rome as the Magna Mater Idae -- were emphasized at this time; see T. P. Wiseman, "Cybele, Virgil and Augustus," in Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus (Cambridge 1984)117-128.

60. De mensibus 4.59; Thomas (supra, n. 53) 1517-1519.

61. Phrygian presence in Rome: G. La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome During the first Centuries of the Empire," HarvTheoRev 20(1927)183, 205-206, 213, 216-230, 296-302.

62. Ovid Fast. 4.348; Val.Max. I.8.11; Iul.Obsequ. 99.

63. The Metelli were connected with Kybele in Rome from her first appearance there; M. Caecilius Metellus (aed. pleb. 209, aed.cur. 208) accompanied the Roman delegation to Pessinus; Thomas, (supra, n. 53) 1505.

64. Another sculptural find from the South Slope of the Akropolis has also been connected with Ariadne (see E. Pochmarski, "Zum Kopf vom Sudabhang," AthMitt 90[1975]145-162): the large-scale head of a woman wearing a fillet low over her brow. Her eyes are open, she is thought to be looking up, and there are what appear to be traces of her right hand against the right side of the head. An exact findspot for this fragment is not known, but it may have come from the Asklepieion or from the Theater of Dionysos. This head, recognized in other copies, is thought to be from a sculpture of Ariadne, possibly just before she falls asleep, a scene of which we do seem to have sculpted -- Roman -- representations. To my mind, a much more dramatic moment to depict, if in fact this head can be connected with Ariadne, would be just after she awakens, looks up, and sees Dionysos approaching. For the Theater or the sanctuary of the god on the South Slope, this kind of group composition would be particularly appropriate.

65. See n. 21 above for a possible comparandum to the sleeping hermaphrodite in a Pompeian wall painting that would provide a link with some earlier protoptype.

66. Sleeping Nymphs: E. Fileri, "Statua di Ninfa dormiente (Inv. 355) X.15," RomMusNaz I.8.2(1985)527; E. Fabbricotti, "Ninfe Dormienti: Tentativo di Classificazione," StudMisc 22(1974-1975)67-71; Kapossy, (supra, n. 42) 18; C. Praschnicker, Der Bäderbezirk von Virunum (Vienna 1947) 80 n. 52. Some of the examples included by Fabbricotti in this group are not actually asleep, but recline, more fully draped, on their sides. The relaxed pose with drapery covering only the lower part of the body can be attested at least by the second century B.C. in several large scale architectural sculptures, including a pedimental figure from the Hieron at Samothrace (P. W. Lehmann, Samothrace III: The Hieron I [1969] 265-267), reclining women from Magnesia on the Menander, and semi-draped figures in the frieze of the Temple of Hecate at Lagina (late second century B.C.). A terracotta lamp filler, from Sardinia, with a glaze that has been identified as the predecessor of the so-called Magenta Glaze, is in the form of a sleeping woman in a pose similar to that of the hermaphrodites recumbent on their backs. This object has been dated to the early second century B.C. Here the woman, lying on her back, sleeps on a natural (?) support higher under her head than her feet. She is

nude, except where drapery covers her left arm, bent and drawn up slightly, and her lower legs, which are slightly flexed (see R. Higgins, "Magenta Ware," British Museum Yearbook 1: The Classical Tradition [London 1976]3, 9 No. 1).

67. Fabbricotti, (supra, n. 66) 68.

68. Engravings and Etching of Sepulchral Monuments, Cinerary Urns, Gems, Bronzes, Prints, Greek Inscriptions in the Collection of Henry Blundell Esq., pl. 41, No. 531. Yet another reclining female figure may once have been a similarly posed hermaphrodite (No.). An example at Bowood, the estate of the Marquess of Lansdowne in Wiltshire, England bears scars on its torso that may have been, according to Vermeule, the result of a similar transformation at the hands of modern owners (C. C.Vermeule, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis," AJA 59[1953]131; also A. Michaelis, Ancient Marbles in Great Britain [Cambridge 1882]439-440).

69. Engravings (supra, n. 68).

70. The pose is very similar to that of a sleeping woman in a wall painting from Pompeii, Casa del Naviglio, and now in Naples (NM9202); McNally, (supra, n. 1) 188; C. Dawson, Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape-Painting [New Haven 1944]103). She is tentatively identified as Chloris and reclines against the legs of a seated male (Zephyrus ?), with her right arm resting limply over his right leg, and her left arm relaxed on her thigh.

71. Athens DAI Inst.Negs. 325-326.

CHAPTER 4

Wrestling Hermaphrodites

I. The Dresden Type

By far the largest single sculptural type involving Hermaphroditos is the wrestling group of struggling Satyr and Hermaphrodite, best represented by an example in Dresden (No. 63d, Fig. 24), and another well preserved replica in London (No. 63g). At least twenty-seven replicas of this type are known, including fairly complete groups and several detached Satyr heads and Hermaphrodite torsos (No. 63h, 63i, 63m, 63n).[1]

The composition is complex, with off balance poses and entangled limbs jutting into space. The Satyr sits on a small rocky projection, pushed backwards by Hermaphroditos' attempts to free itself. Hermaphroditos, trapped between the Satyr's legs, faces away from its attacker, but turns back to its left, toward him, attempting to push the Satyr away with its right hand against the Satyr's face. The position of Hermaphroditos' outstretched hand, squarely over the middle of the Satyr's face, rather than grasping the hair on the left side of his head, as in the wrestling groups that usually involve a nymph and a Satyr, has been considered diagnostic for identifying fragments as belonging to this sculptural type.[2] The Satyr grasps Hermaphroditos' outstretched right arm with both hands, his right hand just above Hermaphroditos' right wrist, his left hand gripping the upper right arm of his prey just at shoulder level, his thumb on the back of the arm, and the rest of his fingers

pressing into the flesh on the front of the arm.

Meanwhile, with its lowered left hand, Hermaphroditos attempts to free its hips from the Satyr's encircling legs by grasping his right foot with its left hand. Its right leg checks the Satyr's left leg by crossing over it, in an awkward, momentary pose, its right leg twisted across the front of its body to the left, supporting all its weight on the left knee and the toes of the left foot.

This complicated entangling of arms and legs, even as it creates a scene full of spontaneous and violent action, also provides an internal system of supports for an ambitious sculptural effect, of arms and legs jutting out freely into space, unsupported by additional struts or supports not part of the narrative setting. Small struts do occur: one can be see on a copy now in the Museum Schloss Fasanerie in Eichenzell bei Fulda (No. 63k, Fig. 25)[3] connecting the Satyr's right foot with the inside of Hermaphroditos' right knee, and the stump of a similar small support is visible on a replica found at Oplontis (No. 63o).[4] On the back of the thigh of an Hermaphroditos torso now in Venice is the scar of a small round strut.

The plinth for this type consists only of the Satyr's low rocky seat. All the extended limbs are completely free of this plinth, except for Hermaphroditos' left leg, bent back and resting on the ground. The replica found at Oplontis apparently rested upon a thin marble slab which in turn was placed atop a brick base. The treatment of the plinth is more complete and detailed on the side presenting a back view of Hermaphroditos, and so it is possible that this side was considered the "front."

In compositions of this kind however, terms like front and back may be misleading and even incorrect. Instead, the viewer may have been intended to begin at this point, and move around the work, since the torsional, active poses of both figures are legible from many angles. It now seems possible to contradict the early view of Schmidt that this composition is strictly frontal with a limited number of coherent perspectives.[5]

While the Satyr's body is disposed basically in two planes, with some additional torsion in the position of the head and upper body, Hermaphroditos' pose is more nearly three-dimensional, with its body and limbs actually extending in three directions at once. Head and upper body twist back to right, hips shifting in the opposite direction, left leg extending back, and the higher right leg thrusting up and forward.

But visible from only a few angles are Hermaphroditos' male genitals. A frontal view of the torso with the outer surface of the raised right thigh conceals them. And a glance at the hermaphrodite from the back, where the attention of the viewer seems to be focused first, does not reveal its true identity either, since the satyr appears to have grabbed a woman. For a glimpse of the male genitals profiled against the right thigh, the viewer must be positioned rather precisely. These essential attributed can most clearly be seen in some of the fragmentary examples, like one in Copenhagen, or another now in Venice (Nos. 63i, 63s).

The obstruction created by the thigh can be avoided if the viewer is higher than the sculpture, and this relative visibility may be a clue to the placement intended originally for such

sculptures. It is probably significant that Hermaphroditos faces away from its attacker, intensifying the complexity of the composition. Does the satyr know what kind of creature he has grabbed, or, does it matter ? It is not by chance that Hermaphroditos' back and buttocks face not only the satyr, but the viewer as well, if indeed the more detailed side of the plinth can be taken as a main point of approach.

This composition was reproduced in a variety of scales. The largest measures about one meter in height; there are at least nine examples in this size. A smaller version has an average height of 0.60-0.70 m., and at least eight replicas of this size are known. There are also two small bronze figurines reproducing the same scene (Nos. 63 u-v).

Two dimensional versions of this same scene exist as well, and these present some additional questions. An engraved gem in Munich, for example,[6] has been identified as a representation of our hermaphrodite/satyr group, even though Hermaphroditos is shown in a back view, from which its sex is not discernible. The identification of the trapped figure as an hermaphrodite is based on the similarities in pose with three-dimensional comparanda. Found at the Nomophylakeion at Cyrene, a sealing bears this same scene, of course in reverse. It has been dated to the second century A.C. (No. 63a). [7] A wall painting (No. 63b, Fig. 26)[8], dated in the Neronian period presents an identical back view. This painting, now in the National Museum in Naples, originally decorated the wall of a house at Pompeii, although its exact findspot is unknown.

The colonnaded mosaic pavement along the south side of the

House of the Boat of Psyches at Daphne near Antioch (No. 63c)[9] contains panels with back and front views of this same group. Like the Pompeian painting, these scenes present intriguing questions not only concerning the meaning of these figured panels in the context of the villa's decorative scheme, but also about the relationship of such representations to sculpture in the round. The mosaics of this villa have been dated to the period between A.C. 252 and 312, and are among the latest known representations of Hermaphroditos, and of this composition.[10]

Spanning at least a ten meter stretch between the three southernmost rooms and the nymphaeum, this strip of mosaic pavement, now lifted from its original setting, consists mainly of geometric panels, but included three sections with mythological figures as well. The figured panels, designated A through C from west to east by the excavator, are set in the middle and toward either end. Fragmentary panel A preserves the lower left corner of a scene originally containing more than one figure, to judge from the draped (?) lower leg of undetermined sex next to a dwarf, nude, potbellied and ithyphallic. The fragmentary inscription above his head reads Και συ and identifies the scene as apotropaic.[11]

Panels B and C, each just under one meter in length, present front and back views of the same scene with nude figures wrestling in a rocky landscape setting. One of the protagonists is male and his short tail identifies him clearly as a satyr; the other appears to be female, not only because of the considerably lighter skin color, but also the female breasts delineated by concentric circles of tesserae. This scene was interpreted by Doro

Levi[12] as the two-dimensional representation of our Hermaphroditos and satyr group.

The panels each present a different view of the scene. Panel B, showing the satyr from his left side and his prey facing the viewer, was assigned a central spot in the pavement strip opposite the triclinium, and this view may have been considered the primary one. However, the other view, depicted on fragmentary Panel C -- presenting the back of Hermaphroditos, which in the sculptural examples may be the initial approach to the work -- is just as legible.

What remains of this partially preserved scene in Panel C are the Hermaphrodite's left arm gripping the right foot of its foe, and its left leg bending back beneath the satyr's thigh and buttocks. Some details of landscape appear as well: a tree trunk fills the right side of the panel, and there is a rocky patch beneath the figures with a shadow cast upon it by the hermaphrodite's leg. It is likely that this panel often would have been encountered first, if one proceeded west through the colonnade, even though the other view is positioned in front of an important, central room.

It has been assumed that the presentation of both front and back views here reflects the mosaic craftsman's inspiration from sculptural prototypes. In fact, fragments of at least two sculptural groups of this type were found at the theater at Daphne, north of this villa: the upper torso and head of one Satyr, with the hand of the Hermaphrodite adhering, and another fragment of a satyr head, along with many other smaller fragments probably from these groups (Nos. 63m and 63n). Exact findspots

for these sculptures from the theater, which was built late in the first century A.C., are not known. It is worth observing, however, that the House of the Boat of Psyches is among the northernmost of a cluster of buildings just 170 meters south of the Theater.[13]

It is difficult, perhaps impossible to determine if, or how the sculptural works found at the theater were related to the design of the mosaic colonnade at the Villa. Did theater sculptures inspire the mosaics in the villa to the north ? Were such sculptures originally set somewhere in the villa ? Did the owner of the villa have some association with the theater that made such a decoration appropriate in his house ? Elsewhere, pairs of these sculptures have also been found. Two discovered together at Grottorossa near Rome have clear differences in the rendering of hair and other details (Fig. 25). They may have been acquired separately, perhaps at different times, to be displayed together from different points of view. Perhaps the mosaic panels reflect the standard arrangement of the three-dimensional versions. But they do not appear to reflect what modern commentators consider the most intriguing feature of these sculptures, the identity of the satyr's opponent. Even though the struggling figure shown frontally on Panel B of the mosaic at Antioch clearly has female breasts, its male genitals, an essential attribute of Hermaphrodites as they are represented by the Greeks and Romans, do not appear.

