

DIETRICH BOSCHUNG, ALAN SHAPIRO
AND FRANK WASCHECK (EDS.)

BODIES IN TRANSITION

Dissolving the Boundaries
of Embodied Knowledge



MORPHOMATA

This volume engages from the perspective of the ancient Mediterranean world with current debates in the field of cultural studies revolving around the idea of embodied knowledge. In particular, it deals with the dissolution of the concept of the ideal body as a repository of knowledge through instances of deformation or hybridization.

The starting point comprises a series of case studies of less than perfect bodies: bodies that are misshapen, stigmatized, fragmented, as well as hybrid human/animal creatures, transgendered persons, and bodies on the cultural periphery of the classical world. All of these examples represent deviations from the 'normal' order of things and evoke familiar feelings of alienation. The ordered knowledge that has shaped the body is subverted and falls into disorder.

One strategy for dealing with this is to canonize transgression in visual form. Fluid bodies are captured in the image and domesticated, creating a visual order in disorder. The body-as-ruin is a fixed figure of fluidity and thus especially receptive to attributions of meaning, which helps explain its persistence as a cultural trope. It allows for the observation of cultural change.

BOSCHUNG, SHAPIRO, WASCHECK (EDS.)–
BODIES IN TRANSITION



MORPHOMATA

EDITED BY GÜNTER BLAMBERGER
AND DIETRICH BOSCHUNG
VOLUME 23

EDITED BY DIETRICH BOSCHUNG, ALAN SHAPIRO
AND FRANK WASCHECK

BODIES IN TRANSITION

Dissolving the Boundaries of Embodied Knowledge

WILHELM FINK

GEFÖRDERT VOM



Bundesministerium
für Bildung
und Forschung

unter dem Förderkennzeichen 01UK0905. Die Verantwortung für den Inhalt der Veröffentlichung liegt bei den Autoren.

Bibliografische Informationen der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte Daten sind im Internet über www.dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

Alle Rechte, auch die des auszugsweisen Nachdrucks, der fotomechanischen Wiedergabe und der Übersetzung vorbehalten. Dies betrifft auch die Vervielfältigung und Übertragung einzelner Textabschnitte, Zeichnungen oder Bilder durch alle Verfahren wie Speicherung und Übertragung auf Papier, Transparente, Filme, Bänder, Platten und andere Medien, soweit es nicht § 53 und 54 UrhG ausdrücklich gestatten.

© 2015 Wilhelm Fink, Paderborn

Wilhelm Fink GmbH & Co. Verlags-KG, Jühenplatz 1, D-33098 Paderborn

Internet: www.fink.de

Lektorat: Torsten Zimmer, Alan Shapiro, Thierry Greub

Gestaltung und Satz: Kathrin Roussel, Sichtvermerk

Printed in Germany

Herstellung: Ferdinand Schöningh GmbH & Co. KG, Paderborn

ISBN 978-3-7705-5808-7

CONTENT

Preface	7
Introduction by Alan Shapiro	9
 FRANÇOIS LISSARRAGUE	
Corps à corps: épisèmes anthropomorphiques dans la céramique attique	11
 ERIC R. VARNER	
Fluidity and Fluctuation: the Shifting Dynamics of Condemnation in Roman Imperial Portraits	33
 DESPOINA TSIAFAKIS	
Thracian Tattoos	89
 HANS BERNSDORFF	
Schmerz und Bestrafung in der hellenistischen ,Tätowierelegie‘	119
 JAN N. BREMMER	
Stigmata: From Tattoos to Saints’ Marks	137
 VÉRONIQUE DASEN	
Body Marks—Birthmarks. Body Divination in Ancient Literature and Iconography	153
 MARCELLO BARBANERA	
The Lamé God: Ambiguities of Hephaistos in the Greek Mythical Realm	177
 LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES	
“That My Body is Strong”: The Physique and Appearance of Achaemenid Monarchy	211

HELEN KING	
Between Male and Female in Ancient Medicine	249
JAN N. BREMMER	
A Transsexual in Archaic Greece: The Case of Kaineus	265
ALAN SHAPIRO	
Alkibiades' Effeminacy and the Androgyny of Dionysos	287
ANNETTA ALEXANDRIDIS	
Zῷα: Bilder des Körpers zwischen Mensch und Tier im Mythos von Aktaion	313
Contributors	350
Plates	355

PREFACE¹

This volume presents the contributions to the conference “Bodies in Transition. Dissolving the boundaries of embodied knowledge”, which was organized by the Center of Advanced Studies Morphomata on May 26th and 27th, 2011, in Cologne.

In Cultural Studies ‘body’ and ‘knowledge’ intersect. Social practices implicate orders of knowledge and at the same time they shape human bodies, which in turn endow abstract concepts with a concrete form. Seemingly stable bodies are by their very nature frequently unstable forms and exposed to many dangers, as there are deformations, disfigurements, stigmatization, fragmentation or the hybridity to composite beings and transgender persons. The transgression of established boundaries can lead to confusion or terror. The embodied knowledge is thereby short-circuited, turning order into chaos. One way of bringing transgressive bodies under control is through the visual fixation of the transition. The image brings order into the chaos. “Bodies in transition” are being immobilized into an image, objectified and, in a later phase, even aestheticized. Boundary-crossing images are particularly susceptible to new interpretations, one reason for their persistence across cultures.

The conference was a manifestation of our research interest. We explore in interdisciplinary dialogues how forms of knowledge can be embodied in a concrete form that one can perceive with the senses. In addition, Morphomata investigates what happens after such concrete forms have been created: what powers accrue to them and how they in turn impact the ideas that they represent. The development of the conference, as a result of fellows and staff of Morphomata working together, is representative of the work of the Center of Advanced Studies. The idea to organize the conference was presented by Assistant Director Frank Wascheck. Besides his many administrative responsibilities he always

¹ Translation: Annika Gerigk and Alan Shapiro.

found the time and energy to contribute with his brilliant archeological knowledge to the academic work at the Center. He suggested a conference about the correlations of systems of knowledge and body images, based on his research "On the meaning of male nudity in ancient Greece". Even though his other demanding responsibilities outside the center precluded a paper of his own, the idea of the conference and the composition of contributions show the originality and the talents of the archeologist Frank Wascheck. The discussions with Alan Shapiro, who at the time was a fellow of Morphomata, were especially important and shaped the elaboration and the profile of the academic program. Jörn Lang (Leipzig), a former research assistant of the Center, helped with the concept and the organization of the conference. Thierry Greub and Torsten Zimmer enabled the publication. I would like to express my gratitude to the above-mentioned colleagues for this important contribution to the academic research of Morphomata.

Dietrich Boschung

ALAN SHAPIRO

INTRODUCTION

The idea for a conference on the body in the Greco-Roman world came initially from Frank Wascheck, whose wide reading in this field in preparation for the dissertation made the topic especially attractive. As we first tried to define a specific angle on the classical body, there were several parameters uppermost in our minds. On the one hand, we wanted to put the material culture of the ancient world at the center of the project, yet keep it broad enough to be accessible to the wide-ranging, interdisciplinary interests of the College's staff and Fellows. On the other hand, we were conscious of Morphomata's mission, to study certain key concepts in the history of ideas and culture in diachronic perspective. One of those is the concept of knowledge, in all its breadth, and the untranslatable concept of 'Wissensordnungen.' From these discussions emerged the project of exploring a particular aspect of the body: to use a now popular terminology, not from the center, the normative, Greek male body, but from the periphery, bodies at the boundaries of the categories that the ancients used to define the human body: physiognomy, gender, ethnicity, and so on.

Some may claim that scholarship on the body in Classical Studies has reached a saturation point and is past its prime, but we do not think so. Looking back over the last few decades, it seems clear that the 1990's were the period when interest in the body reached an initial peak of excitement, at least in Anglophone Classical scholarship. Much—though not all—of this work was inspired by the writings of Michel Foucault in the 1970's and 80's. The decade of the 90's started off with such seminal books as the historian Thomas Laqueur's "Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud," and, specifically on Greece, the collection of essays edited by David Halperin, Jack Winkler, and Froma Zeitlin, "Before Sexuality: the Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World" (both 1990). The end of the decade saw a kind of summation of work up to that point in the volume edited by James

Porter, “Constructions of the Classical Body” (1999). In between came two volumes in Great Britain by Maria Wyke, “Gender and the Body in Mediterranean Antiquity” (1997) and “Parchments of Gender: Reading the Bodies of Antiquity” (1998); also Robert Garland’s “The Eye of the Beholder. Deformity and Disability in the Greco-Roman World” (1995; just published in a second edition); and, specifically in the visual arts, Andrew Stewart’s influential “Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece” (1997)—to name only a few of the best known.

We are now more than a decade away from the 90’s, perhaps enough distance to revisit some of the questions posed at that time and explore some new ones. Many of our speakers published work in the 90’s that help set the agenda for future studies, such as Véronique Dasen’s on dwarves. Others were young students in the 90’s and are just now joining the discussion. We hope that the present volume will represent a contribution to the revival of interest in the body in Classical scholarship as well as a challenge to future studies, to focus attention not only on the construction of the ‘ideal’ body, but on the myriad deviations from that ideal.

Note: The abbreviations follow the guidelines of the DAI.

FRANÇOIS LISSARRAGUE

CORPS À CORPS: ÉPISÈMES ANTHROPOMORPHIQUES DANS LA CÉRAMIQUE ATTIQUE

ABSTRACT

Dans cet article sont analysés les effets produits en image par la présence d'épisèmes représentant le corps humain, en partie ou en entier. Changement de plan référentiel ou redondance iconographique, intensification, réflexivité et focalisation: tels sont les divers effets qui animent l'image et produisent une poésie des corps sous les yeux des buveurs au banquet.

Il n'est pas sûr que les analyses qui suivent entrent pleinement dans la perspective définie par les organisateurs de cette rencontre;¹ il m'a toutefois semblé que le dossier sur lequel porte cet article n'est pas totalement étranger aux questions posées. L'étude des épisèmes de boucliers, qui entre dans une recherche plus large sur l'esthétique des armes et du corps héroïque, conduit à se poser la question des limites de la représentation du corps et du savoir sur le corps, non pas du côté de la difformité, de la mutilation ou des marques corporelles, mais du côté de la mise en image du corps, comme tout ou partie, en tant qu'emblème porté à son tour par un corps guerrier. Cette réflexivité de l'image du corps a produit dans le répertoire de la céramique attique, auquel je me limiterai ici, des effets visuels remarquables.

En premier lieu chaque bouclier, quand il porte un motif figuré, introduit une image à l'intérieur de l'image. Cette inclusion se fait selon

1 Merci à A. Shapiro de m'avoir invité à y participer, ainsi qu'aux organisateurs pour leur accueil et leur patience.

des jeux de changement d'échelle, de focalisation et d'interférence dont les peintres ont clairement eu conscience et dont ils ont parfois joué de manière remarquable. Ce type d'effet entre dans la série plus large des images incluses, qui comprend aussi les vases,² les tissus,³ les statues,⁴ les pinakes. Dans le cas des boucliers, l'effet réflexif est en partie déterminé par la relation entre l'image qui figure sur le bouclier (l'épïsème) et son porteur ou ce qui l'environne, comme j'ai essayé de le montrer ailleurs.⁵

Le bouclier lui-même est un objet particulièrement riche dans la culture grecque, porteur de valeurs symboliques et vecteur identité. *L'Illiade*, on s'en souvient, consacre un chant presque entier à la fabrication par Héphestos du bouclier d'Achille; le pseudo-Hésiode à son tour décrit le Bouclier d'Héraclès. La forme même de cet objet, circulaire, creux, pose aux peintres de vases toutes sortes de problèmes graphiques qui ont été remarquablement étudiés par B. Kaeser.⁶ Le dossier des épisèmes de boucliers est abondant et a, de longue date, retenu les iconographes. Le petit livre de Chase⁷ en propose un classement de type lexical, fournissant un utile répertoire des motifs connus, rangés dans l'ordre alphabétique, mais il ne va guère au delà. Plus récemment la publication des armes trouvées à Olympie a permis de renouveler la question; une thèse autrichienne explore plus avant ce matériel, sans toutefois s'écarter radicalement de la logique lexicale et symbolique qui cherche à repérer le sens de chaque motif.⁸ Les archives Beazley en ligne permettent à présent d'accéder aisément à une abondante quantité d'exemples et c'est sur le dépouillement de cette base de donnée que se fonde l'étude qui suit.⁹

Je m'arrêterai ici sur les épisèmes qui impliquent la représentation du corps, soit sous une forme partielle, soit comme figure complète.¹⁰ La figure par excellence qui apparaît sur les boucliers est celle, monstrueuse, de la Gorgone. L'invention du gorgoneion est, comme on le sait,

2 Oenbrink 1996 et Venit 2006.

3 Manakidou 1997.

4 Oenbrink 1997; De Cesare 1997.

5 Lissarrague 2007, 2009 a et b. Voir aussi Laurens et Jubier 2007.

6 Kaeser 1981.

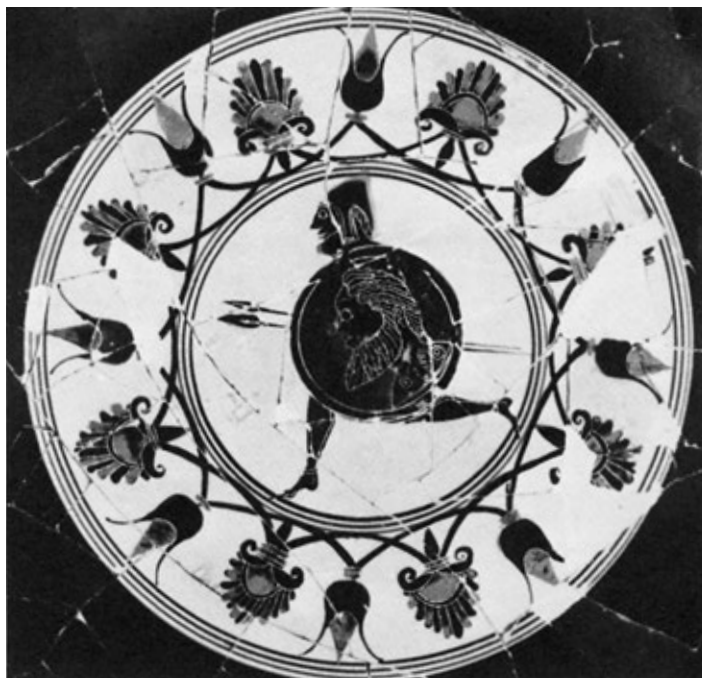
7 Chase 1902.

8 Vaerst 1980, cité par Philipp 2004; cf. aussi Attula 2003 qui annonce une thèse en cours.

9 Ci-après BAPD (Beazley Archive Pottery Database; online: <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm>) suivi du numéro de vase. L'archive fournit, à la demande «device*», 3727 réponses.

10 Les exemples sont nombreux et je ne prétends pas à l'exhaustivité.

directement liée à l'usage du bouclier comme capteur d'image. Persée, pour approcher la face mortifère utilise sur le conseil d'Athéna, un bouclier lisse, à la façon d'un miroir, de manière à pouvoir voir cette face sans être pétrifié. Une fois décapitée, la tête est fixée sur l'égide d'Athéna; elle est aussi représentée sur les boucliers. On en connaît des exemples réels, à Olympie en particulier, et les peintres de vases ont très souvent utilisé ce motif. Il est en bonne place, par exemple, sur l'olpè Chigi. Dans la plupart des cas cette face frontale, grimaçante, occupe la surface entière du bouclier, remplissant tout l'espace disponible. Le gorgoneion est toujours une face frontale, souvent une surface pleine. En cela il contraste avec d'autres têtes représentées sur les boucliers, qui n'ont rien de monstrueux et qui sont vues de profil. C'est le cas par exemple au médaillon d'une coupe de l'Agora (fig. 1)¹¹ où figure un guerrier qui court vers la gauche, ce qui permet de voir son épiséme décoré d'une tête barbue. Le jeu des



1 Athènes, Agora Museum P 20716: hoplite (épiséme: tête)

¹¹ Coupe à figures noires, Athènes Agora P 20716; Para 25, comparé au peintre C; BAPD 350182.

cercles concentriques est remarquable sur cette coupe: depuis la vasque en terre cuite, en passant par la large frise ornementale qui encercle le médaillon au centre duquel se détache le boulier, l'effet focalisateur est manifeste et aboutit à magnifier la tête en épisème, dont l'échelle excède la taille du guerrier. L'image dans l'image redouble la figure du guerrier et accentue à la fois sa présence et son pouvoir terrifiant.