The absence of clearly depicted male genitals in this mosaic rendering at Daphne may mean that even when viewed from the front, recognition of the scene and its participants rests on

affinities with a well known three-dimensional prototype, rather than on the actual rendering of male genitals. Or, it might be that the mosaic designer, for some reason, altered the composition, and chose not to present a hermaphrodite. However, it should be noted that from the same viewpoint as presented in Panel B, the genitals would probably be concealed by the Hermaphrodite's raised right thigh.

The Hermaphrodite's lack of clearly delineated male genitals has additional significance for the meaning of the figured panels in the colonnaded pavement as a group. What is the relationship of Panel A, with the grotesque apotropaic dwarf to the wrestling figures ? If the struggle in the other panels were clearly between an hermaphrodite and a satyr, the apotropaic power apparently wielded by hermaphrodites in other representations could also have been at work against the Evil Eye here at the House of the Boat of Psyches. The visual ambiguity of the scene suggests that a prophylactic statement is perhaps not intended, except in the westernmost panel. Or the struggling scene may itself constitute a prohibitive motif, and what is usually considered a genre scene, along with sculptures of struggling nymphs and satyrs, might have had more than a decorative function.

Where were these sculptures placed in antiquity ? One replica of the type excavated recently at Oplontis[14] provides some important new evidence for the disposition of such works in outdoor settings. The villa is thought to have belonged to Poppaea Sabina, wife of Nero, and may have been built some time around the middle of the first century B.C.[15] During a later phase of construction, probably during the mid-first century

A.C., a complex of buildings and a large, rectangular _natatio_ were added east of the original structures.

The partial excavation of this later installation has produced a sculptural program to a large extent still in situ. A replica of wrestling satyr and hermaphrodite of the Dresden type was found close to the south end of the _natatio_, part of a larger decorative scheme (No. 63o, Figs. 27, 28). Thirteen bases for sculptures have been so far found in a landscaped setting along the pond's east flank. The sculptural program here incorporated an existing row of trees running slightly off axis north-south in relation to the edge of the pond.[16]

These plantings were probably mature when brick bases for sculptures were built over their roots, on the side facing the pond. The sculptures were excavated still in place, or had fallen nearby, and also appear to have been organized according to some symmetrical plan. Beginning at the northern end of the row the sculptures were arranged as follows: a herm of Herakles, an Artemis, a Nike, followed by a gap where the next four statues now are missing, and then another Nike, a male figure identified as an Ephebe, and another herm of Herakles. De Caro suggests that the missing statues may have continued the pattern of Herakles herm, Artemis, and Nike.[17]

At the south, short end of the _natatio_, about one meter from its edge was found a group of wrestling satyr and hermaphrodite.[18] This work was placed on a thin marble slab with a cutting to receive the irregular shape of the small rocky plinth. Both elements were supported by a brick base similar to those along the east side of the _natatio_. No root remains have

been found in back of this sculpture, but south of it, in the center of a small marble-lined pool, was a marble krater decorated with a relief frieze of Pyrrhic dancers.[19] The krater was adapted as a fountain, and perhaps served as a backdrop for the sculpture without obstructing a view of the shore and open sea beyond the villa to the south.

Only one wrestling group has been found at Oplontis so far. It is of the largest class, measuring one meter in height. The figures are well preserved, the satyr lacking only part of his right arm, and a section of his right leg that had been dowelled on and is now missing. Hermaphroditos lacks its left leg above the knee; this portion also had been dowelled in place. De Caro reports that fragments from the work were found near its base and also in some other locations.[20]

Judging from the appearance of the plinth, the back view of Hermaphroditos may have been considered the primary perspective for the work, which has been re-established on its base with Hermaphroditos facing the water. De Caro suggested that the proximity of the sculpture to the water may have also been a factor in the visual experience in antiquity.[21] The viewer could have appreciated the sculpture's reflection in the water, or possibly even approached it while swimming in the natatio, which appears to be something less than two meters deep.

The south end of this pool seems to have had its own decorative character and created, together with the dining room on axis to the east with the krater fountain, a separate ornamental space. While there was some duplication of sculptural types in the landscaped gallery to the east, the wrestling group,

established by itself at an important point of focus, must have been considered worthy of special attention and so was given this distinctive position, while continuing the illusion of a natural landscape inhabited by mythological beings.

II. Aggressive Hermaphroditos and Satyr

Another struggling group of Hermaphroditos and satyr is represented by at least twelve replicas (Figs. 29 a-d)[22] Several copies of this type have Italian contexts (Nos. 64c-e). At least one was found in Cyprus (No. 64j), and three more are from Cherchel, two of these found in one room of the Roman bath there (Nos. 64f, 64g); the findspot of the third fragmentary replica is uncertain. One additional example of the type, the fragmentary body of Hermaphroditos, is currently on the art market in New York.[23]

This composition is quite distinct from the Dresden type not only because of clear differences in pose, but also because here Hermaphroditos appears to be capturing the satyr. Structurally, however, the two types share a similar well thought out internal system of supports for arms and legs thrusting out into space unassisted by non-narrative struts.

Here, Hermaphroditos seated on a rock, is larger in scale than its opponent, who struggles to free himself. Hermaphroditos grips the satyr's right hand, pulling his right arm back behind his head. The satyr resists by pushing with his left hand against Hermaphroditos' right side, just below and behind the breast. Hermaphroditos wraps both of its legs around the satyr's left leg just above the knee, so that his left foot is lifted entirely off

the ground, with only the toes of his right foot touching the plinth. Hermaphroditos turns slightly to its right, toward the captured satyr, who looks back at his attacker. Hermaphroditos supports itself on its left arm (usually decorated with an arm band), the left hand propped against the top of the seat. Hermaphroditos' lower legs are covered by drapery, but it is worn well below the groin, so that the male genitals are clearly visible. In all examples Hermaphroditos' male genitals are broken away, but their traces remain on the stone. The erect phalloi of the two Torlonia replicas are modern restorations.

The plinth itself deserves special attention (Figs. 29 a, c). It consists of a high rocky seat for the Hermaphrodite, on the right side, and a low, roughly carved "exergue" extending to the left. Both parts are decorated with a variety of bucolic accouterments. There is usually a pair of cymbals lying on the ground. In at least one case a turtle creeps across the flat part of the plinth as well (No. 64e). Leaning against Hermaphroditos' seat consistently is a lagobolon, and hanging from a projecting rock, Pan pipes. An animal skin is draped over the seat, with its head and hooves (a goat's pelt ?) hanging down on the side. Hermaphroditos almost always rests its left hand on a tambourine lying on top of the seat.

These attributes--lagobolon, Pan pipes, animal skin, and cymbals, are ubiquitous features of plinths supporting satyrs, Pans, and Dionysiac scenes. The unusual feature of these sculptures are the miniature subsidiary scenes sometimes carved at the base of the rocky seat. On at least three examples a rabbit crouches in a small hollow, surmounted in two cases by an

eagle in heraldic pose, with wings outspread. Both examples in the Museo Torlonia have the rabbit (No. 64c, 64d), but the eagle is present on only one of these. On the plinth of the replica in Cyprus, the eagle and rabbit are replaced by a snake attacking a lizard.

What do these small vignettes mean ? Perhaps the rabbit crouching in its lair, with the bird of prey poised above it is meant to reflect the nature of the action taking place in larger scale above: the powerful hermaphrodite overwhelming its smaller adversary. Since several of the replicas have a version of this vignette, it must draw on some feature of an earlier model. But that the eagle/rabbit motif is found here at all is a puzzle. The eagle is the emblem of Zeus and emperors, and sometimes the vehicle of apotheosis.[24] Scenes with eagles poised, wings outspread, more frequently atop their prey, often occur in "official" and funerary art, on a variety of monuments -- altars, urns, sarcophagi, and on coins.[25] An eagle standing atop its prey has been show to be a Flavian motif occurring as a lappet decoration on cuirassed figures.[26] Some refinements of this motif have been noticed; the eagle's victim may be positioned on its back, or face down.[27] However, depictions of the bird perched above the shelter in which its potential victim hides are much more difficult to find.

One such scene appears on an altar found at Ostia, and now in the Terme Museum in Rome.[28] It has been dated by its inscription to A.C. 124. The relief on the back face of the altar depicts Romulus and Remus being nursed by the wolf as shepherds look on in an upper register. Below them, standing on an uneven,

rocky groundline is an eagle, and beneath the bird, in various crevices, are small animals -- a snail, a lizard, a mouse, a rabbit and a snake. The connection of these creatures with the bird of prey above them is less clearly defined here, and it has been assumed, in fact, that the eagle is an imperial token,[29] albeit set in a woodland context.

These elements were apparently thought important enough to include on several of the plinths, and so may reflect the appearance of whatever prototype there may have been. This problem is of some interest because it may be that the very first renderings of this type were in two dimensions. One intriguing aspect of this Aggressive Hermaphroditos and Satyr group is its possible connection with a very similar scene occurring on a group of Calenian relief ware medallions, of which at least twelve examples have been identified.[30] Calenian pottery was produced in the Campanian town of Cales, the first Roman colony in this region, established in 334 B.C. Some vessels, which include bowls, gutti and paterae are stamped with presumably the artist's name, and also occasionally his home city. These stamps in fact are called <u>caleni</u>. Pagenstecher, who studied Calenian pottery early in this century, thought production may have begun by the second half of the third century B.C. However, some recent finds from Lato in eastern Crete indicate that the date can be pushed back to early in the third century B.C.[31]

Calenian reliefs that appear to reproduce the sculptural type of the Aggressive Hermaphrodite and Satyr were first collected by Pagenstecher early in this century (Figs. a-b).[32] No one since he briefly discussed them has noted the similarities in

pose between these relief images and our sculptural groups. The relief medallions, including a fragment in Boston at the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 30a), depict a seated figure grappling with a standing male identified as a Satyr by his pointed ears. What is strikingly similar to the large scale marble versions is the pose of the trapped satyr, whose right arm is bent and pulled in back of his head. He is smaller than his opponent, whose lower limbs are draped.

Some differences between these scenes and the three-dimensional versions should be noted, however: details of Hermaphroditos' lower legs and the "plinth" area are unclear. In addition, the satyr's left arm extends across the front of the Hermaphrodite's body instead of behind it. A landscape setting for the action is provided in most of the two-dimensional versions by a small draped, bearded statue holding thyrsus and vessel, on a round base in the background to the left of the figures.

Commentators have traditionally proposed Hellenistic prototypes for both groups with satyr and Hermaphroditos, some dating the originals late in the third century, but others, more frequently, in the second century B.C.; generally, their inspiration is considered large scale and three-dimensional. The addition of these relief ware scenes to the assemblage introduces the possibility, at least, that the precursor of the sculptural groups could have been derived from a different medium, small scale reliefs in terracotta. And the issue of origins can be compounded still further because the Calenian designs have been shown occasionally to derive from metal models--relief bowls, and

sometimes even coins.[33]

It is possible that such a scene in relief may have inspired this complex and unusual three-dimensional composition. This sequence of rendering might account for the awkward jumble of limbs created in the sculpted version. The blurry rendering in the area of the lower legs of both satyr and Hermaphroditos would have been worked out more clearly in the sculptural version. When, and where, might such a transformation, from a scene in relief to three-dimensional marble have occurred ? The Calenian wares are dated with some assurance in the second half of the third and well into the second century B.C. Would the sculpted versions have been contemporary with these images, or later developments ?

Other three-dimensional groups also have counterparts in small scale relief versions, like the pendant scenes on two silver Berthouville scyphi that include centaurs ridden by Erotes, similar to the large three-dimensional versions found at Hadrian's Villa and now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. These scenes have recently been interpreted as expressions of the pleasures and pains of love.[34]

Still closer to our subject is the silver emblem dish with a relief version of the well known sculpture of a satyr wrestling with a nymph. Now in a private collection in Berlin, the dish may have come from Asia Minor. It has been dated, by the floral ornamentation of the rim, and the six-pointed rosette on the reverse, to the second century B.C. All the comparanda presented by Andrew Oliver in his study of this work are Italian.[35]

The relief scene occupying the whole tondo of the dish is a familiar one, where a satyr seated on the ground grabs a woman who crouches between his legs with her back to him, and turns to fend off her attacker.[36] The same composition is recognized in several marble copies. The nymph turns her head back to her right, which may be of interest for the three-dimensional examples, none of which preserves her head. One variation from the large scale versions is the position of the nymph's right hand. In the sculptures, she grips the hair on the left side of the satyr's head attempting to push him away. In this relief scene, she pushes rather awkwardly against the lower portion of his face, leaving his eyes and nose visible.