Toutes les parties du corps ne sont pas bonnes pour orner un bouclier; l'élément le plus fréquent est la jambe, un motif particulièrement fréquent en figures noires, sans doute parce qu'il est facile à reproduire (une simple touche de rehaut blanc suffit), mais aussi parce qu'il indique la vélocité du guerrier porteur d'un tel emblème, son élan au combat. La triscèle, qui multiplie cet effet est également fréquente.¹² On en trouve un exemple remarquable sur une hydrie du groupe de Leagros¹³ (fig. 2) représentant l'outrage fait par Achille au cadavre d'Hector. Ce dernier gît au sol, dépouillé de ses armes, les pieds liés à la caisse du char d'Achille,



2 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.473: Achille (épisème: triscèle)

¹² Sur ce motif, qui n'est pas réservé aux épisèmes, voir Bruneau 1987.

¹³ Hydrie à figures noires, Boston 63.473; *Paralipomena* 164.31bis, Leagros group; BAPD 351200.

qui bondit en se retournant. Cette position permet de mieux montrer son bouclier (qui autrement serait vu de l'intérieur); l'épisme en est une triscèle en rehaut blanc qui souligne la fougue du fils de Pélée et contraste avec l'immobilité d'Hector. Le peintre a délibérément cherché à montrer cet emblème pour produire un effet dynamique à l'intérieur de l'image. Le contraste est net entre les jambes liées d'Hector, les deux jambes écartées d'Achille bondissant et la triple jambe qui tournoie sur son bouclier. Dans d'autres cas¹⁴ la triscèle garde la même valeur dynamique, même si elle est portée par un guerrier en embuscade, prêt à bondir, mais encore à l'arrêt; son voisin porte un bouclier analogue, orné d'une intéressante variante: au lieu de trois jambes en étoile, on y voit deux jambes ailées.

À côté des jambes, c'est l'œil qui prend la place la plus importante dans le répertoire des épismes, sous des formes diverses. Ce peut être un grand œil, isolé, de forme archaïque, comme sur une amphore du peintre de Pan¹⁵ où l'on voit une scène de départ: une femme présente une phiale à un jeune guerrier qui tient son casque et porte un large bouclier rond à tablier orné d'un serpent et d'un œil dont la pupille est presque aussi grosse que la tête du guerrier. L'effet de zoom est évident et la valeur apotropaïque de l'œil manifeste. Sur un cratère à colonnettes de Palerme,¹⁶ le guerrier qui se tient face à un homme barbu porte un bouclier rond où figurent deux yeux surmontés de sourcils, créant un effet de visage, de *prosopon* comme on en rencontre sur les coupes à yeux.¹⁷ Ce dispositif est plus fréquent sur les peltès, dont la forme est plus proche encore de celle d'un revers de coupe. Ainsi sur une coupe de Heidelberg (fig. 3)¹⁸ le croissant que forme la peltè est rempli par deux yeux que vient compléter un

14 Cratère à colonnettes à figures rouges, Cambridge (MA), A. Sackler Museum 1925.30.126; ARV 234.11, p. de Goettingen; BAPD 202186.

15 Amphore à figures rouges, Laon 37.1023; ARV 553.33, p. de Pan; BAPD 206308.

16 Cratère à colonnettes à figures rouges, Palerme, Mormino 45; ARV 1642.11ter, p. de Tyszkiewicz; BAPD 275159.

17 Steinhart 1995.

18 Coupe à figures rouges, Heidelberg B51; ARV 444.231, Douris; BAPD 205278. Voir aussi: Coupe à figures rouges, Londres 1897.10-28.1; ARV 354.24, p. de Colmar; BAPD 203706. – Canthare plastique à figures noires (fragment), Moscou, Musée Pouchkine M1548; BAPD 24441. – Coupe à figures rouges, Louvre Cp10550; ARV² 885.95, p. de Penthésilée; BAPD 211660. – Coupe à figures rouges (fragments), New York, collection privée; ARV 1624.24ter, Epictetos; Paléothodoros 2004, no. 83, p. 159; BAPD 275035.



3 Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum B51: peltaste (épisode: yeux, face)

nez épaté. Le visage est quasi complet, tout comme sur certaines coupes à yeux et il prend ici une valeur protectrice. Parfois les yeux sont redoublés sans être disposés symétriquement, comme sur un cratère d'Oxford¹⁹ où le décor du bouclier inverse celui qui figurait sur le cratère du peintre de Pan que l'on vient d'évoquer. Il s'agit ici encore d'un bouclier rond à tablier, mais cette fois le serpent figure sur le disque et le tablier est orné de deux yeux superposés. Sur un lécythe à fond blanc attribué au peintre d'Achille,²⁰ un guerrier se tient debout, casque en main, devant une femme assise sur une chaise. L'œil qui orne son bouclier, vu de trois quarts, est lui-même vu de profil; la dimension de cet œil dépasse l'échelle humaine des personnages et souligne par son orientation l'échange de regards entre l'homme et la femme au moment du départ. L'œil, dans ce dispositif, a moins une valeur apotropaïque que celle d'un focalisateur qui marque à

19 Cratère à colonnettes à figures rouges, Oxford 1917.60; ARV 649.47, p. d'Oionoklès; BAPD 207559.

20 Lécythe à fond blanc, Athènes 1818; ARV 998.161, p. d'Achille; BAPD 213983.

l'intérieur de l'image le jeu des regards entre les personnages; la nature du support – un lécythe à fond blanc de type funéraire – n'est pas étrangère à ce choix et l'épïsème prend ici la valeur d'un commentaire sur la scène telle que le peintre a choisi de la représenter.

À côté des jambes et des yeux, en dehors d'une main qui semble exceptionnelle,²¹ on rencontre plus souvent un sexe. Le motif apparaît associé à un œil sur plusieurs peltès, portés par de jeunes éphèbes²² ou par un satyre;²³ sur une amphore à Oxford (fig. 4),²⁴ un guerrier en costume de type thrace porte une peltè où se déploie un large phallus ailé, encadré de deux motifs secondaires: un bonnet scythe et un petit phallus. Un exemple remarquable se trouve sur une hydrie à Londres,²⁵ représentant le combat d'Héraclès contre les Amazones. Derrière le héros une Amazone sonne de la trompette; elle porte un bouclier rond orné d'un phallus ailé, pourvu d'un tablier où figure un œil. La combinaison des deux motifs apotropaïques s'enrichit ici d'un jeu sur la virilité des Amazones, paradoxalement marquée par le signe phallique.

Parallèlement à ces fragments du corps, il faut relever la présence d'éléments de la panoplie comme épïsème, en particulier du casque,²⁶ qui

21 Amphore à figures rouges, Londres E277; ARV 1016.42, p. de la Phiale; BAPD 214220. On pourrait rapprocher cette image de la locution devenue proverbiale «*tên cheira epiballein*» («mettre ma main sur, saisir», ce qui en contexte guerrier suggère la capture de prisonniers). Cf. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, E. Leutsch et F. G. Schneidewin, Göttingen 1851, vol. 2, p. 671 (Apostolius XVI, 46).

22 Alabastre à figures rouges, Chicago D. & A. Smart Gallery 1967.115.243; ARV 157.87, p. de Berlin 2268; BAPD 201493.

23 Coupe à figures rouges, Sienne, Lissarrague 2013, fig. 158.

24 Amphore à figures rouges, Oxford 1971.867; Boardman 1992, 239, fig. 12; BAPD 43664.

25 Hydrie à figures rouges, Londres E167; ARV 571.77, p. de Leningrad; BAPD 206568.

26 Casque en épïsème: Amphore à figures noires, Louvre F388; ABL 238.133, p. de Diosphos, BAPD 7309. – Amphore à figures noires, Londres marché; non attribuée; BAPD 17580. – Lécythe à figures noires, Londres marché; non attribué; BAPD 20365. – Coupe à figures noires, New York, Bastis; *Paralipomena* 24.32ter, p. C; BAPD 350158. – Lécythe à fond blanc, Tubingen E56; ARV 305, p. de Wurtzbourg 557; BAPD 203135. – Coupe à figures rouges, Munich Preyss; ARV 74.37, Epictetos; BAPD 200481. – Coupe à figures rouges, Rome Vatican 507; ARV 174.18, p. d'Ambrosios; BAPD 201581. – Coupe à figures rouges, Suisse collection privée; p. d'Ambrosios; BAPD 47039 (et 44085). – Coupe à figures rouges (fragment), Gravisca; BAPD 23827.



4 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1971.867: thrace (épisème: phallus ailé)

prend la place que l'on a vue occupée par une tête. Cette pièce d'armement est l'équivalent en bronze du corps du guerrier, qui n'est complet que lorsque corps et armes sont rassemblés pour former une figure prête à combattre;²⁷ le casque est dessiné en ligne de contour sur une coupe de Munich (fig. 5)²⁸ où le guerrier est isolé entre deux yeux. On remarquera la façon dont le casque du guerrier, relevé sur la nuque, fait écho au casque en épisème; l'identité guerrière est soulignée par le déploiement des armes: épée brandie par l'hoplite, casque redoublé par l'image incluse

²⁷ Cf. Lissarrague 2008.

²⁸ Coupe à figures noires, Munich 2031; CVA 13 pl. 6, 6.



5 Munich, Antikensammlung 2031: hoplite (épistème: casque)

sur l'épistème et accompagné d'une inscription «kalos» qui met en évidence la valeur esthétique du guerrier.

Plus rare, la présence de cnémides en épistème sur une coupe d'Epictetos,²⁹ joue également sur l'autoréférence au corps du guerrier. Un bouclier voisin, dans la même scène est orné de sandales dont la semelle forme comme une empreinte et prolonge cette étonnante mise en image du corps en morceaux.

Le corps en son entier est souvent mis en épistème sous des formes diverses. Un des motifs les plus fréquent est celui de l'hoplitodrome dont le bouclier est à son tour décoré d'un hoplitodrome. Ce jeu d'auto-citation et de réflexivité en miroir semble avoir connu un certain succès en figures rouges,³⁰ mais pour éviter la banalité les peintres ont imaginé d'intéressantes variantes. À côté du motif purement redondant, tel qu'il apparaît par exemple sur une coupe de Londres³¹ ou sur une amphore

²⁹ Coupe à figures rouges, Princeton 33.41; ARV 74.39, Epictetos; BAPD 200483.

³⁰ L'archive Beazley donne près de vingt références auxquelles je me limite ici pour ne pas alourdir cette note: BAPD 1926 – 8574 – 45011 – 45395 – 202830 – 202967 – 202968 – 203510 – 203511 – 203565 – 204573 – 206041 – 206049 – 206414 – 211336 – 213757 – 214212 – 301691 – 9026345.

³¹ Coupe à figures rouges, Londres 1996,0807.1; ARV 353.15, p. de Colmar; BAPD 203697.



6 Leyde, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC89: hoplitodrome
(épisode: hoplitodrome)

de Laon,³² on trouve un hoplitodrome à l'arrêt prêt à prendre le départ tandis que sur son bouclier, l'hoplitodrome est déjà lancé dans sa course (fig. 6).³³ Ailleurs ce sont d'autres exercices athlétiques qui figurent sur le bouclier du coureur: un sauteur,³⁴ un discobole,³⁵ ou bien un coureur au départ sur un bouclier présenté par un jeune *pais* à un athlète tenant un

³² Amphore à figures rouges, Laon 37.1021; ARV 1016.35, p. de la Phiale; BAPD 214212: hoplitodrome à l'arrêt, sur l'image comme sur le bouclier.

³³ Coupe à figures rouges, Leyde PC89; ARV 533.62, p. d'Alkimachos; BAPD 206041. Cf. aussi l'hydrie à figures rouges, Milan Scala; ARV 271.1, p. de Florence 3984; BAPD 202830.

³⁴ Coupe à figures rouges, Londres E22; ARV 104.2, éléments Euergidéen et Epéléiens; BAPD 200896.

³⁵ Coupe à figures rouges, Louvre G76; ARV 84.16, Skythes; BAPD 200676.

strigile.³⁶ La stricte homologie entre le porteur et son image est respectée sur une amphore panathénaïque,³⁷ conformément au jeu réflexif fréquent dans cette série où l'image du revers représente l'épreuve remportée par le destinataire de l'amphore.

Sur ces mêmes amphores panathénaïques, le bouclier d'Athéna fait l'objet d'élaborations remarquables et parmi les nombreux motifs retenus, le corps sous diverses formes tient une place notable.³⁸ On rencontre des figures divines, ailées comme Niké,³⁹ ou Iris,⁴⁰ dont la présence ne surprend pas car elle signalent la faveur des dieux, mais aussi le groupe des tyranoctones, sans doute choisi lors de la chute des Trente, pour célébrer la liberté retrouvée.⁴¹

D'autres épisodes renvoient non pas à l'athlétisme mais à la guerre. Ici encore l'image incluse produit souvent un décalage par rapport à l'image englobante. Sur une amphore de Vienne,⁴² un hoplite immobile, appuyé sur sa lance, porte un bouclier où figure un trompettiste donnant le signal du départ au combat; le même motif se retrouve sur un lécythe attribué au peintre de Brygos.⁴³ Sur un fragment de coupe au Getty,⁴⁴ le guerrier court déjà tandis que sur son bouclier un trompettiste accroupi sonne l'assaut; curieusement le pavillon de la trompette, en silhouette, déborde du cercle du bouclier et dépasse le cadre qui lui est assigné, rompant ainsi l'illusion pour mieux envahir le champ de l'image.

36 Coupe à figures rouges, Florence 3910; ARV 1565, vaguement apparenté à Douris; BAPD 900611.

37 Amphore panathénaïque, Bologne PU 198; ARV 322.5, p. d'Euphilétos; BAPD 301691.

38 Bentz 1998, 204–206.

39 Amphore panathénaïque, Copenhague Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 3606; BAPD 8782. Bentz 1998, 204 donne 12 autres exemples.

40 Amphore panathénaïque, New York 56.171.4; ABV 291, p. de Boulogne 441; BAPD 320346.

41 Amphore panathénaïque, Londres B605; ABV 411.4, groupe de Kuban; BAPD 303122. Amphores panathénaïques Hildesheim 1254 et 1253; ABV 412.1 et 2, groupe de Hildesheim; BAPD 303131 et 303132. Sur le groupe statuaire, cf. Brunsaker 1991.

42 Amphore à figures rouges, Vienne 3724; ARV 280.9, p. de l'Ange volant; BAPD 202712.

43 Lécythe à fond blanc, Gela 40226; ARV 385.223, p. de Brygos; BAPD 204124.

44 Coupe à figures rouges, fragment, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.351.1–4; p. d'Epeleios; BAPD 45424.



7 Agrigente, Museo Archeologico C1956: cadavre (épisode: hoplite)

Toute une série de boucliers représente, en abyme, un guerrier ou un cavalier. Sur un cratère d'Agrigente (fig. 7),⁴⁵ le cadavre d'un combattant, déjà couvert d'un linceul est soulevé par deux de ses compagnons. Derrière le mort, un autre guerrier assiste à cette levée du corps; il porte un bouclier dont l'épistème représente un hoplite armé d'une lance qui fait écho à l'eidolon que l'on voit dans le champ au dessus du défunt. On a là une triple représentation du guerrier, sous forme de cadavre dépouillé de ses armes, sous forme d'un eidolon en mouvement et en armes, sous forme enfin d'un épistème reprenant le motif du mouvement et de la vitalité du guerrier. La redondance est ici significative: le corps sans armes est inerte, tandis que l'eidolon est encore mobile et que les armes sont quasi vivantes, animées par la figure du guerrier.

Dans d'autres cas le décalage entre le porteur et l'image portée est construit sur le contraste entre divers types de guerriers. On voit ainsi un archer scythe sur le bouclier d'un hoplite accompagnant un départ de char,⁴⁶ ou bien un peltaste sur le bouclier d'un guerrier qui cède du

⁴⁵ Cratère en calice à figures rouges, Agrigente C1956; ARV 32.2, groupe de Pezzino; BAPD 200177.

⁴⁶ Amphore à figures noires, New York 17.230.8; ABV 307.55, p. de la Balançoire; BAPD 301535.

terrain.⁴⁷ Dans ce dernier cas, le guerrier de gauche, qui avance d'un pas décidé semble se battre autant contre l'hoplite qui cède que contre le peltaste qui figure sur le bouclier et semble mieux résister que le porteur; plus remarquable encore ce peltaste est répété au revers, non plus en épisème, mais comme un combattant «réel» poursuivant un cavalier de type thrace. Il pourrait s'agir d'Achille et Troilos, selon David Saunders.⁴⁸

Certains épisèmes représentent des cavaliers, qui là encore contrastent ou interfèrent avec l'image de l'hoplite qui les porte. Sur un cratère de New York,⁴⁹ un jeune guerrier s'équipe, tandis que sur son bouclier un cavalier s'élance, anticipant le départ au combat. De la même façon, sur un fragment de coupe au Cabinet des Médailles,⁵⁰ Achille (nommé par une inscription) joue contre Ajax; il porte un bouclier où figure un cavalier au galop dont le mouvement s'oppose fortement à l'immobilité des joueurs qui sont comme hors combat.

Sur une coupe de Boston (fig. 8),⁵¹ l'effet est plus complexe. On voit au médaillon un archer accroupi, qui porte, de manière exceptionnelle, un bouclier; en épisème un cavalier s'élance, mais il ne suit pas l'orientation du porteur, bien au contraire, il semble charger contre l'archer, produisant ainsi l'image d'un combat archer contre cavalier.

Dans tous ces cas, les peintres ont utilisé le bouclier comme un miroir, démultipliant l'image du guerrier qui passe d'un niveau de représentation à un autre, changeant d'échelle et focalisant sur certains modes d'action et de mouvement pour mieux capter le regard du spectateur.

Ailleurs ce n'est pas un corps de guerrier qui figure comme blason, mais des corps moins attendus, parfois plus étranges. Sur un cratère du Louvre (fig. 9)⁵² on voit un bouclier orné d'un cavalier au dauphin. Le motif est connu par les monnaies de Tarente, où le héros fondateur Taras

⁴⁷ Coupe à figures rouges, Malibu J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.247; cf. Saunders 2012.

⁴⁸ Comme l'a bien vu D. Saunders, la figure sur le bouclier répète presque à l'identique l'image du guerrier au revers qui poursuit un cavalier en costume thrace.

⁴⁹ Cratère en calice à figures rouges, New York 08.258.58; ARV 185.36, p. de Kléophradès; BAPD 201688.

⁵⁰ Coupe à figures rouges (fragment), Paris Cabinet des Médailles ex Fröhner; ARV 1600; BAPD 9005086.

⁵¹ Coupe à figures rouges, Boston 01.8074; ARV 76.74, Epictetos; BAPD 200601.

⁵² Cratère en calice à figures rouges, Louvre G47; ARV 227.11, p. d'Eucharidès; BAPD 202216.



8 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8074: archer
(épisème: cavalier)



9 Paris, Louvre G47: hoplite
(épisème: cavalier sur un dauphin)

est ainsi transporté; on le retrouve sur un psykter d'Oltos⁵³ qui représente une série de six cavaliers «epidelphinioi», comme l'indique l'inscription que chacun d'eux profère. Sur le cratère du Louvre ce motif renvoie à une mythologie de la mer dionysiaque et aux métaphores de la mer vineuse.⁵⁴ De tels épisèmes permettent par le jeu de la double image d'articuler deux mondes emboîtés eux aussi: la guerre et les citoyens hoplites en relation avec le symposion et les buveurs. C'est ainsi qu'apparaît sur le bouclier d'un guerrier en himation l'étrange figure d'une sorte de satyre sans tête, mais pourvu d'une queue inhabituelle et d'un sexe démesuré qui se recourbent symétriquement à la façon des anses d'un canthare comme si le vase à boire et le satyre ne faisaient qu'un.⁵⁵

En dehors de Nikè, les figures féminines sont rares sur les boucliers et l'on comprend aisément pourquoi dans un univers si fortement masculin. Pourtant il existe une exception significative: sur une péliké de Londres (fig. 10),⁵⁶ Thétis et les Néréides apportent des armes à Achille. Il est encore assis, se lamentant de la mort de Patrocle. Derrière lui un bouclier est posé au sol, soutenu par une des Néréides, tourné vers le spectateur de l'image. On y voit une femme, les bras écartés, en un geste qui évoque le filage. Le motif semble paradoxal, mais il prend tout son sens si l'on se souvient qu'Achille a d'abord été caché, déguisé en fille parmi les filles du roi Lycomède, pour échapper à son destin. Le décalage produit par l'épisème n'est pas seulement entre le masculin et le féminin, mais aussi entre le passé et le présent de la vie d'Achille. L'image incluse ajoute une dimension temporelle, biographique, à l'image principale.⁵⁷

Dans le prolongement de ce dossier des images anthropomorphes on pourrait examiner les satyres et les centaures qui figurent en épisème. Ces créatures mythiques ne sont pas rares; j'ai étudié ailleurs la série des centaures en épisème et tenté de montrer comment leur violence relayait celle des guerriers qui en font leur emblème.⁵⁸

53 Psykter à figures rouges, New York 1989.281.69; ARV 1622.7bis, Oltos; BAPD 275024.

54 Cf. Lissarrague 1987; noter la présence sur le bouclier voisin d'un âne, qui n'entre guère dans le système des valeurs hoplitiques, mais qui a toute sa place du côté de Dionysos.

55 Coupe à figures rouges, Louvre G124; ARV 436.110, Douris; BAPD 205156.

56 Péliké à figures rouges, Londres E363; ARV² 586.36, maniériste ancien; BAPD 206766.

57 Sur cet effet de temporalité, cf. Lissarrague 2009a, en particulier p. 27.

58 Lissarrague 2007.

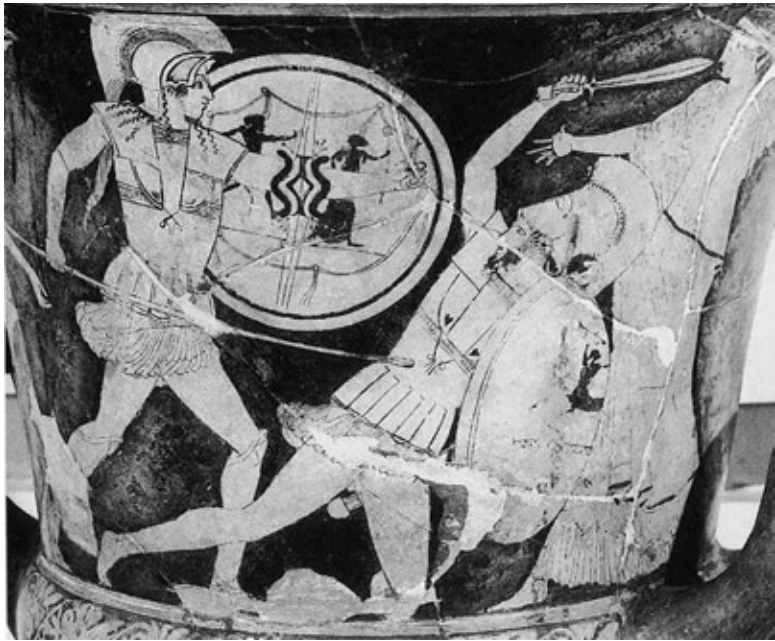


10 Londres, British Museum E363: Achille (épisème: fileuse)

Pour ce qui est des satyres, le dossier très complet en a été constitué par D. Paleothodoros.⁵⁹ La figure du satyre apparaît sous sa double dimension,

59 Paléothodoros 2001. Ajouter: Amphore à figures noires, Louvre F 211; deux cavaliers; ABV 368/104, groupe de Leagros; BAPD 302099. – Fragment de grand vase à figures noires, Athènes Agora P899; *Hesperia* 9, 1940, 176, fig. 19 no. 77; pas dans BAPD. – Lécythe à figures noires, Philadelphia University Museum, L.64.142; Athéna, gigantomachie; pas dans BAPD. –

soit de masque, soit de corps entier. Dans la plupart des cas le mécanisme figuratif est le même: l'image du satyre permet d'articuler le monde de la guerre à celui du symposion, d'Arès à Dionysos. Un exemple particulièrement remarquable figure sur un cratère de Bologne (fig. 11),⁶⁰ on voit ainsi un combat entre Achille et Memnon; l'intérieur du bouclier porte l'image en silhouette d'une poursuite qui n'a rien d'héroïque. On distingue nettement la queue chevaline du satyre qui court après une ménade armée d'un thyrses. Il est rare qu'un bouclier soit décoré dans sa face interne et le choix du peintre fait preuve non seulement d'un goût certain pour le détail, mais aussi de la volonté d'associer le monde héroïque au monde dionysiaque, sur un mode mineur, grâce à cette image en abyme. Sur une amphore de Londres (fig. 12),⁶¹ Héraklès combat les

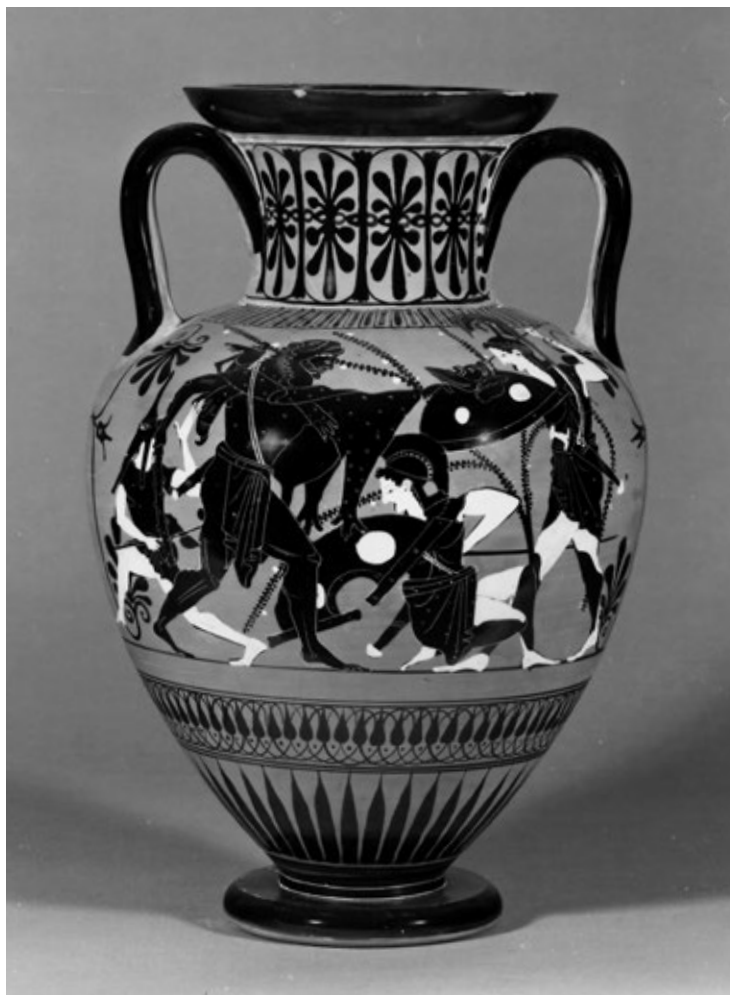


11 Bologne, Museo Civico 290: Achille (épisode interne: satyre ménade)

Péliké à figures rouges, Londres marché, Christies; Christies 25.4.2007, no. 207, Pionnier; BAPD 9020181.

⁶⁰ Cratère en calice à figures rouges, Bologne 290; BAPD 416; cf. Attula 2003.

⁶¹ Amphore à figures noires, Londres B217; ABV 394.2, proche du p. de Munich 1519; BAPD 302952.



12 Londres, British Museum B217: Héraklès vs Amazones
(épisode: satyre)

Amazones. L'une d'elle s'éloigne dans le dos du héros, une autre est tombée, genou à terre; une troisième résiste, brandissant sa lance contre Héraklès tout en se protégeant avec son bouclier orné d'un masque de satyre en relief. Héraklès empoigne ce bouclier comme pour l'écarter, et l'on voit nettement sa main qui semble tenir le satyre par le cou. Le héros attaque à la fois l'Amazone et le satyre, dont le visage redouble celui de la guerrière. L'effet de démultiplication par l'épisode permet en même

temps d'accumuler des formes d'altérité – Amazones et Satyre – que le héros thébain a l'habitude d'affronter.

Au terme de ce parcours on constate la riche variété des solutions inventées par les peintres pour animer leurs productions en jouant sur le double registre de l'image en abyme. Les changements d'échelle, les effets de focalisation attirent l'œil du spectateur; les décalages entre image englobante et image incluse, jouant sur la redondance expressive, ou au contraire la variation entre ces deux registres d'image, le surprennent et entrent en résonance avec la poétique du banquet qui recherche par la parole et la musique des effets analogues. La place accordée au corps dans la série des boucliers est également remarquable: d'un côté la mise en pièce du corps en agrandit l'échelle et démultiplie les potentialités du corps guerrier. De l'autre, la mise en scène de corps complets, réels ou mythiques, insère dans l'image des scènes secondaires qui animent l'ensemble de la représentation. Cette forme de réflexivité, qui donne une place centrale au corps, est caractéristique de l'imagerie des vases attiques entre la fin de l'archaïsme et le premier classicisme.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Attula, R. 2003 «Schilder mythischer Barbaren und Barbaren als Schildzeichen auf Vasen des 6. und 5. Jhs. v. Chr.» In B. Schmaltz et M. Söldner (éd.), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext*, 133–135. Munster.

Bentz, M. 1998 *Panathenäische Preisamphoren. Antike Kunst Beiheft 18*. Bâle.

Boardman, J. 1992 «The Phallos-Bird in archaic and classical Greek Art,» *RA* 1992: 227–242.

Bruneau, Ph. 1987 «Le triskèle dans l'art grec.» In *Mélanges offerts au Docteur J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*, 145–156. Paris.

Brunnsaker, S. 1971 *The Tyrant-slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes: a critical study of the sources and restorations*. Stockholm.

Chase, G. H. 1902 «The Shield devices of the Greeks.» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 13: 61–127. Reprint Chicago (1979).

De Cesare, M. 1997 *Le statue in immagine: studi sulle raffigurazioni di statue nella pittura vascolare greca*. Rome.

Kaeser, B. 1981 *Zur Darstellungsweise der griechischer Flächenkunst von der geometrischen Zeit bis zum Ausgang der Archaik*. Bonn.

Laurens, A. F. et C. Jubier 2007 «Boucliers en images et images de boucliers: des images et du réel.» In P. Sauzeau et Th. Van Compernelle (éd.), *Les armes dans l'Antiquité: de la technique à l'imaginaire*, 105–120. Montpellier.

Lissarrague, F. 1987 *Un Flot d'images. Une esthétique du banquet grec*. Paris.

Lissarrague, F. 1990 *L'Autre guerrier. Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*. Paris – Rome.

Lissarrague, F. 2007 «Looking at Shield Devices: Tragedy and Vase Painting.» In Ch. Krauss, S. Goldhill, H. Foley et J. Elsner (éd.), *Visualizing the Tragic, Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature. Essays in honour of Froma Zeitlin*, 151–164. Oxford.

Lissarrague, F. 2008 «Corps et armes: figures grecques du guerrier.» In V. Dasen et J. Wilgaux (éd.), *Langages et métaphores du corps dans le monde antique*, 15–27. Rennes.