III. Wrestling Satyr and Nymph Variant

We can now tentatively add one more work to the group of struggling hermaphrodites, a possible variant version of this same satyr and nymph group. The sculpture is significant to our discussion of wrestling groups because of its Greek find spot, and because the "nymph" appears to have been transformed into an hermaphrodite. Of the more usual type with nymph and satyr at least twelve replicas are preserved; all have been found in Italian contexts except for this one unfinished specimen excavated in the 1950's at the Olympieion in Athens (Fig. 31 a-d).[37] In these compositions, as reflected in the two-dimensional versions discussed above, the nude, beardless satyr sits on a flat plinth with his legs drawn up and spread apart. Between his open legs the satyr traps a crouching woman, with his left hand grabbing her left shoulder from behind and wrapping his right arm tightly around her waist.

She is poised with her back to her attacker, and kneels, supporting her weight on her right knee and the toes of her right foot, while the left leg is drawn up in a pose that has been noted as resembling that of the so-called Crouching Aphrodite sometimes attributed to Doidalsas.[38] We will return to the possible significance of this pose later. As noted above, it is not certain how her head would have been positioned, since none of the replicas preserves the head and neck intact.

The nymph, as she is always called by commentators, fends off the satyr with her right hand gripping locks of hair on the left side of his head. She struggles to detach his left hand from her waist with her left hand. In all replicas of this type,

except the one found at the Olympieion, the satyr's victim is clearly female. The Greek example, however, though unfinished, presents the possibility that the prey could have been an hermaphrodite because of a roughly worked, but clearly defined lump between the legs of the "nymph," that could have been intended for male genitals (Fig. 31 c-d).

This sculpture was never completed, according to Olga Palagia, because of faults in the block of Parian marble from which it was carved.[39] Another unfinished sculpture from this site, a group with Dionysos supported by a satyr is now in the National Museum in Athens.[40] On the basis of these finds, Palagia has proposed that there was a sculptor's workshop in the area of the Roman baths north of the Olympieion. She dates these unfinished works to the second century A.C., and observes that there are apparently no measuring marks on the surface of the satyr and nymph/hermaphrodite group; the block appears to have been carved at the workshop, with no preliminary dressing at the quarry.[41]

The rough lump on the front of the nymph resembles the lump at the base of the satyr's spine, intended for his tail. So it is possible that a craftsman in Athens was manipulating this type in a way that has not been documented elsewhere. He transformed the female victim into a hermaphrodite, rather than reproducing the Dresden type, in which a hermaphrodite consistently is depicted. Perhaps a model for the Dresden version was not available--no replicas of this type have actually been found in a Greek context--or perhaps this type is technically less difficult. In any case, the unfinished sculpture found near the Olympieion is of some importance because it represents a type not found

otherwise in Greece.

IV. Hermaphroditos and Pan

While the main types of wrestling compositions have been discussed above, one unique example where Hermaphroditos apparently struggled with Pan should be included here, since this work might reflect another sculptural tradition that only survives in a single example. An extensively restored composition in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence (No. 68, Fig. 32)[75] presents the struggle between a seated hermaphrodite and Pan, of whom only the right hoof and right hand on the hermaphrodite's back remain. The hermaphrodite lacks both arms just below the shoulders, its feet, and a portion of the rocky seat upon which it sits. Its head is ancient, according to Mansuelli, but does not belong.

The hermaphrodite turns to its left, and the stump of the left arm indicates that it was raised. The right arm was lowered and held close to the side. Drapery covers its lower thighs and legs, but is arranged to reveal the remains of the male genitals. The scene has been reconstructed with Pan lunging toward his prey, touching its back with the right hand and extending his right hand down toward the hermaphrodite's lap, where a scar on the drapery indicates that something once rested there.

The hermaphrodite turns its head to the left, looking up at its attacker, and has been restored as fending him off with the left hand against his face. Hermaphroditos' right hand may have rested upon the restored piece of rock jutting out on the right side of the plinth. This pose, as in the groups of Aggressive Hermaphrodite and Satyr, resembles that of seated nymphs.

The Hermaphrodite's physique, with its clearly female breasts and somewhat developed male musculature, including the indication of iliac crests and epigastric details, reflects its dual nature.

V. *Symplegmata*

These three sculptural types, along with others involving several figures engaged in violent action and close contact, have been associated by modern commentators with a sculptural composition called a *symplegma* in the ancient Roman testimonia. The term as we shall see, referred specifically to some kind of sculpture. But what exactly a *symplegma* might have been is never made clear by Pliny, who discusses two such compositions, made by famous Greek sculptors.

The meaning of the term is important because the Dresden wrestling type has been associated by modern scholars with Pliny's mention (*NH* 36.24) of a *symplegma* at Pergamon made by Kephisodotos, the son of Praxiteles. Although Pliny does not reveal the subject of this work, he says it was famous because the fingers appeared to press into flesh rather than marble (*digitis corpori verus quam marmori impressis*). An attribution to Kephisodotos the Younger would date the original inspiration of the type to no later than the early third century B.C., since Pliny assigns this sculptor to the 121st Olympiad (295-292 B.C.). An association of the Dresden group with the younger Kephisodotos has most recently been upheld by Gercke, although in another recent evaluation, Kell assigns a date in the last third of the second century B. C. to the original work.[42]

Elsewhere (34.91), Pliny mentions another *symplegma*, this one depicting a fight between Olympos and Pan (*Pan et Olympos luctantes*), made by the sculptor Heliodoros, *alterum in terris symplegma nobile*. It stood, says Pliny, in the Portico of

Octavia in Rome. This artist, according to A. Herrmann, might be Heliodorus of Apamea, father of the sculptors Demetrios and Ploutarchos. These two were active at Rhodes during the first half of the first century B.C., from an inscription, and so their father might have flourished late in the second century B.C. However, as Herrmann acknowledges, there is no clue in the inscription as to which Apamea the inscription refers.[43]

Pliny's passage has raised other problems, since Pan, according to modern scholarly expectations, would be more likely to be engaged with Daphnis, and the verb _luctantes_, in any case, has appeared too strong for describing an encounter between these two characters. This question, at least, is not central to our discussion.[44] As for the term _nobilis_, Pliny uses it several times with reference to works of art, including works of Praxiteles and two paintings by Parrhasios.[45] What the word _nobilis_ means, according to Pollitt, may vary, but here it most likely means that the work was well known. Heliodorus' sculpture, then, was the second most famous of its kind, but as we have seen, there is some confusion about its subject, even though Pliny does provide some details about the protagonists.

One other piece of evidence brought to bear on the discussion of _symplegmata_ is an epigram of Martial, 12.43,[46] in which he uses the word _symplegma_ in a clearly erotic sense, describing group sex, but not, and this is the only instance, with reference to a sculpture. However, his poem is about erotic writings that conjure up various fantasy scenes, and it is in this context, still really in the realm of art, that the term occurs.

From these clues, scholars have assumed that a symplegma was a sculpture involving more than one figure engaged in some kind of action, very likely erotic. Worth noting here is that symplegma, although a Greek word, is used exclusively by Latin sources, making an appearance in Greek only in bi-lingual inscriptions on a series of Trajanic statue bases at Ephesos, discussed below. Although the passive verb form certainly occurs in earlier Greek texts, this noun form, symplegma is not found in Greek literature. In Pliny's day then, and earlier in Martial's, the word perhaps have had an exotic flavor, evoking something Greek, or simply foreign. So possibly the works they referred to as well might have conveyed, in some way, this esoteric feeling.

To the traditional discussion of the word symplegma and its significance in ancient art, we should add the evidence provided by a series of well dated, inscribed bases found at Ephesus.[47] Four bases for sculptures found in the western baths, one between the palaestra and the hall of Verulanus to the east, and three others from the frigidarium of the bath, provide some important additional evidence. They bear inscriptions in both Greek and Latin that include the names of proconsuls and thus can be firmly dated within the reigns of Domitian and Trajan. These bases are important because in addition to being accurately dated, some of them also mention the subject of the sculptural compositions they once supported. In all cases this description includes the term symplegma.

These bases have not been included in several art historical discussions of symplegmata, although the inscriptions

have been published. Manderscheid lists them in his catalogue of sculptures in Roman baths.[48] An examination of these inscriptions suggests that the term symplegma, as it occurs at Ephesus, may have more to do with the composition, the pose and arrangement of figures, than with its subject.

The base considered earliest in the series, presented by Tiberius Claudius Nysius, prytanis in 92 A.C., was dedicated to Domitian.[49] Its inscription survives only in Greek (the upper, section bearing the Latin inscription was sheared off), and does not indicate the precise subject of the sculpture once adorning the base. It states simply that the composition was a symplegma ton andrianton. The use of this term here to describe the sculptures may indicate that they are of mortals or heroes rather than divinities, since andrias is used only rarely with reference to the image of a god.[50]

Another base in the series, dated to 104/5 by its bilingual inscription, is dedicated to Ephesian Diana and Trajan.[51] The inscription does not provide the subject of the sculpture, except that it was a symplegma dedicated cum omni ornatu. The inscription on a third base, however, informs us that its sculpture was a symplegma Theseos.[52] This work was dedicated to Ephesian Artemis and Trajan during the proconsulship of C. Aquilius Proculus (103/4), according to the Greek section of the inscription. Theseus in this lost work could have been wrestling with the Minotaur, as he may have done atop an inscribed base found in the baths at Apamea ad Orontes, or was possibly engaged in one of his other Deeds.[53]

A symplegma involving Athamas decorated another base in the

series.[54] This one, cum basi, was dedicated in 108/9. It is likely that the sculptures depicted some aspect of the myth of the Boeotian King Athamas. Athamas is the husband of Ino, who, in one version of the story, nurses the baby Dionysos. Hera punishes the family by driving Athamas mad. The king kills one of his sons, Learchos, but Ino and the other boy, Melichertes, escape by leaping into the sea, and are subsequently known as the sea deities Leucothea and Palaemon.[55]

Scenes thought to represent the earlier episodes of this story -- Athamas' madness and the killing of his son -- are often violent, and none has been conclusively identified. The one representation, on an Italian relief ware fragment dated to the second century B.C. where Athamas is identified by inscription is not violent at all.[56] He sits, arms outstretched to receive the baby from Hermes, also named by an inscription. It is hard to imagine, in any case, that a symplegma involving Athamas would have had an erotic theme. [57]

Another of these lost sculptures also represented a scene somewhat unusual in large scale. A fourth base, also dedicated to Trajan, held a composition involving Daedalus and Ikaros.[58] The inscription does not identify this work specifically as a symplegma, but we shall consider it briefly here.[59] A fragmentary but impressive sculpture of a nude, bearded male with an arrangement of straps across the upper chest, found in Amman earlier in the 1950's, was identified by Mobius as a representation of Daedalus.[60] Possibly a similar figure appeared on this base at Ephesus, but of course we cannot be sure.

Why was this work not actually called a symplegma ? It

involved a group of figures, possibly in active poses. The formulae of the dedication, its date, and its findspot associate it with the others we have examined, but the word symplegma was omitted. Does this suggest that the sculptures, in some way, did not conform in organization and pose to the _symplegma_ once decorating the other bases ? Or does the omission of the term indicate that it was not essential to the inscription ?

From these bases there is enough epigraphical evidence to suggest a fairly broad meaning for the term symplegma as it was used -- at least at Ephesus in the early second century A.C. -- to refer to works of sculpture. Possibly such compositions involved mortals or heroes rather than gods; this may be suggested both by the use of _andriantes_ in one of the inscriptions, as well as by the figures apparently represented. The evidence from Ephesus does not suggest that these themes have to be erotic ones.

Our satyr/hermaphrodite groups, however, clearly are erotic, not only because of the nature of the protagonists, but also because these scenes engage the viewer in a voyeuristic appreciation of the action. Of central importance to a better understanding of these works is the question of their original inspirations. It is generally assumed that they all -- aggressive and victim hermaphrodite alike -- derive from Hellenistic originals, probably of the second century B.C., although an attribution of one of these "_symplegma_" types to Kephisodotos the Younger would push the date back into the early third century B.C.

Conclusions

An examination of the formal aspects of these wrestling group compositions may shed some light on their origins. We begin with the nymph/satyr type, which may in fact include an hermaphrodite variant. It has been observed more than once that the pose of the crouching nymph is very similar to that of the Hellenistic sculptural type commonly called the crouching Aphrodite, known in many replicas. The original inspiration of this work is sometimes ascribed to an artist called Doidalsas. Although the problematic attribution of this work was authoritatively discussed by Linfert twenty years ago, his observation, that in fact the name Doidalsas is a modern creation from a garbled passage, has not been generally accepted.[61] At any rate, this Aphrodite flanked by Eros, or a dolphin support, is transformed here. These groups have organic integrity, even though their components "come apart" as it were, and make some sense on their own.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in both wrestling types involving hermaphrodites. The figures interlock in a coherent pose, but in each case can be separated visually. If we analyse the Dresden struggling group, for instance, it is possible to see in the off-balance pose of the satyr a resemblance to the wounded satyr in two thorn pulling groups, one in Ostia, the other in the Conservatori Museum in Rome (Fig. 33).[62] The satyr leans back, seated on a small rocky outcropping. He holds up his right foot, with the leg extended and supports himself on his left arm and leg. A small Pan crouching in front of him looks for the thorn in the sole of his foot.