Lissarrague, F. 2009a «Le temps des boucliers.» In G. Careri, F. Lissarrague, J.-C. Schmitt et C. Severi (éd.), *Tradition et temporalité des images*, 25–35. Paris.

Lissarrague, F. 2009b «Vases grecs: à vos marques.» In A. Tsingarida (éd.), *Shapes and uses of Greek Vases*, 237–249. Bruxelles.

Lissarrague, F. 2013 *La cité des Satyres. Une anthropologie ludique*. Paris.

Manakidou, E. 1997 «*Historêmena huphasmata*.» In J. Oakley (éd.), *Athenian Potters and Painters*, 297–308. Oxford.

Oenbrink, W. 1996 «Ein Bild im Bild-Phänomen. Zur Darstellung figürlich dekorierten Vasen auf bemalten attischen Tongefäßen,» *Hephaistos* 14: 81–134.

Oenbrink, W. 1997 *Das Bild im Bilde: Zur Darstellung von Götterstatuen und Kultbildern auf griechischen Vasen*. Francfort.

Paléothodoros, D. 2001 «Satyrs as shield devices in vase painting,» *Eulimene* 2: 67–92.

Paléothodoros, D. 2004 *Epictétos*. Louvain.

Philipp, H. 2004 *Archaische Silhouettenbleche und Schildzeichen in Olympia. Olympische Forschungen* 30. Berlin.

Saunders, D. 2012 «Achilles in Malibu? A Cup Attributed to Skythes,» *Getty Research Journal* 4: 1–12.

Steinhart, M. 1995 *Das Motiv des Auges in der griechischen Bildkunst*. Mayence.

Vaerst, A. 1980 *Griechische Schildzeichen*. Salzburg.

Venit, M. 2006 «Point and Counterpoint. Painted Vases on Attic Painted Vases,» *AntK* 49: 29–41.

RÉFÉRENCES DES ILLUSTRATIONS

1-12 Archive de l'auteur.

ERIC R. VARNER

FLUIDITY AND FLUCTUATION: THE SHIFTING DYNAMICS OF CONDEMNATION IN ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS

On the surface, Roman imperial portraits appear as straightforward, monuments with indexical identities directly linked to individual emperors or empresses. With their established typologies and mass production, imperial images in stone or bronze would seem to lend themselves to literal readings, rooted in their artefactuality as depictions of specific historical personages; their status as *simulacra*, *effigies*, and substitutes is often emphasized.¹ On many levels, these portraits are straightforward ‘signs of reality’, not easily separated from their prototypes.² Imperial representations, however, divulge a fluctuating spectrum of likeness within their relatively narrow typological frameworks that subverts their indexicality and undercuts assertions of literalness.

The mutilation, fragmentation and alteration of portraits occasioned by memory sanctions associated with ‘bad’ emperors like Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, especially reveal the fluid and permeable nature of imperial representations.³ Reconfigured or mutilated portraits establish aesthetic and ideological systems founded on new hybrid identities which often dissolved or confused the boundaries between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Roman rulers. Caligula was the first of Rome’s ‘bad’ emperors and his assassination on 24 January A.D. 41 triggered a complex set of negotiations concerning his memory and imperial legacy. Still in its infancy, the imperial system established by Augustus was not yet firmly entrenched and Caligula’s conspirators may have been aiming at a restoration of

¹ See recently, Fittschen 2010.

² Gleason 2011, 36–7; see also Elsner 2003, 226.

³ See most recently, Prusac 2011.

senatorial hegemony. According to Suetonius, at the time of Caligula's death the Senate contemplated abolishing the memories of all the Caesars and destroying the temples of Julius Caesar and Augustus, effectively overturning the imperial system established by Augustus.⁴ The Senate was ultimately forced to confirm the Praetorians' choice of Claudius as emperor. Claudius's position, however, remained somewhat tenuous and precarious early in his principate as he is reported to have considered abdicating upon hearing the news of the revolt of Furius Camillus Scribonianus, governor of Dalmatia, in 42.⁵

Even after his assassination Caligula remained a pivotal figure for notions of dynastic continuity as the first of Augustus's direct descendants to accede to the principate. Vital issues of imperial legitimacy remained at stake, and Claudius refused to permit formal sanctions against his nephew's memory, despite important and relatively recent precedents provided by the official senatorial decrees enacted against Gn. Calpurnius Piso in 20, and Caligula's aunt Livilla in 31.⁶ In addition, Caligula's continued popularity with the Praetorians and urban *plebs* ensured that his assassins were tried and executed.⁷ Nevertheless, Claudius recognized the fraught nature of Caligula's reputation and he did permit his predecessor's images to be removed at night, under cover of darkness; Caligula's acts were annulled, and his corpse was initially denied burial in the Mausoleum of Augustus.⁸ Demonstrations against his memory also included the toppling of his portrait statues from their bases.⁹ According to Dio, the Senate also eventually voted in 43 to recall and melt down Caligula's bronze coinage.¹⁰ Dio further claims that Messalina intended to create a statue of the actor Mnester, her alleged paramour from the bronze obtained from the smelting of Caligula's coins, an act, which would have

4 Suet. *Calig.* 60: "*quidam ver sentitiae loco abolendam Caesarum memoriam ac diruenda templa consuerint*".

5 Dio 60.15.1–4.

6 The senate mandated the destruction of Livilla's images (Tac. *Ann* 6.2: "*atroces sentitiae dicebantur, in effigies quoque ac memoriam eius*"). For the condemnations of Piso and Livilla, see Flower 2006, 9–10, 132–38 (Piso); 138, 142, 169–82, 196 (Livilla).

7 Suet. *Claud.* 11.1, 11.3; Jos. *AJ* 19.268–73; Dio 60.3.4–5, 60.4.5–6; Barrett 1989, 176.

8 Suet. *Claud.* 11.3; *Calig.* 59; Dio 60.45.

9 Dio 59.30.1^a.

10 Dio 60.22.3.

highlighted the profound instability of public imperial identity as emperor was easily fused into actor.

The political volatility in the aftermath of Caligula's assassination encouraged a wide variety of responses to his surviving images that reveal highly ambivalent attitudes towards his legacy. For example, archaeological context suggests that some portraits were entirely unaffected by his memory sanctions and may have continued to be displayed publicly.¹¹ At the opposite end of the scale, Caligula's images were subjected to violent disposal, dismemberment and mutilation, including a miniature marble bust in the Palazzo Massimo which was thrown into the Tiber, a bronze bust in Swiss private collection which has been attacked and mutilated, and an extremely fragmentary portrait in Aquileia.¹²

The majority of Caligula's surviving sculpted portraits, at least nineteen, were repurposed as new representations of his successor Claudius. The informal memory sanctions instigated by Claudius against Caligula provided the initial impetus for the wholesale recycling of sculptural

11 For example, the archaeological contexts of two portraits from the Agora of Gortyna on Crete suggest that they may have continued to be displayed after Caligula's death: togate statue, Gortyna, Antiquarium, h. 2.04 m; Boschung 1989, 29, note 12, 35–37, 52, 54–7, 63, 89, 109, no. 8, sketch 8, pl. 8.1–3, and 41.1–2 (with earlier literature); Goette 1989, 34, no. 147 b, 28, n. 176, 119, no. 105, pl. 7.6; Varner 2004, 7, n. 43, 43; head worked for insertion, *capite velato*; Caligula: Heraklion, Archaeological Museum, no. 64, h. 0.393 m; Boschung 1989, 29, 32–6, 57–7, 61, 63, 89, 98–99, 107, no. 1, sketch 1, pl. 1.1–4 (with earlier literature); Goette 1989, 34, n. 147c; Rose 1997, 152–3, cat. no. 85, pl. 194; Boschung 2002, 62–3; Varner 2004, 7, n. 3, 42. Recent investigations of the Colonna archives carried out by Maria Grazia Picozzi suggest that a togate portrait in Richmond, an example of Caligula's primary portrait type, formerly believed to have been discovered near the Theater of Marcellus in Rome, was actually excavated in 1824 at Bovillae, south of Rome on the Via Appia and it, too, may have continued to be displayed in the context of a structure associated with the worship of the Julian Gens; Richmond, Museum of Fine Arts, acc. no. 71–20, h. 2.032 m; Picozzi 2011; see also Frischer et al. 2012.

12 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 4256, h. 0.16 m, Boschung 1989, 41–44, 51, 54–7, 60, 72, 86, 92, 100, 112, no. 19, pl. 19.1–4, 46.3; Varner 2004, 6, 32, 39, 45, 130; Switzerland, Private Collection, h. 0.97 m; Boschung 1989, 6, n. 30, 23–4, 39, n. 148, 44–5, 49, 130, 150, 197, 225, no. 2.3, fig. 2a–b; Varner 2004, 225, no. 1.3; Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, inv. 128; Boschung 1989, 120, no. 49, pl. 39.5–6; Varner 2004, 24, 144, 225, no. 1.1; fig. 3; Sagunto, Museo Arqueológico; h. 0.25 m; Boschung 1989, 122, no. *66; Varner 2004, 24, 44, 225, no. 1.2.



1 Portrait of Caligula/Claudius, Carsulae, Museo Archeologico

images that would characterize the responses to portraits of subsequent condemned emperors throughout the rest of the first century. Recarving, however, was not an innate or natural outcome of memory sanctions and was by no means an easy, economically expedient option for reclaiming the images of 'bad' emperors, but rather a difficult and technically challenging sculptural operation. A colossal seated statue from Carsulae, on the Via Appia in Umbria which was transformed from Caligula to Claudius reveals the stark synthesis of original Caligulan elements and new Claudian aspects



2 Portrait of Caligula, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 71-20

that often characterize these sculptural redactions (fig. 1).¹³ In the *Carsulae* head Caligula's facial features have been recarved into Claudius's more aged physiognomy, with horizontal furrows in the forehead, pouches beneath the eyes, sagging cheeks and strong naso-labial lines, but the coiffure has

13 *Carsulae*, Museo, inv. 281290, Varner 2004, 233, cat. 1.25, fig. 14 a-d; Prusac 2011, 133, no. 44.

largely been retained from the original Caligulan likeness, which was a replica of his main type. Imperial hairstyles were highly individualized and acted as primary markers of identity. The Carsulae head exhibits long locks on the nape of the neck which are combed forward, a prominent feature of Caligula's portraiture, and the orientation of these locks finds nearly precise parallels in surviving images of Caligula's main type in Genoa-Pegli, Malibu, Paris, Richmond, Schloss Fasanerie, and Venice (fig. 2).¹⁴ The retention of recognizable elements of Caligula's coiffure in the Carsulae likeness stands as a deliberate artistic choice which would have broadcast the portrait's initial identity for visually astute viewers.¹⁵

Because of its colossal scale, the statue was one of the principal sculptural adornments of Carsulae and, as such, inhabitants of the town would have been very well aware of its original iteration as Caligula and its subsequent transformation into Claudius. Ongoing communal and social memory of the reconfiguration of the image and its dual identity would have remained operative three generations, if not more.¹⁶ Visually, the portrait insists on its hybrid nature through juxtaposition of the Caligulan coiffure with Claudian physiognomy.

Several other images of Caligula were reconceived as Claudius and they reveal differing scales of likeness. A portrait of Claudius recast from a representation of Caligula, now in Grosseto represents him with the *corona civica* (fig. 3).¹⁷ Discovered at the Collegium of the Augustales at Rusellae, the head belonged to an extensive cycle of Julio-Claudian

14 Genoa-Pegli, Museo, inv. 614, h. 0.295 m; Boschung 1989, 29, n. 12, 32–4, 53–55, 61, 63, 107–8, no. 3, pl. 31–4; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa, 72 AA 155; h. 0.43 m; Boschung 1989, 29, no. 12, 38–9, 53–56, 90, 110, no. 12, pl. 12.1–4; Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 1267, h. 0.33 m; Boschung 1989, 28, n. 2, 29, n. 11, 32–4, 53–5, 61, 63, 107, no. 2, pl. 2.1–4; Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 71–20, h. 2.032 m; Boschung 1989, 29, n. 12, 38–9, 53–5, 61, 89, 109–10, no. 11, pl. 11.1–4, 42.1–4, 43; Schloss Fasanerie, FAS.ARP 21, h. 0.365 m; Boschung 1989, 29, n. 11, 32–4, 53–5, 60–61, 63, 108, no. 5, pl. 5.1–4; Venice, Museo Archeologico, inv. 142, h. 0.42 m; Boschung 1989, 28, 32–4, 36, 46, 53–5, 61, 63, 108, no. 4, pl. 4.1–4.

15 For Roman viewers ability to read and interpret damaged and altered works, see J. Elsner 2003, 211–19.

16 Defined as “cultural memory” by Assmann, as an aspect of “collective memory” extends for three generations beyond “living memory,” Assmann 2006, 8–9.

17 Museo archeologico e d'Arte della Maremma, inv. 97765; Boschung 2002, 70, no. 20.9, pl. 60.1; Varner 2004, 231, no. 1.20, fig. 10; Prusac 2011, 133, no. 40.



3 Portrait of Caligula/Claudius, Grosseto, Museo Archeologico, inv. 97765

portraits including Divus Augustus, Diva Livia, Drusilla, Julia Livilla, Nero Caesar, Drusus Caesar, and Antonia Minor.¹⁸ As in the the Carsulae head, Caligula's coiffure has largely been maintained and recombined with the more aged facial features of Claudius resulting in a bifurcated image that is both Caligulan and Claudian. A similar strategy has also been

18 Rose 1997, 116–8, cat. 45; Boschung 2002, 69–71.



4 Portrait of Caligula/Claudius, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini 2.74, inv. 2443

adopted for recarved portraits in the Centrale Montemartini and Woburn Abbey, which are perhaps the most aged and veristic of Claudius's likeness (fig. 4).¹⁹ Yet another colossal portrait of Claudius recarved from

19 Centrale Montemartini 2.74, inv. 2443, h. 0.358 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 16, no. 15, pl. 16; Boschung 1989, 120, no. 50, Varner 2004, 10, no. 60, 26, 101, n. 159, 231, 234, no. 1.31, fig. 4a–d; Prusac 2011, 133, no. 32 recarved



5 Portrait of Caligula/Claudius, Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala Rotonda, inv. 242

Caligula now in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican also creates a hybrid Caligulan-Claudian likeness, but in this instance combining Claudius's recognizable hairstyle with a more youthful physiognomy essentially

from unidentified portrait; Woburn Abbey, Varner 2004, 235, no. 1.34, fig. 5; Prusac 2011, 133, no. 38.

retained from the original likeness of Caligula (fig. 5).²⁰ The Vatican head also comes from a building that seemed to have functioned as a Collegium for the Augustales at Otricoli and it, too, formed part a cycle of Julio-Claudian portraits including Augustus, Livia, Gaius Ceaser, Nero Caesar, and possibly Drusilla.²¹ The overtly youthful physiognomy of the Vatican portrait when compared to the insistent verism of the Carsulae, Grosseto, Centrale Montemartini and Woburn Abbey portraits indicates the incredibly broad margins encompassed by Claudius's representations in portraiture and his highly dynamic and flexible sculptural identity.²²

In their work on Julio-Claudian group dedications, both Dietrich Boschung and Brian Rose have highlighted the dueling branches of the dynasty, Julian and Claudian, especially in the dynastic programs of Caligula (a Julian by birth) and Claudius (a Claudian by birth).²³ Not coincidentally, both the Vatican and Grosseto likenesses constitute important parts of dynastic statuary cycles that have both Caligulan and Claudian interventions. It has been suggested that the Carsulae statue may also be associated with the imperial cult.²⁴ The hybrid identity foregrounded in the recut portraits may be intended to reconcile the two branches of the dynasty and present an image that is simultaneously Julian and Claudian. In effect, the repurposing of these portraits does not function as an outright cancellation, but rather, a meaningful coalescence of multiple indexical elements.

There are also rare instances of recarved representations of imperial women which confirm that the sculptural rescription of portrait identity was not a gendered phenomenon limited exclusively to males. One of the earliest reconfigured female portraits, a statue of Agrippina Minor recut from Messalina in Naples, also dates to the Claudian period (fig. 6a–b).²⁵ Like the Claudius portraits reconstituted from pre-existing representations of Caligula, the Naples statue creates a new hybrid identity with clear remnants of Messalina's coiffure present in the image that now

20 551, inv. 242. Rose 1997, 97–8, cat. 25.5, fig. 92; Boschung 2002, 68, no. 19.4, pl. 53.1; Hallett 2005, 178; Galinsky 2008, 4–5, fig. 6; Varner 2010, 46–7, fig. 39; Prusac 2011, 133, no. 31.

21 Rose 1997, 97–8, cat. 25; Boschung 2002, 67–9.

22 On variation within imperial portrait typologies, see De Puma 2010.

23 Rose 1997; Boschung 2002.

24 Dareggi 1982, 12 and n. 104.

25 Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 6242; Wood 1999, 247, n. 114; Varner 2004, 97, 257–8, no. 3.3; Prusac 2011, 139, no. 139; Tomei and Rea 2011, 234, no. 13.

successfully asserts Agrippina's replacement of Messalina as the pre-eminent woman within the dynasty.²⁶ The reconfiguration of the Naples statue and its bipartite indexicality linked to both empresses also reveals the profound political implications of Claudius's marriage to Agrippina, which helped to reinstate dynastic stability after Messalina's attempt to wrest control of the principate from Claudius through her 'marriage' to Gaius Silius.²⁷

Unlike his uncle Caligula, Nero was, in fact, officially condemned by the Roman Senate as a *hostis*, an enemy of the Roman state, and memory sanctions were clearly enforced during the reign of his immediate successor, Galba and under the Flavians.²⁸ At least forty-four of Nero's portraits were reconfigured as likenesses of his Flavian successors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. As with the representations of Caligula redacted into new images of Claudius, the reworked Neronian portraits often exhibit clearly legible traces of their sculptural conversion thus creating a composite Neronian and Flavian identity that sought to reconcile the political realities of the new dynasty with the significant lingering popularity of the last of the Julio-Claudian emperors. The Caligula/Claudius portraits had reconstituted a hybrid imperial identity, but between closely related members of a single dynasty. The new Neronian-Flavian likenesses, however, deliberately span distinctly separate dynasties and regimes.

A portrait of Vespasian's more youthful secondary type in the Galleria Chiaramonti of the Vatican has been refashioned from a replica of Nero's fourth and final type.²⁹ The portrait amalgamates Vespasian's more veristic and aged facial features with the remnants of Nero's longer and more flamboyant coiffure, as seen in a colossal type 4 portrait of Nero now in Munich.³⁰ Just as with the Claudian likenesses reworked from Caligula,

26 A second statue of Messalina from the Julio-Claudian Basilica at Velleia was also transformed into a likeness of her successor, Agrippina Minor. In this case however, the head of the original image, which was carved from a single block of marble with the body, appears to have been deliberately damaged and then replaced with a new head of Agrippina; Parma, Museo Nazionale d'Antichità, inv. 146 (1870), 830 (1952); Varner 2004, 32, n. 84, 79–80, 96–7, 258.

27 For a discussion of Messalina and Silius, see J. Osgood 2011, 209–13.

28 Suet. *Nero* 42.2–3; Pliny *HN* 34.18.45; Tacit. *Hist.* 1.16.

29 Prusac 2011, 134, no. 58.

30 Munich, Glyptothek, inv. 321, h. 0.44 m; Born and Stemmer 1996, 73, 92, 94, fig. 25–29.



6a Statue of Messalina / Agrippina Minor, Naples,
Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 6242

the Nero-Vespasians also introduce a great deal of variability into Vespasian's portrait iconography and they encompass both his most idealizing and veristic representations. A portrait from the Forum at Lucus Feroniae, slightly north of Rome along the Via Flaminia is unequivocally Vespasian's most youthful and classicizing image (fig. 7).³¹ The remnants

31 Capena, Museo di Lucus Feroniae, h. 0.342 m; Varner 2004, 10, n. 58,

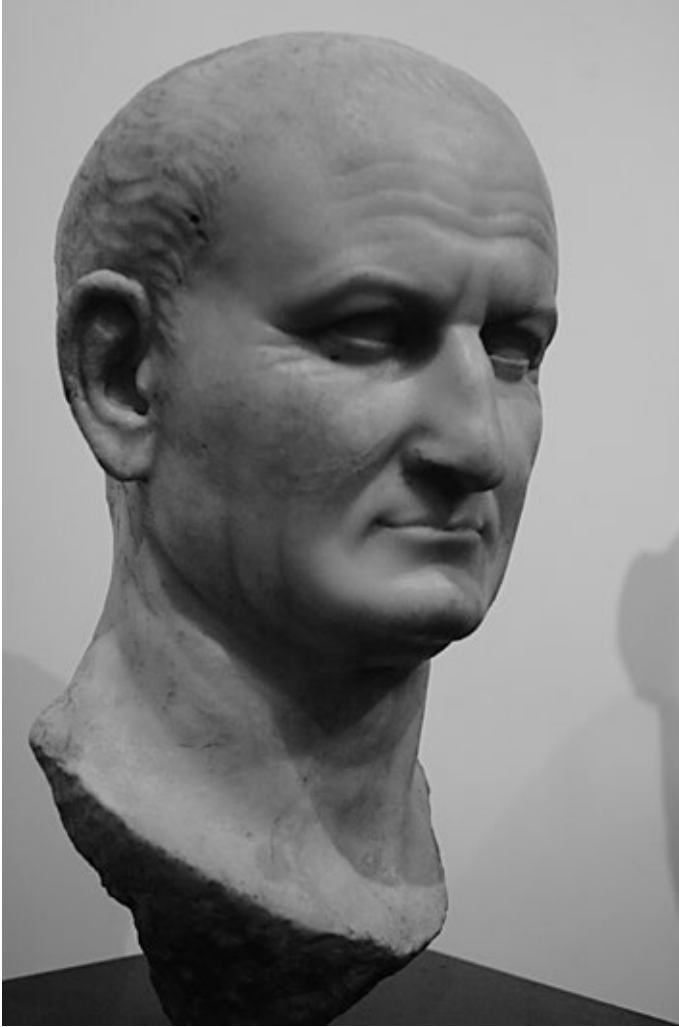


6b Statue of Messalina / Agrippina Minor, Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 6242

of Nero's much fuller type 4 coiffure are again present behind the ears, at the temples, and on the top of the head.³² The lingering iconographic, as

52–3, 243, cat. 2.22, fig. 46a–d; Coarelli 2009, 413, no. 9 (E. Rosso); Pollini 2010, 32; La Rocca et al. 2011, 266, no. 4.13 (P. Aureli and G. Colugnati); Prusac 2011, 134, no. 61.

32 Pollini does not read the fuller hair as Neronian and feels that the proportions of the head do not indicate that it was recarved; Pollini 2010, 32.



7 Portrait of Nero/Vespasian, Capena, Museo di Lucus Feroniae

The orientation of the locks, however, is unusual for Vespasian's images and seems to be clearly derived from Nero's type 4 coiffure, and there is evidence of recutting at the back of the head. Pollini suggests that the back of the head may have been completed in stucco, but this seems unlikely at this period for a metropolitan Roman portrait. The consistent proportional distances between the auricular cavities and the front and back of the head are likely caused by the fact that the head retains much of its original volume.

well as stylistic traces of the original portrait create a richly amalgamated Julio-Claudian and Flavian image.

In the case of Vespasian's two young heirs, Titus and Domitian re-configured portraits may have intended to capitalize on Nero's youthful appeal. A portrait of Titus in the Louvre was refashioned from a type 4 replica of Nero and it presents the Flavian emperor with a decidedly Neronian physiognomy and hairstyle.³³ The hybridity of the resulting image is clearly apparent when it is compared to an unaltered likenesses of Titus, like the statue from Herculaneum which displays his much curlier coiffure and fuller, rounder facial features.³⁴ A sardonyx cameo depicting Titus formerly in the Medici Collection and now in the Museo Archeologico in Florence has also been recarved from a type 4 representation of Nero and it, too retains the straighter and longer Neronian locks instead of the Flavian curls on the top and back of the head.³⁵ The much more restricted audience for imperial portrait cameos may also have facilitated a recognition of the hybrid identity based on knowledge of the gem's original incarnation, at least in the immediate aftermath of its transformation.

The hairstyles of both Domitian's first and third portrait types shared strong formal similarities with the more elaborate coiffures of Nero's final two portrait types which Suetonius described as *coma in gradus formata* (combed into waves or steps).³⁶ Significantly, almost all of Domitian's surviving type 1 portraits have, in fact, been reconfigured from representations of Nero. Portraits of Domitian in Boston, Cologne, Munich, and Rome retain clear traces of the Neronian originals in the fleshier physiognomies, smaller eyes, full receding lower lip, and artificial, waved hairstyles (fig. 8).³⁷

³³ Inv. MA 3562; Varner 2004, 247, no. 2.38; Prusac 2011, 135, no. 82.

³⁴ Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 6059, h. 2.11 m; Coarelli 2009, 481, no. 83 (E. Rosso).

³⁵ Museo Archeologico, inv. 14546, 7.9 × 6.5 cm; Giuliano 1989, 246, no. 178; Megow 1993.

³⁶ Suet. *Nero* 51.

³⁷ Boston, Museum of Fine Art, inv. 88.639, h. 0.35 m; Varner 2004, 248, no. 2.41, fig. 64a–c; M. Papini in Barbanera and Freccero 2008, 208–10, n. 341; Prusac 2011, 136, no. 99; Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, inv. 667; Varner 2004, 248, no. 2.42; Prusac 2011, 136, no. 100; Munich, Glyptothek, inv. 418, h. 0.37 m; Varner 2004, 250, no. 2.47; Prusac 2011, 136, no. 98; Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 226, h. 0.35 m; Varner 2004, 251, no. 2.52, fig. 63a–d; Prusac 2011, 136, no. 95; Rea 2011, 233, no. 5; Rome, Palazzo Lancellotti ai Cornari, inv. SAR no. 78, h. 0.30 m; M. Papini in Barbanera and Freccero 2008, 208–10 no. 48,



8a Portrait of Nero/Domitian, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 226

The Neronian implications of the likenesses are readily apparent when they are compared to a type 1 variant in Ostia that has not been not been recarved.³⁸ The redacted portraits carefully craft a Flavian response to the more flamboyant iconography which emerged in Nero's later images.

fig. 48a–c; Rome, Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi; Winckelmann, *Werke* 6.2.337; Bernoulli 1891, 2.2, 33, no. 9; Matz and von Duhn 1881–82, no. 1343; Maviglia 1913, 12, no. 46; Daltrop et al. 1966, 94; M. Papini in Barbanera and Freccero 2008, 208–10, n. 341.

38 Ostia, Museo, inv. 19, h. 0.30 m; Calza 1964, 46–7, no. 64, pl. 37.



8b Portrait of Nero/Domitian, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 226

The Neronian alignment of Domitian's earliest images does not cease with his youthful likenesses, but also encompasses some of his later type 3 portraits as emperor as well. A head in Naples from the Farnese collection in Rome is symptomatic of these images and has been reconfigured from a type 3 portrait of Nero, also maintaining strong elements of Neronian physiognomy as well as coiffure (fig. 9).³⁹ Comparison of the Naples

³⁹ Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 6061; Gasparri 2009, 81–2, no. 55, pl. 54.1–4 (F. Coraggio); Prusac 2011, 136, no. 102.



9 Portrait of Nero/Domitian, Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 6061

Domitian with the only unaltered type 3 portrait of Nero from the Palatine amply reveals their shared characteristics.⁴⁰ Although it was reconceived over a decade after Nero's downfall, the Naples portrait constructs a hybrid

40 Museo Palatino, inv. 618, h. 0.31 m; Giuliano 1979, 272–3, no. 168 (E. Talamo); Tomei and Rea 2011, 232, no. 3.

identity for Domitian, like the recycled type 1 images, that highlights its strong and lingering associations with the Neronian original. On certain levels, the portrait's hybridity clearly leverages Nero's enduring popularity

The Flavian images recut from Nero again suggest a sliding scale of imperial identity and certainly instantiate a duality, at once Flavian, yet still Neronian. While it might seem surprising that the founder of the Flavian dynasty who rigorously reinforced the memory sanctions against Nero would consciously seek to preserve legible traces of his condemned predecessor's likeness in the revised images, Vespasian may have been trying to access Nero's strong posthumous popularity, as well as to create a readable narrative of political transition. The Flavian engagement with Nero's memory was not simply about effacement and displacement, but also about a redirection of popular perceptions and enthusiasms. After Nero's death, his supporters continued to bring his images to the *rostra* in the Roman Forum and decorate his tomb with flowers. The pull of Nero's charismatic personality was so strong that there were several Nero imposters who convinced thousands of people that they were, in fact, the resurrected emperor, a phenomenon that one scholar has aptly termed the Nero-Messiahs.⁴¹ The Flavians themselves adopted a strategy of imitating Nero's good policies, a type of *imitatio Neronis*, especially in their urban embellishments at Rome.⁴²

Prior to the Flavians, Otho and Vitellius had both sought to claim Nero's popular legacy and they rescinded the memory sanctions enacted under Galba. Otho adopted the late emperor's name and styled himself as Otho-Nero and forced the Senate to re-instate Nero's portrait honors and re-erect Nero's statues as well as those of his former wife Poppaea by order of the Senate.⁴³ Vitellius also honored Nero's memory and offered sacrifices to his *manes* and is recorded to have pursued a policy of conscious *imitatio Neronis*.⁴⁴ *Aurei* and *denarii* of Otho depict him with an elaborate hairstyle clearly modeled on Nero's distinctive later coiffures.⁴⁵

As had happened with Nero, the Senate enacted formal sanctions against Domitian's memory which mandated the erasure of his inscriptions and the abolition of his memory and monuments (*"novissime*

41 De Jong and Hekster 2008, 85, see also 82, 87–88.

42 Davies 2000; E. Rosso 2008.

43 Suet. *Otho* 7.1: "*certe et imagines statuasque eius reponi passus est*", 7.3, 10.2; Tac. *Hist.* 1.68: "*statuas Poppaeae per senatus consultum reposuit*", 1.78: "*et fuere qui imagines Neronis proponerent*"; Plut. *Otho* 3.

44 Suet. *Vit.* 11.2; Dio 64.7.3; see also Griffin 1984, 186.

45 *RIC* 219–20, nos. 1–17, pl. 14.241.

eradendos ubique titulos abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret”), but the negotiation of his posthumous legacy proved to be similarly contentious.⁴⁶ Domitian was assassinated on 18 September A.D. 96, but the army, with whom he remained extremely popular, almost immediately called for his deification and the punishment of those involved in the assassination plot.⁴⁷ As a result, Domitian’s successor Nerva was placed in the delicate position of mediating between the army and the Senate, who had acclaimed him emperor, a position further exacerbated by the fact that Nerva himself may have been implicated in the plot against Domitian.⁴⁸ Nerva’s political balancing act, especially in regard to the memory of Domitian was further complicated by the mutiny of the Praetorian Guard and their insistence of the execution of their praefect Petronius for his alleged involvement in Domitian’s assassination.⁴⁹ Because of the competing claims concerning Domitian’s posthumous memory and reputation, it is all the more striking that an overwhelming number of Nerva’s surviving portraits have in fact been refashioned from representations of his condemned predecessor. Approximately 80 percent (16 out of 18) are reworked and they create amalgamative identities for Nerva that deftly exploit any of Domitian’s remaining political capital. The sheer scope of Nerva’s reworked portraits suggests a concerted and programmatic response to the cooption of Domitian’s images and imagery.

Because of their widely differing facial and cranial structures, the sculptural redaction of Domitian into Nerva stands as the most technically challenging among repurposed imperial portraits. Nerva’s longer and thinner facial and cranial structure, as well as his prominent hooked nose posed particular challenges to sculptors recarving the Domitianic originals.⁵⁰ Most of Nerva’s reworked portraits adopt similar strategies and attempt to elongate Domitian’s facial features and enlarge the nose

46 Suet. *Dom.* 23.1; see also Lact. *De Mort. Pers.* 3.2–3: “*memoria nominis erasa est [...] neque imaginum neque titulorum eius relinqueret ulla vestigia*”.