Even a quick look at the Aggressive Hermaphrodite and Satyr groups reveals a close resemblance of the seated Hermaphroditos to seated nymphs of the type associated with the so-called "Invitation to the Dance" groups.[63] These nymphs are only partially draped, with the left leg crossed over the right, turning toward the satyr and bending to remove a sandal. They support their weight on the left hand resting on their rocky seat. The seated nymph, in her cross-legged pose, the arrangement of her drapery, the position of the left hand closely resembles our masterful Hermaphroditos, whose crossed legs become a trap for its prey. In our groups with hermaphrodites, the only real difference lies in the position of Hermaphroditos' right arm, raised at shoulder height, rather than lowered.

Interestingly enough, for the satyr too there is a possible parallel--the fragmentary satyr in Copenhagen, that is part of a gigantomachy group the rest of which is now in Rome. This group is thought to be a parody of scenes from the Great Altar at Pergamon, and to reflect a prototype dated in the mid-first century B.C.[64] Even though the Copenhagen satyr is beardless and wears an animal skin slung over his left shoulder, the pose is similar, especially in the distinctive gesture of the right hand behind the head, the left arm stretched out, the right leg (preserved to just above the knee) possibly straightened, and the left leg, entirely missing now, which appears from the nature of the broken surface on the torso to have been lifted. It is possible, however, that like the other satyrs remaining in this composition, this one rested on one knee (here the right), with the other leg extended before him.

That apparently established types were combined to create new compositions is apparent in the group of works associated with Pasiteles and his followers.[65] The Ildefonso group, for example, combines a replica of the Praxitelean Apollo Sauroktonos with another youthful male type known as the Westmacott Athlete.[66] The position of "Apollo's" hand, perhaps altered to accommodate the left shoulder of the figure upon whom he leans, the addition of attributes--a torch, an altar, a support in the form of an archaizing statuette -- create a new look, and a new narrative context for figures which may have been recognized as other characters in other settings and guises. Today, of course, there is much dispute concerning who these two were meant to represent. Erika Simon has recently supported the identification of the youths as Castor and Pollux, but suggests that another Pasitelean group may actually be Amphion and Zethus, the sons of Antiope.[67]

The main difference between these classicizing and severizing types manipulated in group compositions, and our satyrs, nymphs and hermaphrodites, is really one of style. Most of the Pasitelean works are considered to draw not on specific prototypes of the fifth and fourth century B.C., but on stylistic features of these periods. Our groups involve more contemporary types in new arrangements.

While the absence of evidence from Greece proper cannot be proof that such groups did not appear in the Greco-Roman sculptural repertoire, their consistent presence in Italy and Roman sites abroad suggests a predilection for this group in these areas, and probably the source of their origins as well. The best evidence so far for an Italian source for groups of

Aggressive Hermaphroditos and Satyr groups is the associated group of Calenian reliefs. These reliefs, ultimately, may derive from still earlier prototypes in metal; the clay versions would be less expensive replicas of an admired design. For these Roman works I propose Hellenistic, two-dimensional prototypes.

Finally, there is the problem of meaning. What function did these works play in ancient decorative programs ? As we have seen, such a composition was suitable in an outdoor garden setting, like the Dresden group at Oplontes that received an especially prominent place at the end of the *natatio*. Two-dimensional versions of this same Dresden type were appropriate decorations in domestic settings as well, and the existence of two miniature bronze versions of the composition would also appear to have been intended for indoor placement.

Would these works have had purely decorative value to their owners, or would their meaning, like that of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type, as proposed above, have had a religious aspect as well ? That the themes of the works we have considered here, along with a great number of other types -- Pans, Nymphs, Satyrs, Erotes, even Dionysos in his drunken state, supported by a satyr boy -- are humorous, and to our eyes fanciful, should not suggest that they are best relegated to a class of "garden sculptures" lacking more than ornamental significance.

What the meaning of these wrestling groups may have been is difficult to define with precision. But we do have some clues. First of all, in some of its other poses, particularly the *anasyromenos* type, Hermaphroditos may be wielding the same kind

NOTES

1. On the type: K. Kell, *Formuntersuchungen zu spät und nachhellenistischen Gruppe* (Saarbrucken 1988)21-28; P. Gercke, "Pergami Symplegma des Kephisodots ?" in *Kanon: Festschrift Ernst Berger* (Basel 1988)232-234 (important and interesting because Gercke discusses two replicas of the Dresden type that were once on the art market in Rome and have not been published elsewhere except for a mention in the BrunnBruckmann replica list); J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (1986)131, fig. 140; Dierks-Kiehl (1973)94-99; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* I (1947)183-185; id. II, 173, Nr. 161, pl. 113; B. Ashmole, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (1929)16-18; G. Krahmer, G. "Die einansichtige Gruppe und die spathellenistische Kunst," *GöttNach* (1927)53-91; BrBr 731 (still a useful discussion and list of replicas; in an added commentary G. Lippold attributes the original of the type to Kephisodotus the Younger); P. Marconi, "Una testa di ermafrodito," *BullCom* 54(1927)3-33 (helpful also for the Aggressive Hermaphrodite and Satyr groups, with a few corrections to his lists); E. Schmidt, "Ubertragung gemalter Figuren in Rundplastik," *Festschrift Paul Arndt* (1925)96-114; P. Marconi, "Gruppi erotici dell'ellenismo nei musei di Roma," *BullCom* 51(1923)225-298, esp. 252-282; Klein, W., *Vom antiken Rokoko* (1921)56, fig. 22.

2. Beardless satyr head with hand gripping hair on right side of face belongs with nymph and satyr groups (see pp.15 below).

3. Gercke (supra, n. 1)234.

4. S. De Caro, "The Sculptures of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis," in *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens* (Washington, D. C. 1987)77-133; esp. 98-100, No. 12, figs. 15a-b, 16a-b, 45.

5. Schmidt (supra, n. 1) 100-101.

6. Gem: *AGD* I 3 Nr. 2303, pl. 204.

7. G. Maddoli, "Le cretule del Nomophylakeion di Cirene," *ASAtene* 41-42(1963-1964)39-145, esp. 63-64, No. 328, fig. 20.

8. Pompeian wall paintings: Gercke (supra, n. 1); *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*(1986)138, No. 101; M. Grant, *Eros a Pompei* (1974)158-159 with fig. on 159.

9. Mosaics at Daphne: R. Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* II(1938)185, No. 42, pl. 37.

10. Another mosaic, this one at Timgad (No. 79), depicts a frontal *anasyromenos* figure in fragmentary condition, that has been identified as Hermaphroditos.

11. D. Levi, "The Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* III(1941)220-232.

12. Levi (1947, supra, n. 1) 183-185.

13. On these sculptures: R. Stillwell, Antioch-on-the-Orontes II(1938)173-174, No. 161, 163, pl. 13-14.

14. Oplontis: see n. 4 above, also W. Jashemski, "Recently Excavated Gardens and Cultivated Land of the Villas at Boscoreale and Oplontis" in Ancient Roman Villa Gardens (Washington D.C., 1987)31-75; ead., The Gardens of Pompeii (New Rochelle 1979)289-314, fig. 480. But see E. Leach, "Ancient Roman Villa Gardens [review]," AJA 93(1989)304-306 on the problem of identifying the villa's owner (esp. 305).

15. De Caro (supra, n. 4) 131-133.

16. Jashemski (1987, supra, n. 14) 73-74; The trees themselves appear to have been planted according to some scheme of visual symmetry. Jashemski has identified most of the root remains as those of plane trees, but the four planted in the center of the line directly across the pond were respectively an oleander, a laurel, a lemon tree, and another oleander. In addition to the screen formed by this row of well grown trees, Jashemski found planting beds about four meters east of the trees, and beyond these, the roots of shrubs, so the vista seen beyond the natatio would have been green and full of vegetation as well as sculptures, in sharp contrast to the bare excavated area of today. Since the bases upon which these sculptures stood are made of brick, with no surviving marble revetments in place, it is likely that more greenery growing up around them would have concealed these constructions and enhanced the effect of sculptures in a natural landscape. This view could be appreciated from across the pond, or, at closer range, as one walked along the aisle created by the line of trees, and the eastern edge of the pond (Jashemski [1987, supra n. 14]).

17. De Caro (supra, n. 4) 129.

18. De Caro (supra, n. 4) 98-100, No. 12, figs. 15a-b, 16a-b, 45.

19. De Caro (supra, n. 4) 96-98, No. 11, figs. 13, 14, 45.

20. De Caro (supra, n. 4) 98.

21. De Caro (supra, n. 4) 100.

22. Aggressive Hermaphroditos and Satyr: For a list of replicas, P. Marconi, "Gruppi erotici dell'ellenismo nei musei di Roma," BullCom 51(1923); but now add the fragment at Salamis on Cyprus, and a figure of Hermaphroditos in New York, see n. 23 below. This type was not included in the recent study of Hellenistic sculptural groups by Kell, cited above, n. 1.

23. At the Arethusa Gallery. I am indebted to Professor Richard Brilliant for alerting me to this example, and to Dr. Ariel Herrmann for sending me a photograph of it.

24. L. Bodson, HIERA ZOA (Brussels 1980)95-96, 98, 118; J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (London 1977)240-243; Keller, O., Die antike Tierwelt v. 2 (Leipzig 1913)1-12; id., Thiere der classischen Alterthums (Innsbruck 1887)236-276;

25. Eagles on Roman funerary urns: F. Sinn, Stadtrömische Marmorurnen (Mainz 1987)70-71, see Nos. 196, 198, 204-206, 209, 212, 221, 229, 258, 286, 364, 366-368, 373, 383-384, 392, 396, 399, 401, 415, 432, 458, 476, 478-479, 481, 494, 546, 597, 675, 675, 677-678; on Roman altars: D. E. E. Kleiner, Roman Imperial Funerary Altars with Portraits (Rome 1987)23, 32, 103, 120; on candelabra: H. -U. Cain, Römische Marmorkandelaber (Mainz 1985)137, 168, No. 46.

26. R. Gergel, "A Late Flavian Cuirassed Torso in the J. Paul Getty Museum," J.P.GettyMusJ 16(1988)5-24; id., "The Eagle Vanquishing a Hare: A Flavian Victory Motif," AJA 9(1987)303.

27. Gergel (1987, supra, n. 26) 303.

28. F. Coarelli, Roma Sepolta (1984)138; E. Strong, Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine (London 1907)241-243.

29. Strong (supra, n. 28) 243.

30. R. Pagenstecher, Die calenische Reliefkeramik (1903)37-38; J. Boardman, Eros in Greece (1978)153 with fig. on 152.

31. V. Hadjimichali, "Recherches a Lato," BCH 95(1971)167-222, esp. 204-207. Also on Calenian ware: B. Barr-Sharrar, The Hellenistic Early Imperial Decorative Bust (Mainz 1987)132 n.4, 133-137; L. Sanesi, "Nuovi frammenti a rilievo da Cales," RivdiArch 3(1979)59-64; A. Rocco, EAA II(1959), 271-272, s.v. "Caleni, Vasi"; also see M. - O. Jentel, Les gutti et les askoi a etrusques et apuliens (Leiden 1976) and E. D. Reeder, "Clay Impressions from Attic Metalwork," Diss., Princeton, 1974.

32. See n. 30 above.

33. G. Richter, "A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum," AJA 45(1941)363-389; ead., "Calenian Pottery and Classical Greek Metalware," AJA 63(1959)241-249; F. Courby, Les vases grecs a reliefs (Paris 1922)163, 224, 251.

34. J. Van de Grift, "Tears and Revel: The Allegory of the Berthouville Centaur Scyphoi," AJA 88(1984)377-388.

35. A possible altered version of this type is discussed in Section III below. A. Oliver Jr., " New Hellenistic Silver: Mirror, Emblem Dish and Spoons," JBerlMus 19(1977)13-22.; esp. 16-20, figs. 3-5.

36. Satyr and Nymph groups: K. Kell (supra, n. 1) 57-64; B. F. Cook, The Towneley Marbles (London 1985)53; BrBr 732. For still another grappling nymph/satyr type, see B. S. Ridgway, Museum of Art,

Rhode Island School of Design, Providence R.I. Catalogue of the Classical Collection (Providence 1972)No. 23, 63-64, 178-179, 180.

37. O. Palagia, "Les Techniques de la Sculpture grecque sur Marbre," in Marbres Helleniques (Brussels 1987)80-81.

38. See n. 61 below.

39. Palagia (supra, n. 37) 89.

40. NM 245: S. Karouzou, National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture (Athens 1968)166.

41. Palagia (supra, n. 37) 80.

42. Gercke (supra, n. 1) 233-234; Kell (supra, n. 1)27; on the younger Kephisodotos and the family of Praxiteles: B. S. Ridgway, Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture (Ann Arbor 1984) 72; H. Lauter, "Zur Wirtschaftlichen Position des Praxiteles-Familie," AA 1980, 525-531.