47 Suet. *Dom.* 17.23: “*miles gravissime tulit statimque Divum appellare conatus est. paratus et ulcisci*”.

48 Jones 1999, 194–6; Grainger 2003, 4–27 rejects Nerva’s direct involvement in the assassination.

49 Dio 68.3.3; Grainger 2003, 19.

50 Unaltered likenesses of both, Domitian in the Palazzo dei Conservatori inv. 1156; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 36–7, no. 33, pl. 35, 37 and Nerva in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (668, inv. 772; Johansen 1995, 88, no. 31) illustrate the difficulties.

by reducing the volume of cheeks and almost all of the portraits leave large tracts of Domitian's very distinctive type three hairstyle in tact. The resulting images are remarkably consistent in their aggregation of Nervan physiognomy and Domitianic coiffures and a portrait in the Getty Villa in Malibu is perhaps the most insistently hybrid of Nerva's recarved marble likenesses (fig. 10).⁵¹ While the lower sections of the face emphasize



10 Portrait of Domitian/Nerva, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Villa, inv. 83 AA 43

51 Inv. 83.AA.43, h. 0.33 m; Varner 2004, 263, cat. 5.12, fig. 119a–d; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 127.

Nerva's mature and aged physiognomy with crows feet wrinkles at the corners of the eye, heavy pouches beneath the eye, sunken cheeks, and strong naso-labial lines, the forehead is entirely smooth and unlined, having been retained in its totality from the original representation of Domitian. Unusually for this period in Roman portraiture, the head has been pieced together from three sections of marble, comprising the front, back and top of the head. The top and back pieces present unaltered aspects of Domitian's characteristic third type hairstyle; significantly, they were not recarved or replaced at the time of the portrait's alteration.⁵² Rather, a conscious choice seems to have been made to retain the original marble sections and the resulting collage of marble creates a binary Domitianic-Nervan likeness.

Like the Getty head, a bronze equestrian statue of Domitian reconfigured as Nerva from Misenum and now in Baiae creates a similar collaged identity.⁵³ The body and back of the head have all been maintained from the Domitianic statue, but the face of the original image has been excised and new facial features of Nerva retro-fitted to the portrait. An aesthetic choice has been made not to replace the head in its entirety but rather to create a new hybrid image where the Nervan front of the portrait head clearly does not match the Domitianic back.

Five additional marble heads from Rome have all been reconstituted from pre-existing likenesses of Domitian's third type.⁵⁴ These portraits

⁵² Recarving the separate pieces of coiffure may have been challenging, as the marble is not especially thick and recutting may have resulted in fractures, but replacement with new sections of marble with more appropriate segments of Nerva's coiffure would not have been difficult.

⁵³ Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei nel Castello di Baia; inv. 155743, h. 1.28 m; S. Adamo Muscettola in Miniero 2000, 66–70; Varner 2004, 114, 120–2, 190, 261–2, no. 5.6, 280, fig. 123a–c; Tuck 2005; Vout 2008, 159–64, fig. 1–3.

⁵⁴ Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori; inv. 417, h. 0.38 m; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 394, no. 35, fig. 56a–d; Varner 2004, 264, cat. 5.14, fig. 113a–d; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 117; Palazzo dei Conservatori, Palazzo Clementino, inv. 423, h. 0.36 m, Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 402, fig. 60a–b; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 39, no. 35, pl. 35; Varner 2004, 116, 266, no. 5.20, fig. 115a–c; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 123; Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti, 317, inv. 674, h. 0.48 m; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 391–2, no. 33; G. Spinola 1999, 143, no. 131; Varner 2004, 265–6, no. 5.18, 116, fig. 112a–b; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 126; Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 318, h. 0.60 m; Giuliano 1979, 212–6, no. R165 (A. Amadio); Varner 2004,

adopt varying strategies in order to transform Domitian into Nerva, but they all retain legible elements of the original coiffures which ultimately stamp them as Domitianic-Nervan hybrids. The five portraits constitute an extremely broad range of iconographic identity. Other representations reconfigured from images of Domitian include portraits in Berlin, Copenhagen, Munich and Stuttgart.⁵⁵ The Copenhagen image which originally depicted Domitian in a standing Jupiter statuary type decorated Domitian's Alban villa, which Nerva expropriated just as he had the statue.⁵⁶ Indeed, because so many of Nerva's surviving portraits have been recrafted from Domitian's likenesses, his surviving visual representations are not fixed but extremely fluid. Nerva's sculptural identity is not, in fact, typologically stable, but it is still recognizable.

The engagement with and negotiation of Domitian's memory did not end with Nerva, however as Pliny's *Panegyricus* to Nerva's successor Trajan makes abundantly clear. Domitian, whether as "*optimi cuiusque spoliator et carnifex*" (*Pan.* 90.5), "*insidiosus princeps*" (*Pan.* 95.3), or "*belva ... velut specu inclusa*" (*Pan.* 48.3), is a constant presence lurking throughout the *Panegyricus*. Not coincidentally, the careers of Pliny, Nerva, and Trajan had all flourished under Domitian, and the latter were prominent imperial *amici*.⁵⁷ As a result, Pliny rewrites his own history and diminishes his early career in order to dissociate himself from the condemned emperor, and configures the new emperor Trajan as kind of anti-Domitian.⁵⁸ Pliny's delineation of Trajan, however, deceptively omits the strong elements of continuity in imperial administration as well as

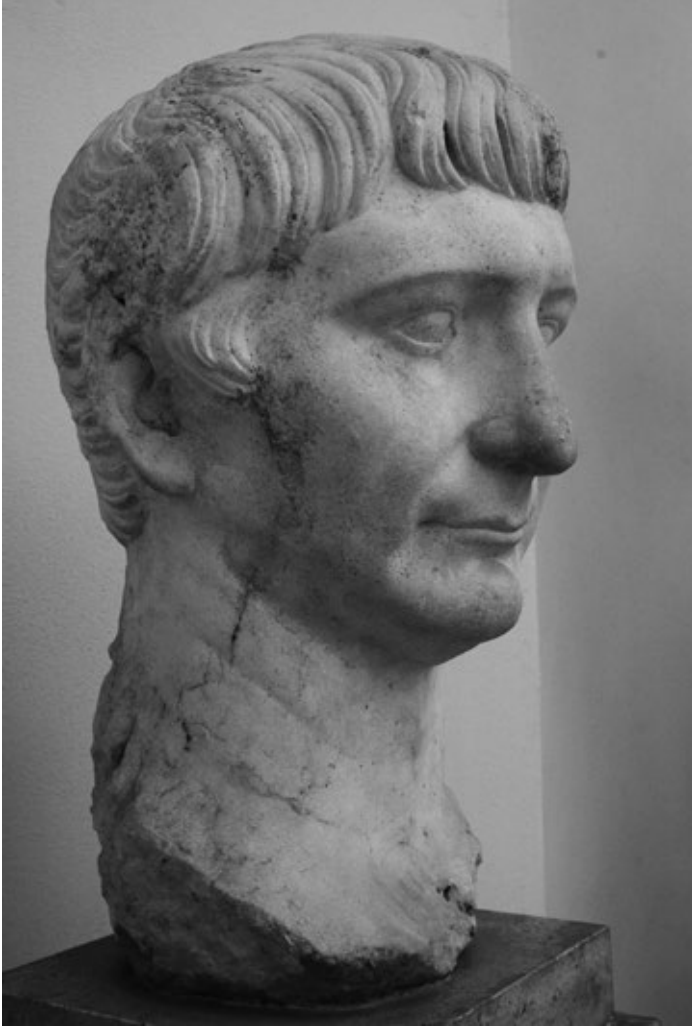
116, 264–5, no. 5.15; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 119; Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, inv. 106538, Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 392–94, no. 34, fig. a–d; Varner 2004, 118, 265, no. 5.16.

⁵⁵ Berlin, Schloss Klein-Gliencke, inv. GI 324; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 117; Varner 2004, 251, cat. 2.50; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 121; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 1454; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 391, fig. 53; Johansen 1995, 84–7, no. 30; Varner 2004, 262, cat. 5.9, fig. 111a–3; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 116; Munich, Residenz, Schloss Nymphenburg, inv. I.131, h. 0.355 m; Weski, Frosien-Leinz, et al. 1987, 230–1, no. 112; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 128. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, inv. 68/3; Bergmann and Zanker 1981, 400, fig. 59; Varner 2004, 262, cat. 5.8; Prusac 2011, 137, no. 122.

⁵⁶ Kragelund 2006, 1–2.

⁵⁷ Champlin 1983, 257–64; Jones 1992, 52–4, 59; Murison 2003, 148–50; Roche 2011a, 45; Roche 2011b, 19–21.

⁵⁸ Flower 2006, 263–70; Noreña 2011, 39–44.



11 Portrait of Domitian/Trajan, Ostia, Museo, inv. 14

senatorial advisors that actually united the two emperors.⁵⁹ In addition, in A.D. 100 when Pliny delivered his *Panegyricus*, Trajan's building program (and that of Nerva) consisted almost exclusively of the expropriation or

59 Waters 1969, 385–405; Jones 1992, 196–8; Grainger 2003, 52–65; Roche 2011a, 45; Roche 2011b, 17.



12 Portrait of Domitian/Trajan, Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, inv. 90.501

completion of Domitianic projects.⁶⁰ Trajan's Baths, Markets and Forum may all have originated under Domitian and Trajan completed Domitian's

⁶⁰ Anderson 1983; Roche 2011a.

restoration and expansion of the Circus Maximus.⁶¹ Indeed, on many levels Domitian and Trajan can be read as doppelgangers of one another.

The pairing of Domitian and Trajan finds acute physical expression in reconstituted likenesses, which juxtapose characteristics of both emperors. Although Trajan's portraits reconfigured from Domitian do not attain the overwhelming percentages of Nerva's representations, at least ten of Trajan's surviving images began as representations of Domitian, including portraits in Ostia and Cologne (fig. 11–12).⁶² The Ostia portrait is worked for insertion and exhibits traces of Domitian's type three coiffure at the back of the head. In addition, much of the face and the delineation of the eyes and mouth largely remain in tact from the original likeness and give the physiognomy a decidedly Domitianic and youthful cast. The portrait is a replica of Trajan's fourth (*Opferbildtypus*) which suggests that Domitian's legacy continued to retain a potent symbolism late into Trajan's reign. In the Cologne head, also worked for insertion, much more insistent signs of ageing have been introduced, including pronounced naso-labial lines, somewhat sunken cheeks and wrinkles on the neck. The original coiffure has been cut back at the rear of the head, but the large tracts of the Domitianic coiffure remain over the ears and at both temples. The hybridism of both portraits creates a new dual identity as the boundaries between Domitian and Trajan are blurred. Both heads also underscore the lack of uniformity in Trajan's visual identity.⁶³

61 Aur. Vict. *Lib. Caes.* 13.5; Anderson 1983, 102–4; Packer 1997, 3–4; Roche 2011a, 54–9.

62 Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, inv. 90.501; Boschung 2007; Olympia, Museum, inv. INL 129; Goette and Hitzl 1987, 289, pl. 27–8; Varner 2004, 267, no. 5.22; Prusac 2011, 138, no. 131; Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet, inv. 1145; Sande 1991, 48, cat. 45, pl. 44; Varner 2004, 267, no. 2.53; Prusac 2011, 137–8, no. 129; Ostia, Museo, inv. 14, h. 0.48 m; Calza 1964, 59, no. 88, pl. 51; Varner 2004, 267, no. 5.24; Prusac 2011, 138, no. 138; Ostia, Museo, inv. 24 (now lost); Varner 2004, 267, no. 5.25; Prusac 2011, 138, no. 134; Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 61160; Varner 2004, 268, no. 5.26, fig. 127a–d; Sabratha, Museum; Varner 2004, 268, no. 5.27, fig. 124; Prusac 2011, 138, no. 130; Split, Archaeological Museum, inv. 222; Varner 2004, 268, no. 5.28, fig. 125a–b; Prusac 2011, 138, no. 137, fig. 5a–d; Venice, Museo Archeologico, inv. 249; Varner 2004, 269, cat. 5.29, fig. 126a–c. The colossal portrait of Trajan from the Roman theater at Corinth mentioned in conjunction with the Olympia portrait as possibly reworked (Goette and Hitzl 1987, 292) is apparently not recarved (Sturgeon 2004, 64).

63 On the differentiation present in Trajan's first portrait type, especially

Approximately one century later, the notion of imperial doubles comes to the fore with the twinned adolescent portraits of the imperial brothers Caracalla and Geta, and the boyhood portraits of the cousins, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.⁶⁴ While Caracalla and Geta's first portrait types are quite distinctive, their second types are virtually indistinguishable from one another. Caracalla's first type in use from 196–204 presents him with a full head of curly Antonine hair, underscoring his newly acquired nomenclature, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, as seen in a replica in the Sala dei Busti of the Vatican (fig. 13).⁶⁵ In contradistinction, Geta's first portrait in use from 197–204 type employs long, comma shaped locks which are centrally parted in order to emphasize his maternal links, through Julia Domna, to the Rome's first dynasty, the Julio-Claudians, as in a replica in the Galleria Chiaramonti of the Vatican (fig. 14).⁶⁶ In their subsequent types introduced in 204, however, both boys appear with closely cropped military coiffures and close-shaven beards and at least 25 surviving portraits have been variously assigned to Caracalla or Geta's second type.⁶⁷ Indeed, K. Fittschen and P. Zanker found the group so similar that they refused to distinguish individual identities and labeled them all "*Caracalla or Geta*."⁶⁸ Nevertheless at least nine of the portraits are characterized by a central part in the short fringe of locks over the forehead, a trait maintained from Geta's first portrait type and should at least initially be associated with Geta, including an example in the Galleria Chiaramonti of the Vatican (fig. 15).⁶⁹ In addition five of these portraits with central part, including two portraits in Ostia, as well as the heads in Florence and

representations recarved from Domitian, see Fittschen 2011, 250 and n. 19.

⁶⁴ For the doubling of Caracalla and Geta, see Kampen 2009, 82–103.

⁶⁵ 63, inv. 646; Spinola 1999, 100–101, no. 63.

⁶⁶ 3.16, inv. 1238; Liverani 1989, 17.

⁶⁷ On the problems of identification, see most recently, and persuasively, Pollini 2005.

⁶⁸ Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 102–5, cat. 88–90.

⁶⁹ On the central part as an identifying characteristic of Geta's type 2, see Varner 2004, 169–70 and Pollini 2005, 65–73. The nine type 2 portraits of Geta: Florence, Palazzo Pitti, inv. 1036; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 104, cat. 89, no. 3; Pollini 2005, 73, no. 7; Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. MF 1347; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 104, cat. 89, no. 2; Pollini 2005, 73, no. 1; Ostia, Museo, inv. 435, h. 0.30 m; Calza 1977, 53–4, no. 67, pl. 51; Pollini 2005, 73, no. 6; Ostia, Museo, inv. 15909, h. 0.14 m; Calza 1977, 52–3, no. 65; Pollini 2005, 73, no. 9; Rome, Museo Capitolino, Salone 51, inv. 675, h. 0.52 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 105, no. 90, pl. 109 (subsequently



13 Portrait of Caracalla, Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti 63, inv. 646

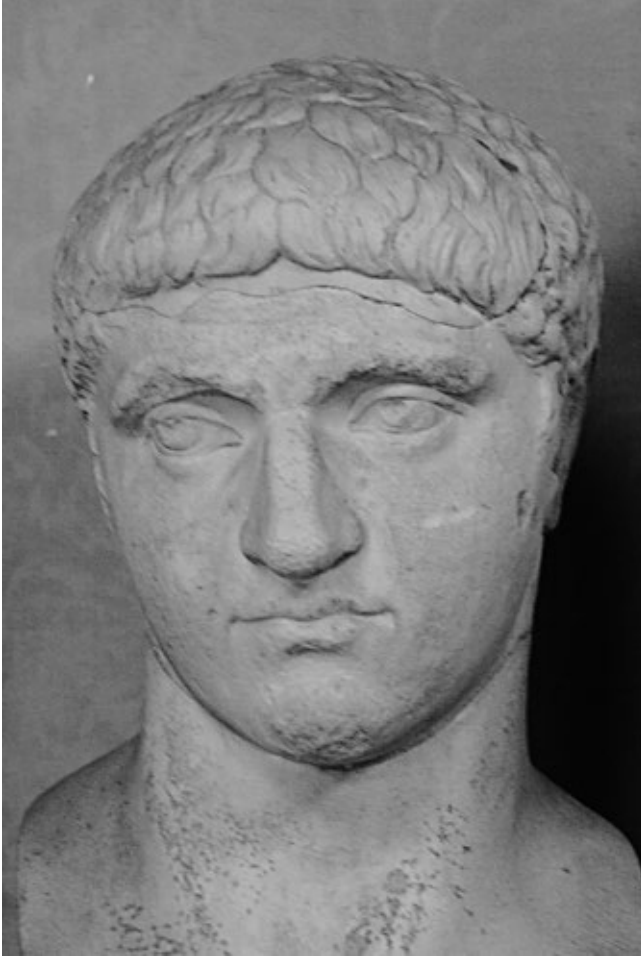
reworked in the middle of the third century); Pollini 2005, 73, no. 2; Rome, Museo Capitolino, Salone 40, inv. 660, h. 0.615 m; Fittschen and Zanker 2005, 104–5, cat. 89, pl. 107–8; Pollini 2005, 73, no. 8, fig. 16a–b; Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti 31.15, inv. 1682; Liverani 1989, 72;



14 Portrait of Geta, Rome, Musei Vaticani,
Galleria Chiaramonti 3.16, inv. 1238

(formerly) Tripoli have been intentionally mutilated or decapitated as a result of Geta's memory sanctions and they confirm their identification with the younger brother. The type 2 portraits of the brothers represent a sliding scale of individual identity and surviving likenesses with a slightly off-center parting of the locks over the forehead are almost impossible to

Pollini 2005, 73, no. 5; Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, inv. Arch. 68/1; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 102, cat. 88, no. 3; (formerly) Tripoli, Museum (from the *dextrarum iunctio* scene of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna; Pollini 2005, 73, no. 4, fig. 15.



15 Portrait of Geta, Rome, Musei Vaticani,
Galleria Chiaramonti 31.15, inv. 682

assign with certainty to one brother or the other. One of these portraits in Guelma, however, preserves clear evidence of intentional mutilation, and should perhaps more plausibly be identified as Geta.⁷⁰ Because of the close iconographical proximity between the type two portraits, it

⁷⁰ Musée Archéologique; Varner 2004, 171, 183, 186, 277–8, no. 7.6; Pollini 2005, 74, no. 7 (Caracalla ‘Successor Type 2’).

seems most likely that the remaining four portraits of Geta which were not intentionally mutilated may simply have been given a new identity as Caracalla by emending their identifying inscriptions.

Portraits of the last two Severan emperors, Elagabalus and Severus Alexander exhibited a similar fluidity and their identities were exchanged relatively easily. After Elagabalus's assassination on 22 March A.D. 222, four of his images were reconfigured as his younger cousin and successor, Severus Alexander. The initial images of both boys were very similar with closely cropped coiffures. A head in the Centrale Montemartini in Rome has been transformed from Elagabalus's first type into a version of Severus Alexander's most youthful likenesses, in use between 222 and 225.⁷¹ It is also possible that, as with the second portrait types of Caracalla and Geta, surviving replicas of Elagabalus's initial portraits could have been recycled as early images of Severus Alexander through re-inscription.⁷² Two additional portraits of Elagabalus's second type with fuller, more curled hairstyle in Rome and Kansas City have been recast into Severus Alexander's more mature likenesses.⁷³ Both heads retain elements of Elagabalus's original coiffure which create a dual identity, combining iconographical details of both cousins' portraiture. A third 'unfinished' portrait of Elagabalus' second type in Oslo may actually be in the process of being recarved, most likely as Severus Alexander.⁷⁴

71 Centrale Montemartini 2.81, inv. 10476; h. 0.255 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 121–22, no. 101, pl. 124; Varner 2004, 190, 280–81, no. 7.19; Prusac 2011, 141, no. 200, fig. 15a–d.

72 Three very well preserved portraits of Elagabalus's first type may either have been stored or reinscribed: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 756a, inv. 2073, h. 0.52 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 114, no. 1, Beil. 81a, 82; Johansen 1999, 42, no. 12; Gotha, Landesmuseum; Fittschen and Zanker 1999, 114, no. 2, Beil. 81c–d; Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 1077; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 114, no. 3, Beil. 81b; De Kersauson 1996, 392, no. 180 'Geta'. Indeed, the permeable boundaries in the youthful iconography of all four of the young Severan emperors has led de Kersauson to assign this whole group to Geta rather than Elagabalus.

73 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme, inv. 329, h. 0.59 m; Varner 2004, 280, no. 7.18, fig. 194a–c; Prusac 2011, 141, no. 199, fig. 13a–c; Kansas City, Nelson Atkins Museum, inv. 45–66, h. 0.31 m; Varner 2004, 279, no. 7.16, fig. 195a–c; Prusac 2011, 142, no. 203.

74 Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet, inv. 1434, 0.34 m; Sande 1991, 78, no. 64, pl. 63; Prusac 2011, 141, no. 198, fig. 14a–c.

A colossal statue of Elagabalus transformed to Severus Alexander employs the same combinative approach that was used for the bronze Domitian/Nerva from Misenum (fig. 16a–b).⁷⁵ The statue originally formed part of the Casali collection in Rome before being acquired by the Farnese. Very unusually for marble portraits, the face of the statue, originally depicting Elagabalus has been sliced off and replaced with a new visage of Severus Alexander exactly as in the Misenum bronze. Severus Alexander's hair-style no longer matches the curly coiffure of Elagabalus's second portrait type, which covers the back of the head. Like the Domitian/Nerva the resulting image is a stark composite.

M. Gleason has recently framed the mutilation and transformation of imperial images during the Severan period in terms of identity theft and doubling that provoke a profound 'identity crisis'.⁷⁶ The highly self-referential resemblances amongst emperors, as well as their various heirs as constituted in sculpted likenesses certainly destabilized the imperial image in the late second and early third century. Particularly for Cassius Dio, a contemporary eyewitness and later historian of the political transitions at this time, the hermeneutical relationship between appearance and reality becomes compromised and problematized.⁷⁷ The permeable portraits of Caracalla and Geta's second type, as well as the fused and hybrid identities of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander would have contributed to Dio's unease over the lack of permanence in imperial status and identity, as well as the instability of imperial succession.⁷⁸

As the preponderance of reconfigured portraits, especially of the first century suggests, artists and patrons made conscious aesthetic and ideological choices that reveal distinctly positive motives in the repurposing of imperial images that create dynamic friction with competing imperatives for eradication or obliteration of memory. Not all transformations, however, were occasioned by memory sanctions. Already in the early imperial period there is evidence for reconfigurations intended to capitalize on affirmative associations of the original. A bronze equestrian portrait of Alexander by Lysippus was reconfigured as Julius Caesar in the latter's

⁷⁵ Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 5993, h. 3.79 m; Varner 2004, 121, n. 70, 190–91, 276, 279–80, no. 7.17; fig. 193a–c; Gasparri 2009, 198–200, no. 83, fig. 72.1–6 (C. Capaldi); Prusac 2011, 142, no. 202.

⁷⁶ Gleason 2011, 8.

⁷⁷ Gleason 2011, 5–7, 10–12.

⁷⁸ On "unstable identity" and the instability of the imperial succession, see Gleason 2011, 44.



16a Statue of Elagabalus / Severus Alexander, Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 5993

Forum. The transformation was presumably carried out under Augustus, but the earlier identity as Alexander is still very well known when Statius composes the *Silvae* at the end of the first century A.D. and compares the Equus Domitiani to the hybrid Alexander-Caesar.⁷⁹ Under Claudius,

⁷⁹ *Silvae* 1.84–90; Vout 2008, 162–3.



16b Statue of Elagabalus / Severus Alexander, Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 5993

two painted portraits of Alexander by Apelles in the Forum of Augustus were refashioned with new portrait likenesses of Augustus and carefully recalibrated within the conscious evocations of Alexander's memory which pervaded the Forum's artistic program.⁸⁰ Later in the fourth century, bronze statues which seem to have originally depicted Augustus and Agrippa and that decorated the Pons Agrippae were modified with new portrait heads of Valens and Valentinian.⁸¹

Although the re-dedication of portrait statues was openly derided by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 31) and Favorinus (*Or.* 37), earlier Greek portraits were routinely reused as Roman likenesses, with the phenomenon particularly widespread at Athens where numerous portrait dedications were re-inscribed.⁸² There, statues of the Attalids were reused as

⁸⁰ Pliny *NH* 35.10.27, 93–4; Zanker 1984, 22–3; Parisi Presicce 1994, 172.

⁸¹ Coarelli 1999, 107.

⁸² Keesling 2007, 147–50; Shear 2007; Platt 2007; Keesling 2010; Krumeich 2010.

representations of Agrippa, Octavian and Tiberius. Again, these were not acts of denigration, but to reinforce notions of dynastic continuity between the kings of Pergamum and Rome.⁸³ In fact the re-dedication to Agrippa on the Akropolis, replaced an earlier reconfiguration of the monument in honor of Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra.⁸⁴ At least for the imperial re-inscriptions, it seems likely that modifications must have been carried out to the portraits, so that they bore some typological resemblance to more standard likenesses visible elsewhere in the city.

At the outset of Nero's principate one of the emperor's type 2 portraits in the Sala dei Busti of the Vatican was recrafted from a type 5 likeness of Augustus's oldest grandson and heir, Gaius Caesar (fig. 17).⁸⁵ Gaius's hairstyle with its reversed arrangement of Augustus's Prima Porta hairstyle is still clearly visible above the new row of Neronian locks with central part that have been carved into the forehead. The locks remaining from Gaius's coiffure resemble the secondary row of locks often present in Nero's type 2 portraits, as seen notably in a head in the Museo Capitolino.⁸⁶ Gaius's memory, of course, was never subjected to any sanctions, and the redaction of this image may have been intended to link Augustus's first heir with his very last. Nero's reclamation of the Vatican portrait of an esteemed relative does not appear to be unique. At Saepinum, a portrait statue of Nero's great grandfather Drusus was originally erected c. A.D. 4 but its base was re-inscribed in 57 in honor of Nero, suggesting that, like the Vatican Gaius/Nero, the new portrait was of Nero's second type; viewers at Saepinum would likely have been very familiar with the original statue of Drusus and could easily interpret the visual elision between Drusus and his great grandson, the new emperor.⁸⁷ Even after the reconfiguration of the portrait dedication, the memory of Drusus remained powerful at Saepinum as he featured prominently in

83 Moreno 1994, 566–7; Calcani 2001, 96; Keesling 2010, 306–8; Krumeich 2010, 331–2.

84 *IG 2/3*² 4122; Keesling 2010, 307–8.

85 385, inv. 591, h. 0.28 m; Pollini 1987, 13, 62, 66–7, 101, no. 20 (with earlier literature); Croisille 1999, 405, fig. 26; Meyer 2000, 56, fig. 102; Pollini 2010, 37–8; Prusac 2010, 134, no. 50, fig. 1a–b.

86 Stanza degli Imperatori 4, inv. 418, h. 0.32 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 17–18, no. 17, pl. 17 (with earlier literature); La Rocca et al. 2011, 264, no. 4.11 (M. Cadario); Tomei and Rea 2011, 232, no. 2.

87 see Højte 2005, 320, Nero 10.



17 Portrait of Gaius Caesar/Nero, Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti 3, inv. 591

the inscriptions over the city gate put up in 2–1 B.C.⁸⁸ Favorinus also describes as pre-existing statue of Alcibiades that was rededicated to Nero.⁸⁹

While their memories were still held in esteem, Gaius and Drusus were not emperors and anecdotes concerning *maiestas* legislation in conjunction with images of Divus Augustus under Tiberius suggest that alteration of images of revered *principes* was actively discouraged.⁹⁰ In the mid second century, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus also refused to allow the recycling of silver statues of their predecessors at Ephesus, despite the fact that some of the images were no longer identifiable.⁹¹ Nevertheless, portraits of individuals who never suffered memory sanctions, or who were even deified, were in fact recycled. On some levels, these reconfigurations must have intended to access the positive associations of the original image. A sardonix cameo of Domitia Longina in Stuttgart has been reclaimed from a pre-existing cameo of Drusilla, whose deification survived the assassination of her brother Caligula.⁹² The hair over the forehead and the entire face has been recut into Domitia's first portrait type, created at the time of her marriage to Domitian in 71, but the back of the coiffure has been largely retained from the original likeness of Drusilla.⁹³ The repurposing of this cameo may have been part of a conscious campaign on the part of the women

88 *CIL* 9.2443; Champlin 2011, 89. Champlin underscores the extraordinary nature of this inscription which features both Tiberius and Drusus as the patrons responsible for the rebuilding of the city's towers and gates, despite the fact that Drusus had been dead at least six years.

89 Dio Chrysostom (Favorinus) 37.40; Shear 2007, 241.

90 Suet. *Tib.* 58; Tac. *Ann.* 1.74. Later, under Claudius, a bronze statue of Divus Augustus was removed from the site of public executions in order that it not witness unseemly bloodshed and Claudius was criticized for his hypocrisy in removing the inanimate likeness from scenes of the same kind of slaughter that he frequently enjoyed watching at spectacles (Dio 60.13.3). Dio also reports that a woman was put on trial and executed for undressing in front of an image of Domitian (67.12.2). Both anecdotes are actually critical of the hyper-sensitivity surrounding imperial portraits under more tyrannical *principes*.

91 Oliver 1941, 93–6; Fejfer 2008, 391–2.

92 Drusilla/Domitia (Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, inv. KK 317, 8.0 × 7.8 cm; Megow 1987, 263–4, no. B.31, pl. 38.1; Alexandridis 2004, no. 158, pl. 57.6; Alexandridis 2010, 214 fig. 6.

93 For Domitia's first portrait type see, Varner 1995, 189–93; On Drusilla's portraiture, see Wood 1995.

of the Flavian house, Julia Titi and Domitia, to stress their linkages to their Julio-Claudian predecessors.⁹⁴

In the Severan period, a chalcedony cameo in Kassel of Faustina the Younger as Victory was recarved to represent Julia Domna (fig. 18).⁹⁵ Again, the transformation of the cameo was not occasioned by memory sanctions, but likely intended to link the Severan and Antonine empresses. Septimius Severus forcefully positioned his own dynasty as an extenuation of the Antonines and renamed his elder son Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, so it is not surprising that his wife would be assimilated with the wife of Marcus. With its remnants of Faustina's hairstyle conjoined with Julia Domna's physiognomy, the cameo constitutes a hybrid visual identity. Indeed, the two women are further associated on coins and inscriptions by their extensive employment of the new title *Mater Castrorum*, Mother of the Camps, first formulated for Faustina and awarded to Julia Domna in 195; the military connotations of the cameo's imagery, with the empress presented as victory seated on a pile of captured arms and armor would have clear associations with this new title.

Prior to the middle of the third century, the positive reclamations attested by the Gaius/Nero, the Drusus statue at Saepinum transformed to Nero, or the cameos of Drusilla/Domita and Faustina Minor / Julia Domna was a very restricted phenomenon, but the principate of Gallienus witnesses a substantial shift in emphasis among repurposed imperial images with monuments of revered predecessors recast to celebrate the reigning emperor. By the middle of the third century, the doubling of imperial identity encompasses the pairing of good emperors, as a way of reactivating the memory and monuments of revered predecessors rather than simply re-inscribing the monuments of overthrown predecessors.

Gallienus's earliest portrait type, in use while he was co-ruler with his father Valerian, had consciously sought to associate the young emperor with the Julio-Claudians, both through the distinctive comma shaped locks over the forehead which have been added to the closely cropped third century military coiffure, as well as its more classicizing and idealizing handling of the facial features that rejected the intense psychological verism of many of his predecessors' images. A portrait of this type in

⁹⁴ Alexandridis 2010, 214.