43. A. Herrmann, "Hellenistic Groups and Their Forerunners," AntK 18(1975)85-92. Heliodoros: E. Pfuhl, RE 8.1 (1913)42-43, s.v. "Heliodorus."

44. For a discussion of the Pan-Olympus problem see Herrmann (supra, n. 43)87-89. Usually, the groups with a young boy playing a flute watched closely by a larger Pan are associated with Heliodorus' symplegma, but as usual, we have no direct proof linking the literary reference and the three-dimensional works. On these groups also see P. B. Rawson, The Myth of Marsyas in the Roman Visual Arts (Oxford 1987)67-68 LIMC III.1, 350-351, s.v. Daphnis; G. Mansuelli, Galleria degli Uffizi: Le Sculture I(1958)No. 101, fig 103; Klein, "Studien zum antike Rokoko II. Zum Symplegma des Meisters Heliodoros," ÖJh 119-20(1919); These compositions also "come apart"; the young flute player occurs as a separate work.

45. On the term nobilis see J. J. Pollitt, The Ancient View of Greek Art (New Haven 1974)408-409.

46. Martial, Epigrams 12.43

Facundos mihi de libidinosis
legisti nimium, Sabelle, versus
quales nec Didymi sciunt puellae
nec molles Elephantidos libelli.
sunt illic Veneris novae figurae
quales perditus audeat fututor,
praestent et taceant quid exoleti,
quo symplegmate quinque copulentur,
qua plures teneatur a catena
extinctum liceat quid ad lucernam.
tanti non erat esse te disertum.

You have read to me too many eloquent verses concerning libidinous things, Sabella, such as neither the girls of Didymo, nor the soft books of Elephantis know. There are new positions here, such as the abandoned fucker might try; which old libertines might provide and keep quiet about; by which symplegma five might be joined; by which chain more might be held, whatever is permitted when the lights are out. It was not of such great importance that you be eloquent about it (my translation).

47. Bases at Ephesus: Inschriften griechischen Stadt aus Kleinasien: Die Inschriften von Ephesus, (Bonn 1979); J. Robert and L. Robert, BE 1971, No. 575; A. Betz, "Ephesia," Klio 52(1970)27-32; C. Picard, "Les 'symplegmata' des gymnasse hellenistico-romain d'Ephese et la decorative statuaire des edifices de sport a l'epoque romaine imperiale" CRAI 1955, 20-32.

48. H. Manderscheid, Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserlichen Thermenanlagen (1981)87-88, Nos. 164-168.

49. Base I: height 0.92m, length 2.18m, width 0.97m Inschriften II (supra, n. 47) 209, No. 518.

50. On the term andrias see A. Donohue, Xoana and the Origins of Greek Sculpture (Atlanta 1988) 24, 76-77, 157, 168-169. Another base at Ephesus, whose inscription does not contain the word symplegma, supported andrianta which included a satyr. See Inschriften II (supra, n. 47) 200, No. 507.

51. Base cum omni ornatu: height 1.10m, length 1.60m, width 0.90m; Inschriften III (supra, n. 47) 179, No. 858.

52. Theseus base: height 1.30m, length 1.75m, width 1.30m Inschriften II (supra, n. 47) 202, No. 509.

53. Apamea ad Orontes, base of a sculpture of Theseus and the Minotaur: Manderscheid (supra, n. 48) 100, No. 204, according to a communication from J. Ch. Balty [to Manderscheid]. The base is given a Trajanic date. It may only be a coincidence that such a work, involving at least two figures possibly engaged in a violent, intertwined pose, would have been at this Apamea, where Heliodorus might have worked.

54. Athamas base: height 1.80m, length 1.60m, width 1.50m Inschriften III (supra, n. 47) 178, No. 857; CIL III 14195.

55. For sources see Athamas LIMC II.1, 950-953.

56. Representations of Athamas are scarce. On one red figure Faliscan fragment (4th century B.C. bell krater, Rome, Villa Giulia 8360, LIMC III.1, 951 No. 9) a nude, bearded man holds a child over his shoulders, gripping it by the ankles and a wrist, This scene has tentatively been identified as Athamas in the act of killing his son, but there is no conclusive evidence for the attribution. A marble fragment with a hand grasping a small ankle and foot from the baths of Caracalla has tentatively been

identified as Athamas about to dash his little boy to the ground (Manderschied [supra, n. 48] 76, No. 65). However, M. Marvin proposes convincingly that instead, this fragment belongs to the large Warrior and Child (the so-called Achilles and Astyanax) sculpture from the Baths, and now in Naples ("Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla," AJA 87[1983]367-368).

57. Relief ware scene: 2nd century B.C. Fuhrman, JdI 65-66(1950-1951)103-104. The choice of this theme for a sculptural dedication at Ephesus might have had some local political significance, Athamas' descendant of the same name founded the city of Teos, about thirty kilometers southeast of Ephesus, according to Pausanias and others. The Teioi were connected politically with Ephesus, and so it is possible that the myth of Athamas, rarely depicted in art, might have been chosen with a special local meaning in mind (Pausanias 7.3.6; Strabo 14.633; G. E. Bean, Aegean Turkey [London 1966]136-146; D. F. McCabe, M. A. Plunkett, Teos Inscriptions [Princeton 1985]Nos. 38, 121).

58. Daedalus base: height 1.47 m, length 0.71 m, width 1.04 m.

59. Daedalus and Ikarus appear together in South Italian vase painting at least by the mid-fifth century. LIMC Daedalus III.1 313-321.

60. Amman Daedalus: H. Mobius, "Ein hellenistischen Daidalos," JdI 68(1953)96-101; for another interpretation see J. H. Iliffe, "Heroic Statue from Philadelphia-Amman," in Studies D. M. Robinson I (St. Louis 1951) 705-712. There are several other bases at Ephesus that once held groups of sculpture, including one with Aktaion, Silenus, Pan and two dogs, but which is not called a symplegma.

61. Doidalsas Aphrodite: A. Linfert, AthMitt 84(1969)158-164; M. Robertson, A Shorter History of Greek Art (Cambridge 1974)202; also supporting Linfert's conclusions, B. S. Ridgway (supra, n. 42)23, with n. 75. The motif of the crouching woman spyed upon by men or satyrs is an old one, first occurring on a Chalcidian vase of the late sixth century B.C.

62. Thorn pullers: Pollitt (supra, n. 1) 131-132; Bieber (supra, n.1) 148, figs. 633, 635 at Ostia, Helbig[4] IV No. 3038; Vatican, Helbig[4] I, No. 521; AJA 72(1968)143, pl. 55.

63. Invitation to the Dance: D. M Brinkerhoff, "New Examples of the Hellenistic Sculpture Group, 'The Invitation to the Dance' and Their Significance," AJA 69(1965)25-37.

64. Giants and Satyrs: Pollitt (1986 supra, n. 1) 131-132; Helbig[4] II No. 1467.

65. Pasiteles: Pollitt (1986, supra, n. 1) 162, 175, 268; M. Borda, La Scuola di Pasiteles (Bari 1953).
66. Ildefonso group: P. Zanker, Klassistische Statuen (Mainz 1974)28-30, pl. 30.

67. E. Simon, "Deutung 'Pasitelischer' Gruppen," JdI 102(1987)291-304. Of the torch in the left hand of the Westmacott Athlete, only its stump remains. A portion of the torch in the lowered right hand is original, with some modern restorations. Portions of the figures and the altars have also been restored. See A. Blanco, Museo del Prado, Catalogo de la Escultura (Madrid 1957)No. 28-E, 30-32, esp. 32.

68. There is little epigraphical or literary testimonia for the power of the phallus over the Evil Eye, although the visual record provides a clear connection. See M. W. Dickey and K. M. P. Dunbabin, "Invida rumpantur pectora: Invida in Greco-Roman Art," JbAC 26(1983)7-37. Also see Plutarch, Quaestiones conviviales V.7.681-682, where the gaze of the Evil Eye is thought to be deflected by strange looking objects (atopia).

69. Dickey and Dunbabin (supra, n. 68) 36.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions

This study of representations of hermaphrodites in Greek and Roman art was undertaken with the following questions in mind: How and when did images of hermaphrodites develop in ancient Greek and Roman culture ? What did such objects mean to their ancient owners ? Let us now summarize the conclusions developed in the preceding chapters as a way of addressing some of these problems.

Anasyromenos images of Hermaphroditos are by far the earliest representations, first occurring in the late fourth century B.C. From the surviving evidence, they appear to have developed in Greece, possibly in Athens. The *anasyromenos* imagery of Hermaphroditos was long lived: the latest example of this type may be the fragmentary figure adorning a mosaic pavement of the third century A.C. in Timgad.

The wide distribution of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos* types throughout the ancient world testifies to their continuing popularity and to their widespread cult role, although the nature of this religious function is hard to determine through "official" sources like inscriptions, literary testimonia, or architectural remains. However, figurines of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos* have been found in Hellenistic votive deposits associated with Athena at Paestum and Demeter on the Greek island site of Mytilene. It has been proposed above that such images in these contexts may have been votives connected with fertility or children, and that, in domestic contexts, these *anasyromenos* figures would have had an additional apotropaic function.

As for the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type, a very different kind of composition, it may actually be connected with a specific figure of Phrygian mythology, Agdistis, who begins life as a bisexual creature and subsequently is transformed, through emasculation, into a powerful female divinity associated with Cybele. The prototype of the Sleeping Hermaphrodite may have been created in Italy during the second century B.C., rather than in Greece, as most commentators have suggested, and there is a faint possibility that its creator was the Greek sculptor Polykles, who was active in Rome during the second half of the second century B.C.

The replicas of this type, as noted above, are predominantly Italian, with only two Greek variants, a sleeping maenad from the South Slope of the Akropolis in Athens, and a small version from the island of Kos, known so far. Both these works have been assigned late Hellenistic dates. If the original Sleeping Hermaphrodite were from second century Rome, and not from Greece, this might account for the absence of canonical replicas in the Greek world, and would even justify the early dating of the two Greek examples.[1] The use of pattern books here to transmit such an image to Greek artists could be one explanation of these variant forms.

With regard to the Wrestling Hermaphrodite and Satyr groups, the prototypes of these Roman works, both Aggressive Satyr and Aggressive Hermaphrodite types, with replicas almost exclusively in the Roman world (as is the case for the Sleeping Hermaphrodite), may be Italian compositions of the second century B.C. But in this case, the originals are more likely to have been

in small scale terracotta or metal relief. As we have seen, for the Aggressive Hermaphrodite and Satyr type we have miniature versions on the medallions of Calenian relief ware bowls that have been dated no later than the middle of the second century B.C.

For the entangled Satyr and Nymph groups discussed above, of which one possible Satyr/Hermaphrodite variant may be identified in Athens, we also have an earlier version in metal relief. It is becoming increasingly clear that the so-called "minor arts" of the Hellenistic period may actually have been the source of many motifs and compositions that are more widely recognized in later large scale Roman works in the round.

Of our three major Hermaphrodite types then, we can tentatively identify the earliest, <u>anasyromenos</u> variety as originally being a Greek production of the fourth century B.C. While we should be wary of relying too heavily on this exclusively Attic evidence as a safe indication of the Greek production of the fourth century B.C. While we should be wary of relying too heavily on this exclusively Attic evidence as a safe indication of the Greek origins of Hermaphroditos, nevertheless we must use the evidence we have and consider carefully what it tells us. The <u>anasyromenos</u> figures of Hermaphroditos spread throughout Greek and Italian sites. They were joined in the second century B.C., in Italy, by the struggling groups and later in the century by the Sleeping Hermaphrodite. The Sleeping and Wrestling types are more likely to have been inspired by small relief scenes. Now it is time to consider the origins and meanings of Hermaphroditos in Greek and Roman art and culture.

In Chapter 1, we examined some of the philosophical traditions current in Greece during the sixth century B.C. that presented views of the creation of the universe in which bisexual entities -- Chronos, Phanes, androgynes -- played essential roles. It is possible that these entities, in some way, might be connected with the Greek divinity Hermaphroditos, who first appears in literature and art a few centuries later. The most immediate philosophical associations might be with Orphic ideas, which had by late in the fifth century time found their way into art.[1]

But some clear distinctions can be recognized between the earlier group of bisexual entities and the later manifestation. In contrast to most of its precursors, Hermaphroditos did not, at least according to the surviving testimonia, produce offspring or act as a critical link in the evolution of the cosmos. However, the archaeological evidence suggests that Hermaphroditos did preside over fertility and human generation; the Hellenistic votives support this interpretation, and some Roman sculptures even depict it holding or nursing a baby.

Also unlike its bisexual precursors, Hermaphroditos -- in the visual and literary record -- was not often depicted with the genitals of both sexes. Ovid, whose account of Hermaphroditos is the fullest, does not provide a precise physical description of the youth after his sexual transformation, leaving the physiological details of the metamorphosis to our imaginations. However, from the fourth century B.C. on, when the character becomes a personage worthy of a place, albeit a modest one, in the Greek Pantheon, the

canonical representation of Hermaphroditos supplies it with female breasts and male genitals.

That Hermaphroditos was considered a divinity with powers of some kind is supported by evidence from the fourth century B.C.: the inscribed votive base from Vari dated early in the century, and the activities of Theophrastus' Superstitious Man. Hermaphroditos' close iconographic and genealogical connections with Aphrodite and Priapus suggests a shared meaning and function with these divinities -- the exposed, often erect phallus being a proponent of fertility as well as a protective emblem, the combination of sexual features perhaps embodying a higher, more complete form of existence, rather than an abnormal one.

But bisexual creatures, as we have seen, were also perceived by the Greeks and Romans as having a dangerous side. Agdistis, in the accounts of Pausanias and Arnobius is destructive and violent, and androgynous infants in Rome were feared and destroyed in the course of elaborate expiatory rituals, from the late third to the early first centuries B.C. Androgynous humans -- in Rome, at least -- were portents. The bisexual god possibly shared this portentous quality with them, but as a divinity perhaps its power was considered less a threat to mankind's welfare than a force that could be channeled constructively.

It is likely that all the images, on some level, whether they were set up in a garden, a private, domestic area, a bath, or a gymnasium, may have been perceived as guardians of these areas. Public baths and gymnasia, in fact, were considered especially dangerous places, where naked bodies were exposed and vulnerable to the envious gaze of the evil eye, and this may be

one reason why statues of Hermaphroditos were apparently appropriate decorations in such settings.[2] Images of Hermaphroditos in the home might have served a similar use, as suggested by the relief plaques from Delos bearing images of Hermaphroditos _anasyromenos_ that may have adorned exterior walls of houses near entrances, and could have served as protective devices. Bronze figurines of Hermaphroditos served as the supports for Roman candelabra (Nos. 5c, 8, Fig. 36), another figure may have supported a mirror or a toilette article (No. 11) and a few examples of Hermaphroditos adorning table legs are also known (Nos. 54, 55).

Hermaphroditos also had a funerary function. The strongest evidence for this role is provided by the depositions of terracotta _anasyromenos_ figurines in Hellenistic Greek and Alexandrian graves and by the appearance of Hermaphroditos Kallipygos on a Gallo-Roman funerary monument (No. 14e). These works may have performed a protective function in the grave just as they apparently did in domestic settings.

But a mythological connection with death is more difficult to established. While the sleepers Ariadne and Endymion play a dominant role in the repertoire of Roman funerary iconography, it is difficult to demonstrate that the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type had a similar function. On Attic and Roman sarcophagi, where we might expect to find confirmation and illumination of Hermaphroditos' role in funerary art, the evidence is inconclusive. There are apparently no two-dimensional rendering of the Sleeping type in the repertoire of these reliefs. And other figures previously identified as Hermaphroditos dancing or

reclining in other poses, on reliefs decorating sarcophagi, are probably male (Nos. 90, 91, Figs. 37, 38). Only one sarcophagus in Pisa may actually bear an image of Hermaphroditos (No. 83, Fig. 39).

However, if a connection can be established between the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type and Agdistis, whose fate is so closely intertwined with that of Attis himself, then it is hard to avoid seeing such a meaning. In Pausanias' account, for instance, Agdistis, having caused Attis' death, repented and prayed to Zeus to protect the dead youth's body from decay. According to Arnobius, after Attis' death, Agdistis tended his shrine at Pessinus, and entreated Zeus to bring him back to life. The god consented in part: Attis' hair kept on growing after his death, and his little finger continued to function. In addition, the <u>taurobolium</u>, the bull sacrifice introduced into the Roman rites of Cybele, probably during the reign of Antoninus Pius. was viewed two centuries later as a means of spiritual redemption.[3] It cannot be shown that this aspect of the <u>taurobolium</u> was officially recognized much earlier than this, but, Attis' body, undecayed in Pausanias' account, and in some ways still alive after death according to the later version points in this direction. So the Sleeping Hermaphrodite type too, by its association with Attis and Cybele may have been perceived as an expression of life after death.

Or, it may be that Agdistis' own experience, the transformation from one sexual identity to another through the emasculation was perceived as the achievement of a new life after the end of the previous one. Such meanings would make the Sleeping

Hermaphrodite a suitable funerary monument, although again, we have no real evidence for its use in this way, with the exception of the fragmentary example in the Carnegie Institute Museum in Pittsburgh, where the sleeper clutches a branch laden probably with pomegranates.

The two clear iconographic strains -- the <u>anasyromenos</u> type, with its formal exposing gesture, and the torsional varieties -- that characterize the repertoire of hermaphrodite images were produced simultaneously by the second century B.C., although the <u>anasyromenos</u> variety was probably known at least two centuries earlier. The groups with satyrs and Hermaphroditos, at least from the surviving evidence, appear to have been strictly an Italic development, and it is possible that this is also true for the Sleeping Hermaphrodites. Why, sometime during the fourth century B.C. and possibly in Attica, does Hermaphroditos appear to have come into its own as a divinity worthy of votive offerings, with an established iconography ? While it is not necessary to draw a direct connection between historical events and the development of cults, it is at least worth noting that the social and religious climate in Greece, and especially in Attica at the end of the fifth century encouraged the introduction of new divinities and new forms of worship.

Several modern commentators have noted that the political and social disruptions caused in Athens during the second half of the fifth century B.C., by the Pelopponesian War that extended through the last three decades of the century, and by the plague that dominated Athens from 430 to 426 B.C. coincide with an Athenian preoccupation with foreign divinities, including Cybele, Attis,

Bendis, Adonis and Sabazios.[4] In fact, there is also evidence, late in the fifth century, for a literary reaction in Athens against the oracles, seers, and orgiastic cult activities connected with some of these divinities. It was at this time in Athens, distressed by plague and possibly other disasters (including an earthquake in 425 B.C. that damaged the recently completed Parthenon), that people resorted to these extreme religious measures.[5]

Thucydides asserted that during the plague years there was a general feeling among Athenians that the gods had deserted them, or were powerless against the disease. In this connection, J. Mikalson has noticed the lack of evidence for official religious building activity between 430 and 426 B.C., but that soon after this, the situation changes.[6] Directly related to the plague and its aftermath was the introduction of the cult of Asklepios to Athens in 420 B.C.[7] Another healing deity, Amphiaraos, is attested in Attica in the early fourth century B.C.[8] Other divinities, foreigners, also entered Athens late in the fifth century, although not all can be clearly connected with a reaction to the plague.[9]

The evidence, though admittedly sparse, suggests that in fact Hermaphroditos <u>anasyromenos</u> might be an Athenian development. It is an intriguing possibility that in Athens, sometime in the fourth century, a new iconographical type was created. Perhaps the first images of Hermaphroditos were the products of a local, or popular rite in the city itself, or in the countryside of Attica. Possibly, the cumulative losses of life suffered in thirty years of warfare and four years of plague

may have decimated the Athenian population to such an extent that some people would have sought the protection of a force that could encourage or restore the fertility of men and nature that was disrupted by these catastrophes. Dio says that 15,000 people died in Athens during the plague years, but Thucydides reports that many of the dead went uncounted, so the total losses may have been even higher.[10]

But, as we have already acknowledged, it would be risky to propose a direct correlation between events in late fifth century Athens and the development of a new cult figure and a new iconography. However, we can at least observe what the evidence suggests, that Hermaphroditos, a divine figure in the Greek world, made its first appearance early in the fourth century B.C., and once established in Greece became a lasting, powerful divine presence throughout the ancient world.

NOTES

1. Another Hellenistic sculptural type, the so-called Hanging Marsyas, generally thought to have a Greek prototype, has been shown by A. Weis to be an Italian creation, produced according to Italian specifications possibly by a Greek artist: "The Motif of the Adligatus and Tree," AJA 86(1982)21-31.

2. Personal discussion with Dr. Matthew Dickey. An article on the Evil Eye and ancient baths by D. Katherine Dunbabin will appear shortly.

3. On the taurobolium see R. M. Krill, "Roman Paganism under the Antonines and Severans," ANRW II.16.1 (1968)27-44, esp. 30-32.

4. E. R. Dodds, Euripides' Bacchae, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1988)xxiii. id., The Greeks and the Irrational (1972)193-194. On the late fifth century in general: J. V. A. Fine, The Ancient Greeks (Cambridge 1983)526-604, V. Ehrenberg, From Solon to Socrates (London 1968)286-343.

5. G. Nilsson, Greek Popular Religion (New York 1940)130-139; J. D. Mikalson, Athenian Popular Religion (Chapel Hill 1983). Evidence of late fifth century repairs to the east porch of the Parthenon has been recently observed by Mr. M. Korres, Architect of the Akropolis, who associates these adjustments with the earthquake recorded by ancient testimonia to have occurred in Greece in 425 B.C.

6. J. D. Mikalson, "Religion and the Plague in Athens," in Studies Presented to Sterling Dow (Durham 1984)217-225. For a summary of building activities in Athens and elsewhere just after the plague years in the late fifth century see J. Camp, "A Drought in the Late Eight Century B.C.," Hesperia 48(1979)397-411, esp. 403-404. Work may have begun on the Nike Temple by 425, and during this period the temenos walls of the Poseidon sanctuary at Sounion were built, along with the Temple of Apollo Delios on Delos. There is also evidence of reconstruction at the theaters of Dionysos in Athens and Thorikos.

7. On Asklepios in Athens: IGII^2 4960.

8. IG II^2 71; R. E. Wycherley, Agora III (Princeton 1957)49, No. 105.

9. R. R. Simms, "Foreign Cults in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.," Diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1985. Bendis, a Thracian goddess, had official status and a cult place by before 428/9 B.C., to judge from an inscription recording the accounts of the Treasurers of the Other Gods for that year (Simms, 137). Sabazius, on the other hand, is a more shadowy cult presence in fifth century Athens, although he is first mentioned by Aristophanes in The Wasps (produced in 422B.C.). For a cult of Isis in Athens, there is a terminus ante quem late in the fifth century.

10. A. W. Gomme, _The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C._ (Oxford 1933)6-8. For a recent discussion of Athenian population statistics and the problems of calculating such figures see M. W. Hansen, _Demography and Democracy_ (Copenhagen 1986).

FIGURES

1. Cat. No. 45, Roman Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos*; Once Rome, art market, DAI Inst. Neg. 35-1256.

2. Athens, Agora S629, Neg. LXIX-7

3. Figurine from Axos, after Rizza.

4. Gela Museum 13859; Photo: A. Ajootian

5. Cat. No. 36, terracotta mould fragment for figurine of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos*, Athens Agora T1808, Neg. 81-39-5

6. Cat. No. 44, Roman sculpture of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos*, Rome, Torlonia Museum 466, Rome, DAI Inst. Neg. 55-726.

7. Paestum Museum; Photo: A. Ajootian

8. Paestum Museum: Photo: A. Ajootian.

9. Cat. No. 75, Roman figurine of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos* with Eros; Rome, Capitoline Museum; Rome, DAI Inst. Neg. 55-709.

10. Cat. No. 60, Relief of Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos* from Delos, after Marcade (*BCH* Supp.1, 1973).

11. Cat. No. 62, Roman figurine of Aphrodite supported by Hermaphroditos *anasyromenos*; Corfu, DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. 450.

12. Roman sculpture of Priapus, Selchuk Museum. Photo courtesy of K. Dickey.

13. Cat. No. 37, terracotta figurine of Priapus (?); Athens, Agora T3002, Neg. 81-35-2.

14. Herm of Priapus (?), Pergamon Museum.

15. Cat. No. 56, Sleeping Hermaphrodite, Paris, Louvre.

16. a-b. Cat. No. 56e, Sleeping Hermaphrodite, Rome, Villa Borghese.

17. a-c. Cat. No. 56c, Sleeping Hermaphrodite, Rome, Terme Museum.

18. a-b. Cat. No. 56b, Sleeping Hermaphrodite, Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Neg. 152854.

19. a-b. Cat. No. 56i, Sleeping "Maenad," Athens, National Museum, NM 261; DAI Athens, Inst. Neg. NM 325.

20. Cat. No. 56d, Sleeping Hermaphrodite (frag.), Rome, National Museum 173935.

21. Terracotta figurine of a sleeping "maenad" from Taranto, after de Julius, Loiacona.

22a. Cat. No. 56c, Sleeping Hermaphrodite, Rome, National Museum, Rome, DAI Inst. Neg. 54-100.

22b. Cat. No. 56c, Sleeping Hermaphrodite, Rome, National Museum.

23. Cat. No. 59, Hermaphrodite reclining on back, Naples, National Museum 6352; Rome, DAI Inst. Neg. 57-864.

24. Cat. No. 63d, Wrestling hermaphrodite and Satyr (Dresden type), Dresden Staatl. Kunstlg. 153; Rome, DAI Inst. Neg. 56-1426.

25. Cat. No. 63k, Wrestling hermaphrodite and satyr (Dresden type), Eichenzell bei Fulda, Mus. Scholoss Fasanerie.

26. Cat. No. 63b, Wall painting of Wrestling satyr and hermaphrodite, Naples, National Museum 110878.

27. Plan of the Villa of Poppaea at Oplontis, after Jashemski.

28. Cat. No. 63p, Wrestling hermaphrodite and satyr (Dresden type) at Oplontis, after De Caro.

29 a-d. Cat. No. 64c, Aggressive hermaphrodite and satyr; Rome, Torlonia Museum, Rome, DAI Inst, Neg. 55.721, 55.722, 55.724, 55.725.

30a. Cat. No. 64a, Relief medallion from Calenian bowl with scene of Agressive hermaphrodite and satyr, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.33i, after Boardman.

30b. Cat. No. 64b, Relief medallion from Calenian bowl with scene of Aggressive Hermaphrodite and satyr; after Pagenstecher.

31 a-d. Wrestling hermaphrodite (?) and satyr, Athens, near Olympieion; Athens, DAI Inst. Negs. A.V. 1300,1302.

32. Cat. No. 68, Pan and Hermaphrodite; Florence, Uffizi Neg. 9982.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

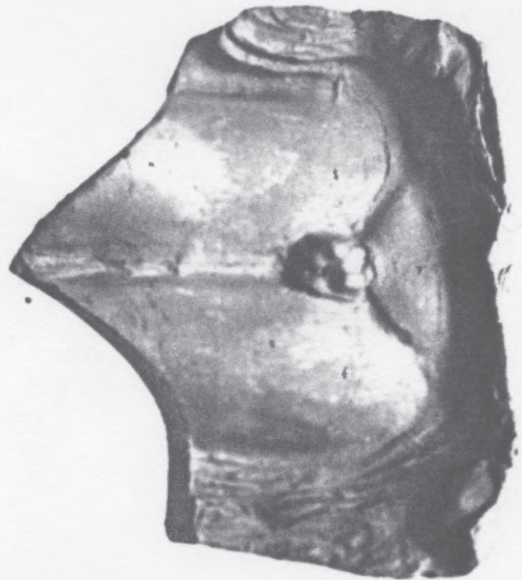


Fig. 5

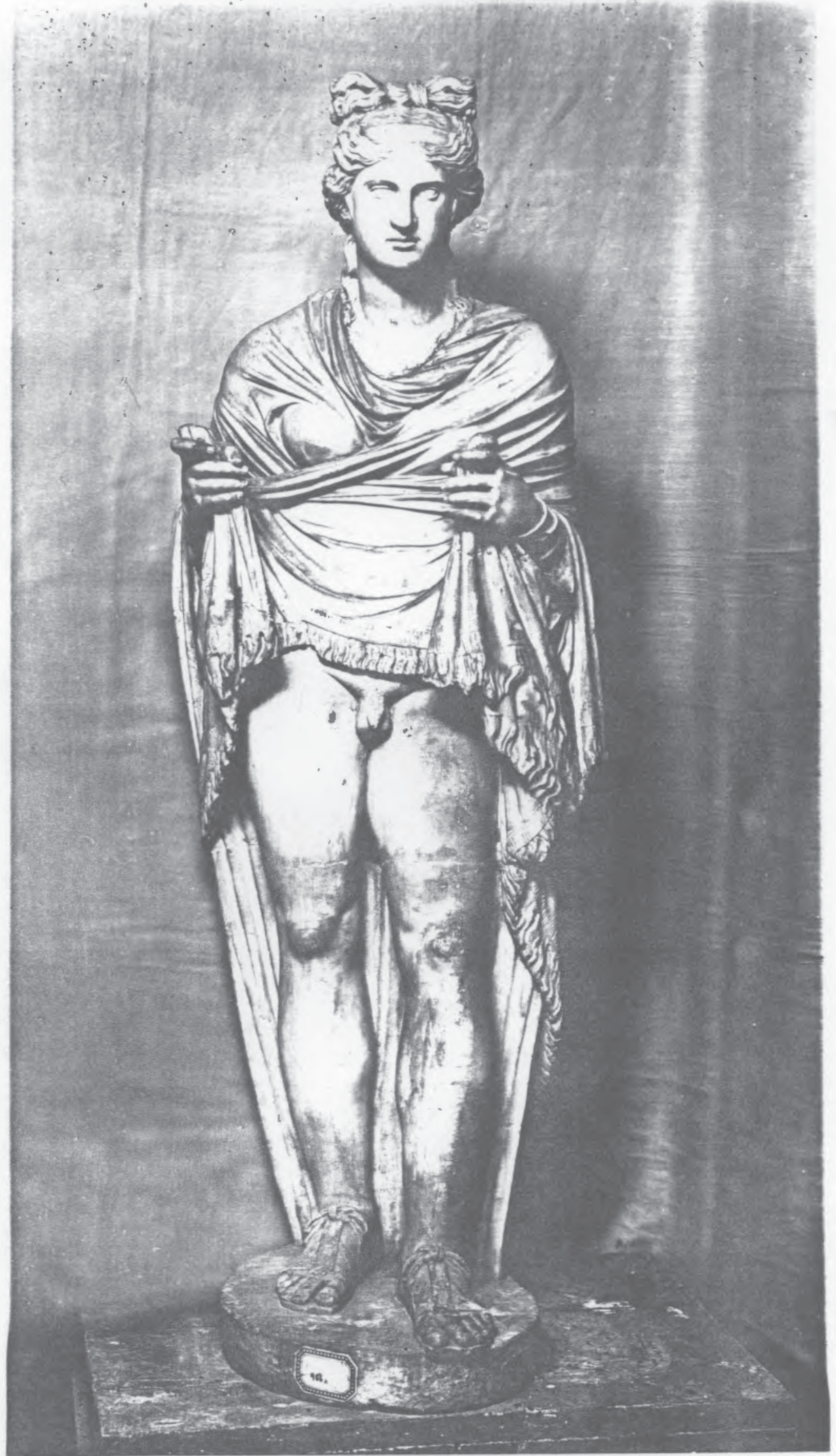


Fig. 6

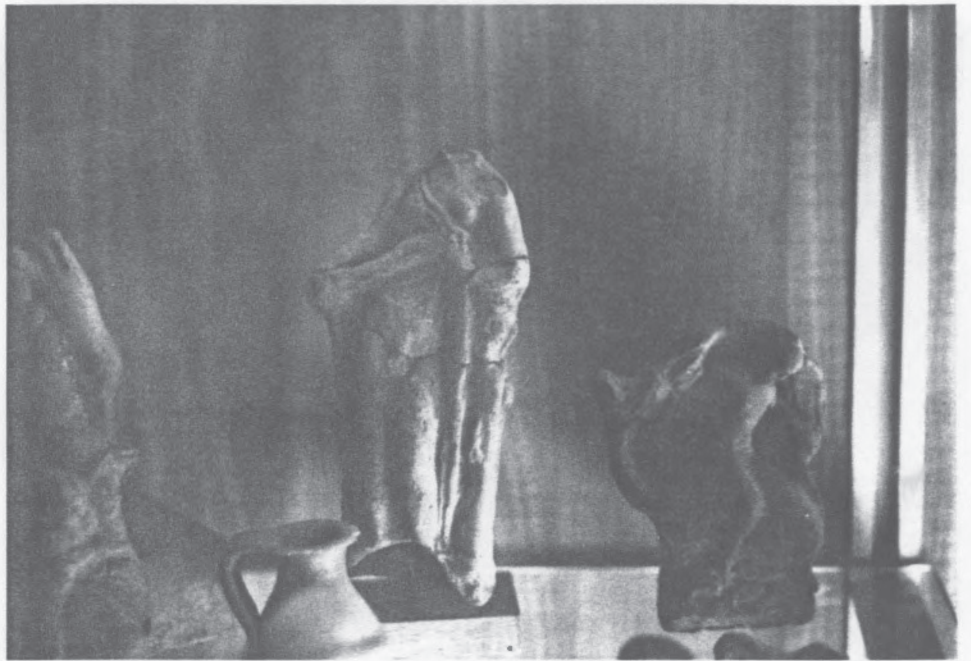


Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

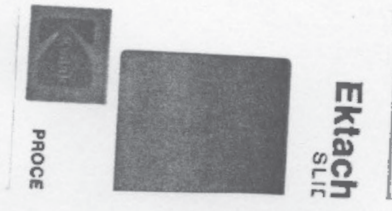


Fig. 12

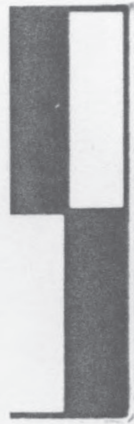


Fig. 13

Fig. 14

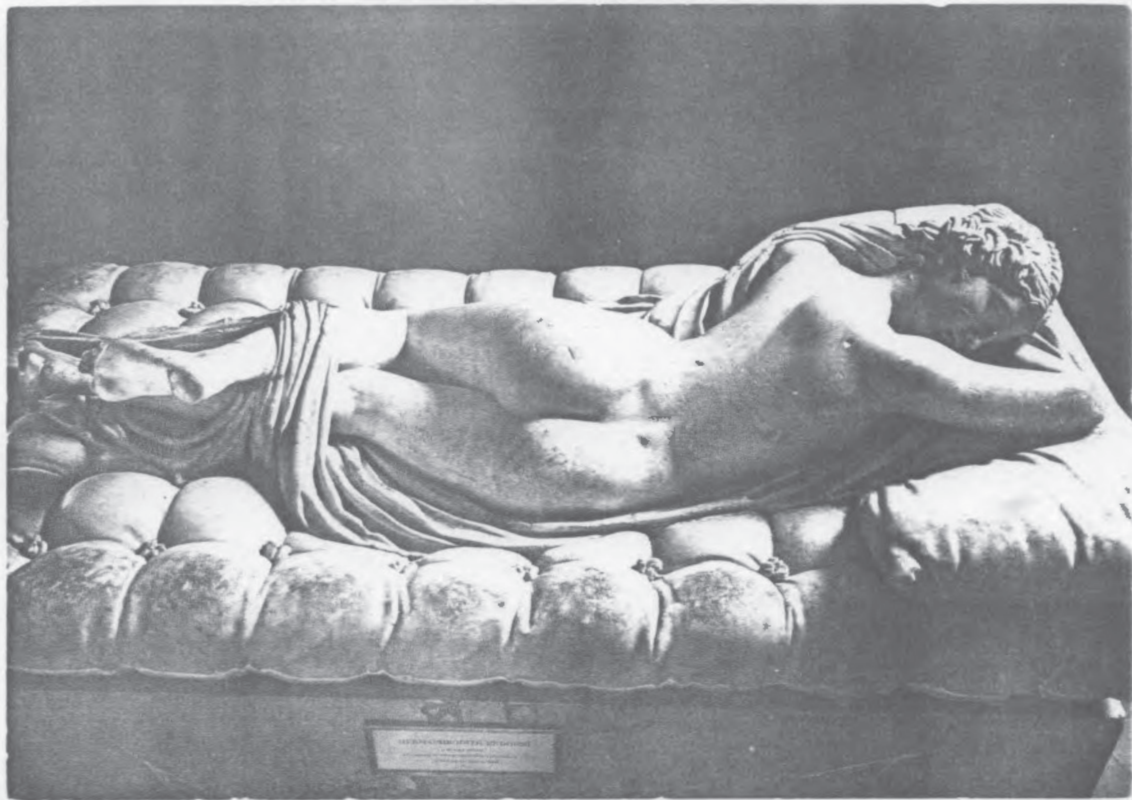


Fig. 15

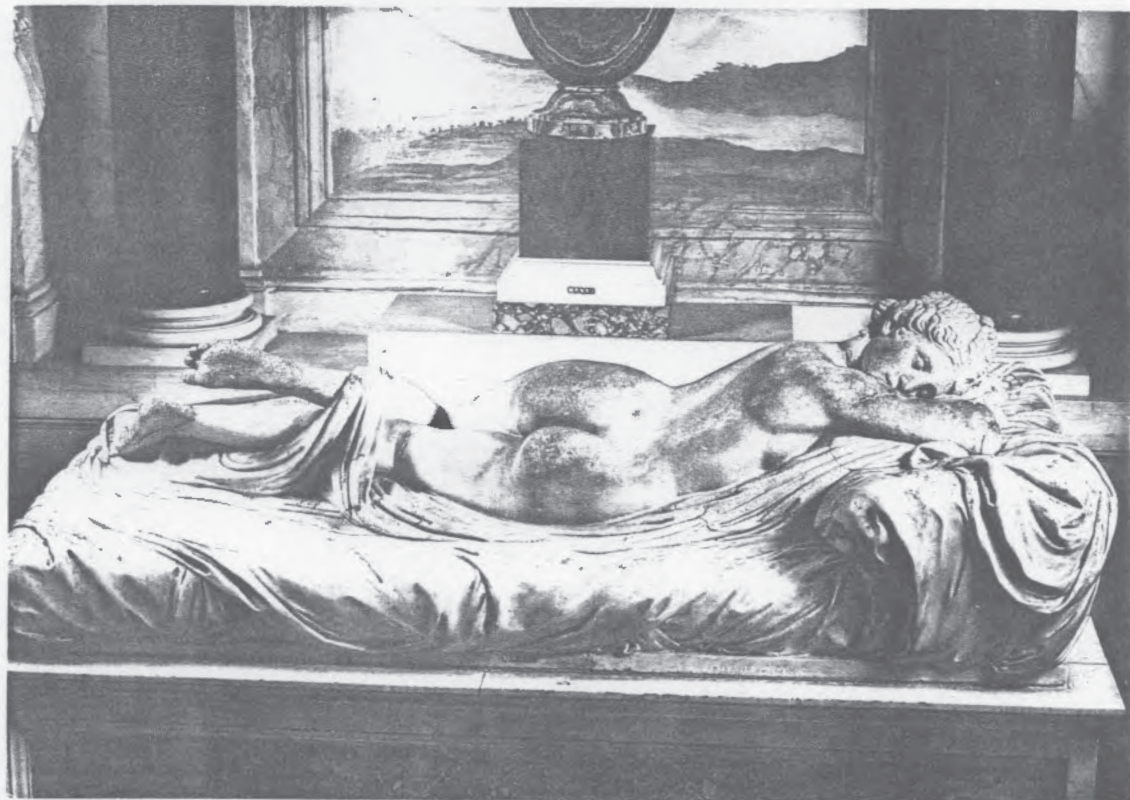
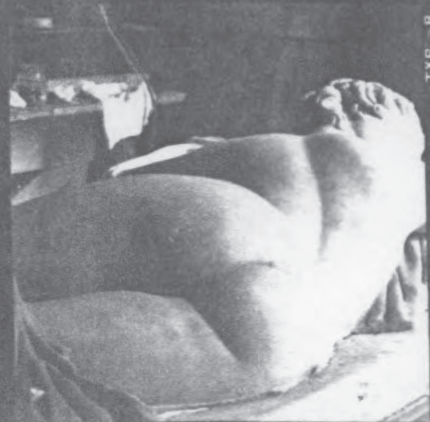


Fig. 16a



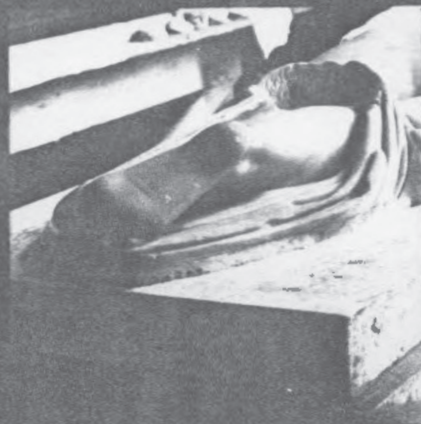


Fig. 18a

Fig. 19a-b

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

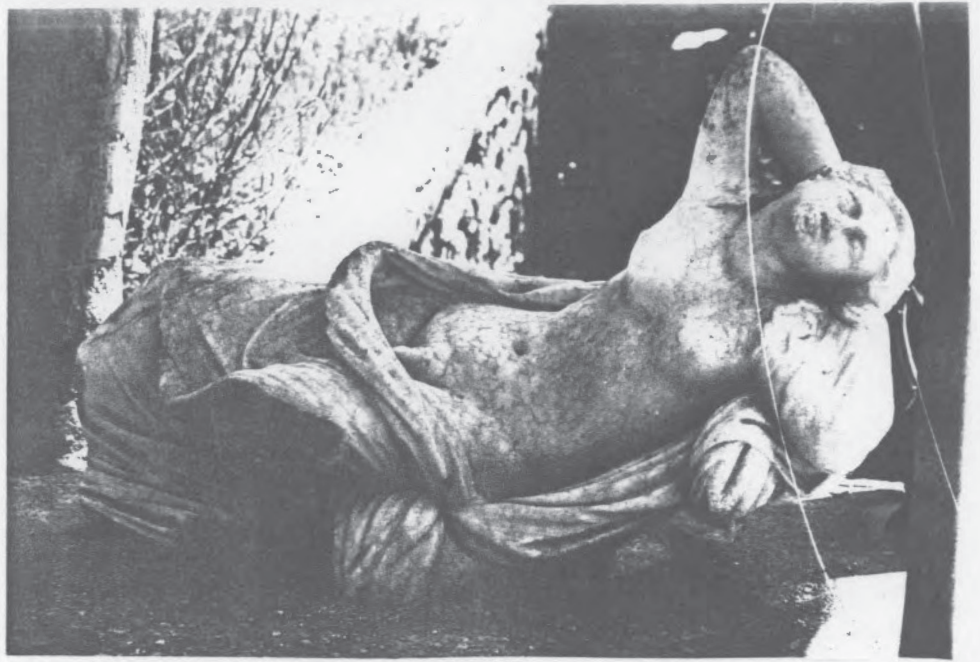
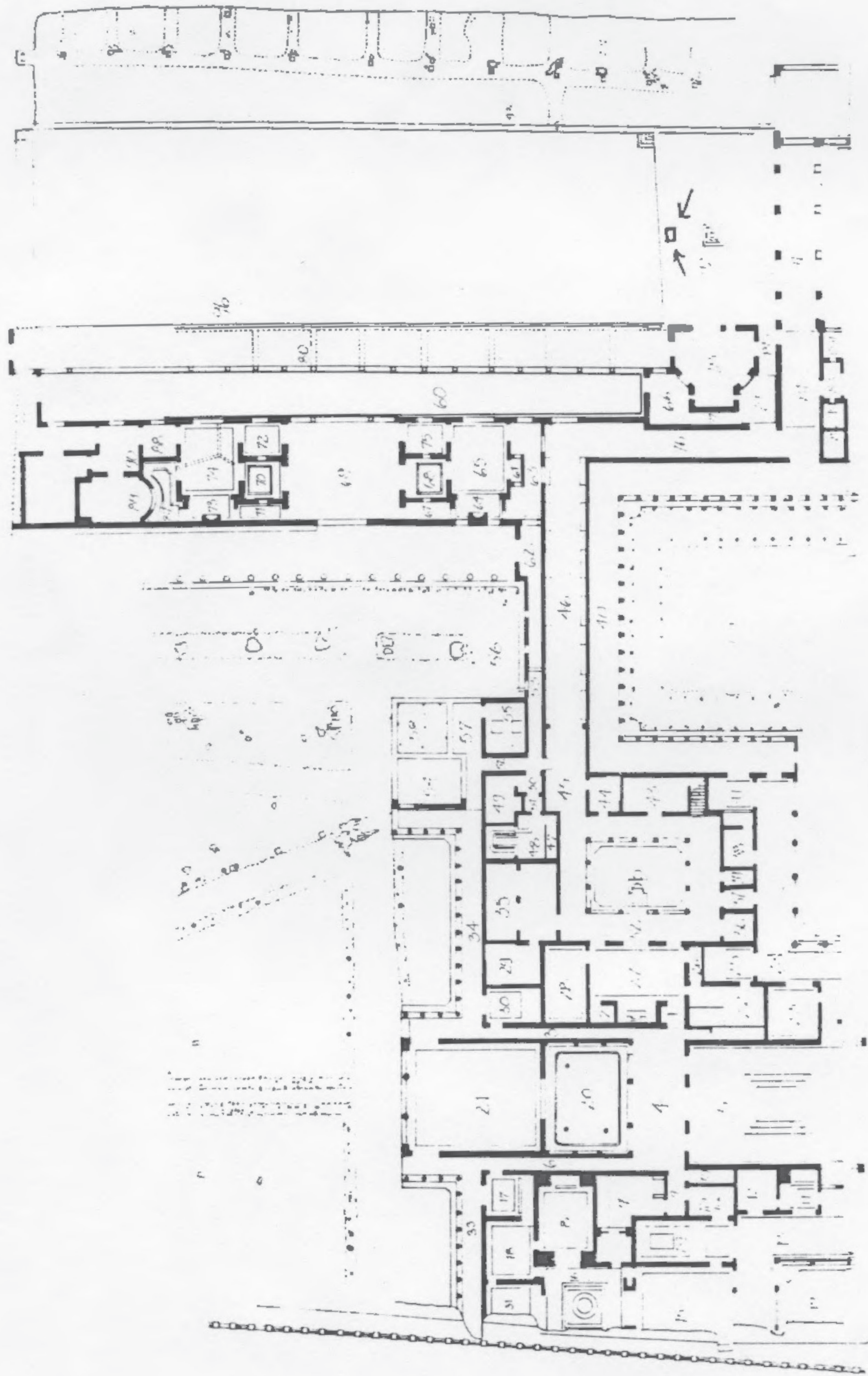


Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 26



33. Plan of the villa of Poppaea at Oplontis (Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania-Napoli; garden details by Stanley Jashemski)

Fig. 27

Fig. 28

Fig. 29a-b

29c-d

Fig. 30a

Fig. 30b

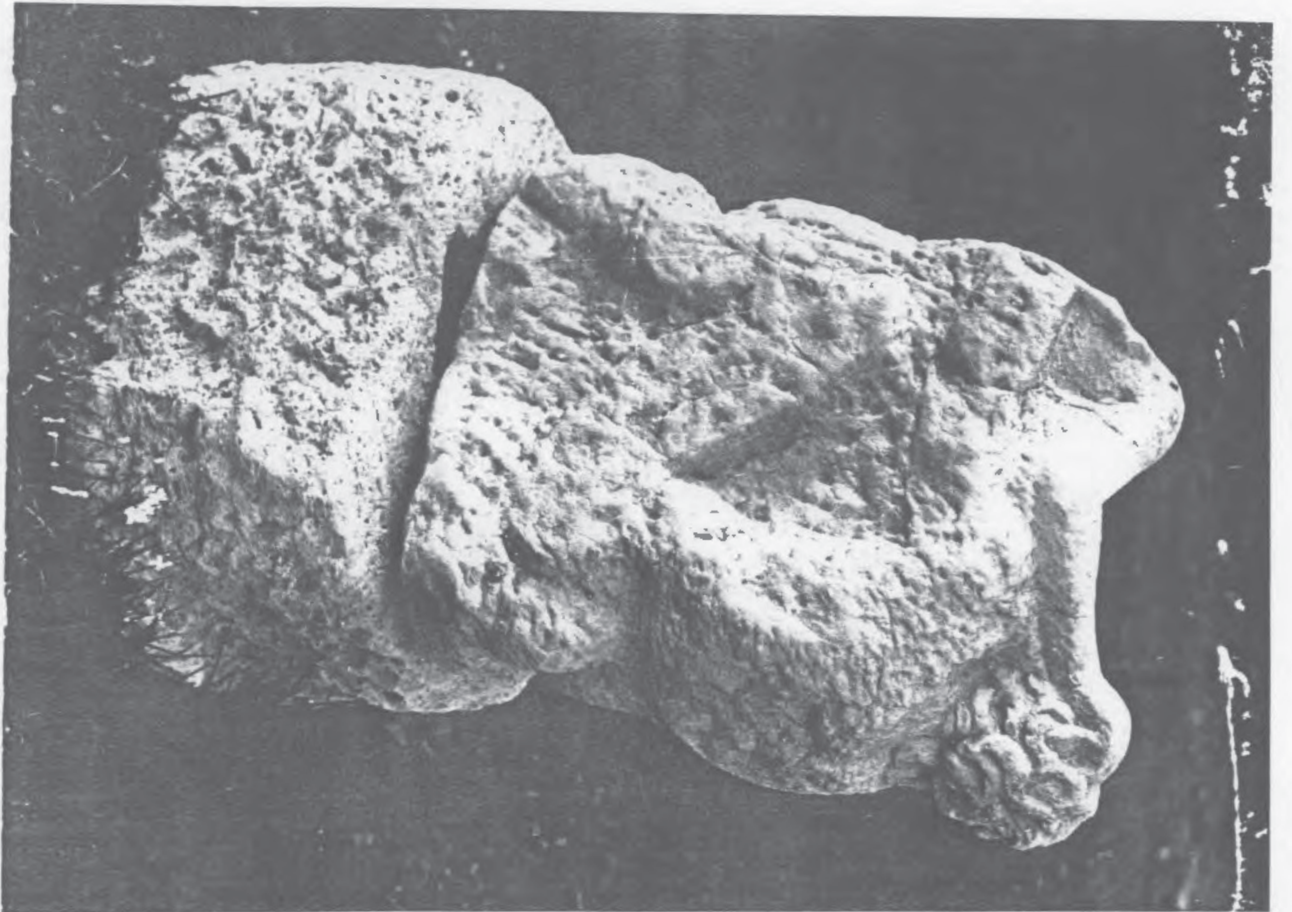


Fig. 31a-b

Fig. 31c-d

Fig. 32

VITA

I, Aileen Ajootian, was born on June 21, 1951 to Frederick and Margeurite Ajootian, in Queens, New York. I graduated Carle Place High School in Carle Place, New York in 1969, and in 1973 received the BA from the State University of New York, College at Oswego, where I majored in English Literature. At the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon, I studied Classics from 1979 until 1982, when I completed an MA. In 1983, I began my studies in the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College and received an MA in Classical Archaeology in 1985. Since 1986 I have continued my work primarily at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and spent one year in Rome (1987-1988) at the American Academy. Professor Brunilde Ridgway, Rhys Carpenter Professor of Archaeology, has supervised all my work at Bryn Mawr College.