⁹⁵ Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 16.3 × 10.7 cm; Megow 1987, 270–71, no. B 52, pl. 46.8, 47.2, 48.12; Alexandridis 2004, 205–206, no. 233, pl. 60.3; E. Zwielerlein-Diehl 2008, 202, fig. 753; La Rocca and Tortorella 2008, 225, no. 2. 4. 19 (E. Laurenzi).



18 Kameo with Portrait of Faustina Minor / Julia Domna, Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. Ge 236



19 Portrait of Gallienus, Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori 57, inv. 360

the Museo Capitolino illustrates the retrospective trends in the young emperor's imagery (fig. 19).⁹⁶ The retrospection continues in his later portrait types, which deliberately recall representations of Hadrian. Thus

96 Stanza degli Imperatori 57, inv. 360, h. 0.35 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 134–6, no. 112, pl. 139–40.

it is unsurprising that several of Gallienus's portraits have been recarved from earlier likenesses, including Hadrianic and Julio-Claudian images.⁹⁷ Representations in Rome, Palermo, Berlin, and the Louvre and Castel Howard have all been reclaimed from pre-existing likenesses of Hadrian.⁹⁸ The Palermo head, a replica of Gallienus's second portrait type is likely to have been refashioned from Hadrian's Baiae type judging from the clumps of curls clustered at either temple and the arrangement of hair on the nape of the neck below and behind the left ear. The Louvre head, a replica of Gallienus's third type (Copenhagen 768—Palazzo Corsini type) has a similar arrangement of locks behind the right ear indicating that it, too, may be derived from the Baiae type. The fullness and general orientation of the locks over the ears of the portrait in the Museo Torlonia suggest that it, too, is derived from Hadrian's Baiae type. The representations in Berlin and Castel Howard are replicas of Gallienus's first type, but the sculptural volume of the beards and coiffures has been retained from the initial configuration as Hadrian. The remnants of the Hadrianic originals underlying all these portraits reaffirm in an especially concrete manner the stylistic, iconographic and cultural affinities between Gallienus and Hadrian. An over-lifesized/colossal portrait in Copenhagen pursues Julio-Claudian connections and it has likely been recycled from a portrait of Augustus himself.⁹⁹ The long curving locks above the ears and the locks swept forward on the nape of the neck have been retained from the Julio-Claudian original and find echoes in Augustus's *prima-porta* type, as well as representations of his successors. The shape of the thin upper lip also exhibits close parallels to Augustus's representations.

Additionally, Gallienus seems to have recycled an important public monument originally created to celebrate Hadrian. The Arco di Portogallo, which spanned the Via Flaminia, was assembled sometime in the mid-third century and recuperated two Hadrianic reliefs depicting the

⁹⁷ For Gallienus's recut portraits, see Prusac 2011, 142–3, nos. 210–20.

⁹⁸ Rome, Museo Torlonia, Museo Torlonia, inv. 603; Prusac 2006, 113, fig. 6; Prusac 2011, 142, no. 212, fig. 19; Palermo, Museo Nazionale, inv. 18592, h. 0.30 m; N. Bonacasa 1964, 113–4, no. 147, pl. 67.3–4; Prusac 2011, 143, no. 220; Berlin, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen, inv. R114; Prusac 2006, 113, fig. 5; Prusac 2011, 142, no. 212, fig. 19; Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 1223, h. 0.85 m; De Kersauson 1996, 484–5, no. 228; M. Prusac 2011, 142, no. 211; Castel Howard, Borg et al. 2005, 115, no. 61, pl. 62 (Borg).

⁹⁹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. 832; Johansen 1995, 53, no. 53; Prusac 2011, 142, no. 219, fig. 21a–b.

apotheosis of Sabina and a scene of adlocutio or adoption (fig. 20).¹⁰⁰ Both reliefs were heavily restored or recut in antiquity and E. La Rocca has suggested, that they were repurposed by Gallienus and the portraits in the apotheosis scene recarved to depict Gallienus and his mother Mariniana.¹⁰¹ As with the portraits in the round reconfigured from pre-existing Hadrianic likenesses, the re-use of the Hadrianic reliefs would have been intended to leverage Gallienus's connection to a revered and deified predecessor, whose temple was located nearby. Diocletian and Maximian would similarly re-incorporate Julio-Claudian and Antonine reliefs into the Arcus Novus, also spanning the Via Flaminia not far from the Arco di Portogallo.¹⁰² The Arcus Novus, celebrated the decennalia of Diocletian (and Maximian) in 293 and the reused reliefs contain two recarved portrait heads, one of them possibly from Claudius.¹⁰³ Both arches' new emphasis on recuperating the remains of the imperial past visually express the cultural and political renovation to which both Gallienus and the Tetrarchs aspired.

Shortly after the dedication of the Arcus Novus, the complex and complicated imperial identities embedded in repurposed images find their most monumental expression in the largest surviving portrait from Rome, the colossus now in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, originally conceived as a colossal representation of Hadrian, but then re-elaborated as Maxentius at the beginning of the fourth century, and finally reconfigured as Constantine between 312–15 (fig. 21).¹⁰⁴ The coiffure

100 Torelli 1993.

101 La Rocca 1986, 29–30; Kleiner 1992, 134, 235, 445; Kinney 1997, 133–4; Prusac 2006, 115; Prusac 2011, 52; S. Tortorello in La Rocca et al. 2011, 309.

102 Laubscher 1976; Torelli 1993b; Kinney 1997, 129–33, 145–6; Prusac 2011, 17–62.

103 Cagianò de Azevedo 1951, 40, no. 11, pl. 5, 46–8, no. 21, pl. 19.

104 The portrait represents Constantine's second portrait type introduced in 311 to mark his *quinquennalia* as Caesar, which is the same type employed for the recut portraits on the Arch of Constantine; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 149; L'Orange 1984, 77. The portrait has been connected with Eusebius's account of a statue of Constantine in Rome that was transformed into a great trophy (μέγα τρόπαιον) celebrating the battle of the Milvian bridge by having a cross added to the emperor's hand (*Eccl. Hist.* 9.9.10–11); L'Orange 1984, 71–4, 125. Neither of the surviving right hands associated with the colossus necessarily support an identification of the Conservatori colossus with Eusebius's statue and its reconfiguration from a pre-existing likeness of Maxentius may preclude it. Eusebius's account may also be apocryphal and part of his agenda to accentuate Constantine's Christianity.



20 Relief depicting the Apotheosis of Sabina, Arco di Portogallo, Rom, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. 1213

over both the left and right temples has been extensively re-adapted with separately worked pieces of marble.¹⁰⁵ The large cavity for the insertion of the left hand section is visible at the top of the head, while the right hand section is still in situ. Maxentius's sideburns and the upper sections of his short beard have been cut back, but slightly raised surfaces

¹⁰⁵ Parisi Presicce 2006, 149, fig. 61–62.



21 Portrait of Maxentius/Constantine, Rome,
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile, inv. 1622

in front of the ears remain; because of the restricted volumes available in this area, the full, more plastically modeled curls of Constantine's sideburns were added as separately worked pieces of marble. The marble section comprising the right curls are still extant in the storerooms of the Musei Capitolini and the square mortises for affixing both are still clearly

visible.¹⁰⁶ Despite its substantial revisions, the colossal image generally maintains the configuration of the mouth and eyes from the Maxentian original, as seen in his unaltered likeness in Rome, Stockholm, Dresden and Hannover.¹⁰⁷

Both the Parian marble from which the portrait was initially carved, as well as the unusual creased earlobes characteristic of Hadrian's portraiture confirm the portrait's initial incarnation as Hadrian.¹⁰⁸ As with his reconstruction of Hadrian's temple of Venus and Roma, Maxentius sought to align himself with Hadrian through the re-use of the colossal statue. The second refashioning into Constantine effectively created a tripartite image, with distinctly Hadrianic, Maxentian, and Constantinian overtones, as Constantine sought to expropriate Maxentius's extensive monumental legacy.

The colossus, however, was not an isolated act of excerpition and both Maxentius and Constantine freely adapted surviving images of their revered predecessors. Two additional portraits of Maxentius, in Ostia and formerly Rome were redacted from representations of Augustus¹⁰⁹ The Ostian head, from the Porta Marina baths, is colossal in scale and enough remains of the original coiffure to identify the Augustan original. The resulting portrait collapses the identities of Rome's first emperor, with its current ruler Maxentius, who sought to rival Augustus as a new founder of Rome with his ambitious program of architectural construction and renewal. The second portrait in a private Roman collection retains enough of its original coiffure to suggest that it originally depicted Augustus as well.

106 Magazzino Sculture del Palazzo Nuovo, Musei Capitolini, inv. 102, h. 0.23 m; Parisi Presicce 2006, 148, fig. 60.

107 Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. 600; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 300, fig. 56; Dresden, Albertinum, Skulpturensammlung, 406, h. 0.264 m; L'Orange 1984, 35, 114, pl. 27 a–b; Evers 1992, 11–21, fig. 2, 8, 14; Varner 2008, 147–50, fig. 16; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 297, fig. 53a–b; National Museum, inv. 106; L'Orange 1984, 35, 115–6, pl. 27c–d; Evers 1992, 11–21, fig. 6, 10, 13; Varner 2004, 216–7, 220, 286, no. 9.1; fig. 208a–b; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 298, fig. 54; Hannover, Kestner-Museum, inv. 1979.1, h. 0.492 m; Evers 1992, 9–21, fig. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12; Varner 2004, 219; no. 600, L'Orange 1984, 35, 115, pl. 26a–b; Evers 1992, 11–12; Varner 2004, 219.

108 On the Hadrianic aspects of the ear, see Evers 1990; Ruck 2007, 242–3; on the Parian marble, see Pensabene et al. 2002.

109 Museo, inv. 70; Blanck 1969, 54, no. A 31, pl. 22–3; Romeo 1999, 211, fig. 31–2 (with earlier literature); Prusac 2011, 143, no. 233; Parisi Presicce 2012, 110; (formerly) Rome, private collection; Giuliano 1991, 7, fig. 5–8.

In addition to the Colossus, Constantine expropriated at least three other images of his rival Maxentius,¹¹⁰ but he also reconfigured several images of revered earlier emperors Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian. Indeed, the majority of Constantine's surviving type 2 portraits have been reconfigured from pre-existing likenesses.¹¹¹ At least two portraits of Constantine's second type, from Bolsena and (formerly) in a private collection in London have been extracted from likenesses of Augustus.¹¹² A portrait from the Giustiniani collection now in New York and a head in the Prado have been refashioned from Trajan, while a likeness in the Torlonia collection retains much of Hadrian's type 2 (Chiaramonti 392) coiffure.¹¹³

110 Rome, Campidoglio, cuirassed statue from the Baths of Maxentius and Constantine on the Quirinal; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 144–5, no. 120, pl. 149–50; Varner 2004, 218, 286, no. 9.2, fig. 211; Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza terrena a destra 1.25, inv. 1769, h. 0.35 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 143–44, no. 119, pl. 148; Varner 2004, 218, 286, no. 9.3, fig. 210a–c; Prusac 2011, 149, no. 330; Rome, Ss. Giovanni in Laterano, narthex; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 144, no. 120, n. 3; 147, no. 121, n. 10; 151, no. 122, rep. C 13; S. Ensoli in Ensoli and La Rocca 2000, 78, fig. 25; Varner 2004, 218–9.

111 Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 149–51; Knudsen 1988; Evers 1991, 799–800; Romeo 1999; Schäfer 1999; Hannestad 2007; La Rocca and Zanker 2007; Ambrogi 2010, 342, n. 111.

112 Bolsena, now Viterbo, Museo, formerly Rome, Villa Giulia, inv. 104973, h. 0.375 m; Giuliano 1991, 3–6, fig. 1–4; Giuliano 1997, pl. 7.3–4; London; Giuliano 1991, 7–8, fig. 9–11; Giuliano 1997; Romeo 1999, 214, fig. 34–6.

113 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.229; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 150 no. 8; Schäfer 1999; Madrid, Prado, inv. 125 E, h. 0.26 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 149–50, no. 3; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 147; Schröder 1993, 296–8, no. 89, Rome, Museo Torlonia 619; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 150–1, no. 11; Evers 1991, 799–800, fig. 9; Prusac 2011, 152, no. 396, fig. 107. Other type 2 portraits which exhibit signs of recarving are: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 774a, inv. 3147; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 150, no. 7; Johansen 1995b, 170, no. 74; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 302, fig. 58a–d; Grottaferrata, Museum, inv. 1149 Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 149, no. 1; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 303; Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti, 35.16, inv. 1749; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 150, no. 10; Rome, Palazzo Mattei, Cortile; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, no. 6; Evers 1991, 799, who suggests the possibility that it is recarved from an ideal Polykleitan composition, such as Dresden youth or the 'Narcissus'; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 301, fig. 57, possibly recarved from Antinous; Tunis, Musée du Bardo inv. C 77; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 150, no. 4; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 304, fig. 59a–b, possibly recarved from Nero type 4. Two additional type 2 likeness have

In addition, an 'unfinished' portrait of Trajan in Rome is far more likely to be in the process of being reconceived as Constantine.¹¹⁴

A number of representations of Constantine's mother, Helena have also been transfigured from earlier Antonine representations. Two seated statues of Helena as Venus in Rome and Florence have been redacted from images of Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius and wife of Lucius Verus (fig. 22a–b).¹¹⁵ Both retain clear traces of Lucilla's waved type 2 coiffure. A portrait of Helena in Vienna, has been reconfigured from a likeness of Lucilla's mother, Faustina Minor.¹¹⁶ The reuse of these Antonine models may have been partially inspired by the formal relationships between the coiffures of Helena, and those of Lucilla and Faustina, but like the retropective coiffures themselves, they link Helena with the ideals of the high empire of the Antonines in much the same way as the re-use of the Aurelian panels on the arch of Constantine reconstitute Constantine as a new Marcus Aurelius, whose position as the paradigmatical 'good' emperor was already firmly established.¹¹⁷

As the plethora of reconceived imperial likenesses from the later third and early fourth century attests, reconfiguration remained a vital and viable response to imperial identity that was not strictly limited to the visual cannibalism of portraits of condemned emperors as a result of memory sanctions. Reworked portraits establish both an aesthetic

been recrafted from representations of Domitian; Rome, Mercati Traianei, FT 10337; La Rocca and Zanker 2007; Hannestad 2007, 103, fig. 11, 13; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 309, fig. 61a–c; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 89.6; Varner 2004, 269, no. 530, fig. 129a–d; Prusac 2011, 147, no. 308.

114 Palazzo dei Conservatori, Giardino Romano 26, inv. 1292, h. 0.61 m; Fittschen and Zanker 1985, 42–3, no. 43, pl. 48; Prusac 2006, 25–6, fig. 18–19; Prusac 2011, 148, no. 314.

115 Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori, inv. 496; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 35–6, no. 38, pl. 47–8; Arata 1993, 185–200, pl. 42–5; Varner 2004, 273, no. 6.1, fig. 150 a–b; Hannestad 2007, 105, fig. 16; Prusac 2011, 157, no. 482, fig. 151a–d.; Florence Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1914.171, h. 1.0 m; Mansuelli 1961, 131, no. 171, fig. 168a–c; Varner 2004, 5, n. 20, 97, 150–1, 154, 272, no. 6.11; fig. 151 a–b; Prusac 2011, 156, no. 484.

116 Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. I 1497; Hannestad 2007, 110, fig. 20; Prusac 2011, 157, no. 486, fig. 152a–b.

117 See already Dio 72 (71, 36.4) in the early third century for the χρυσούς βασιλείας of Marcus Aurelius and the Antonines coming to an end with Marcus's death. See also Baharal 1997, 58–9. For Marcus in late antiquity, see Hunt 1995, and Kelly 2005.



22a Statue of Lucilla/Helena, Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori, inv. 496

system and an ideology of alteration intended to formulate hybrid entities, which fused old and new portrait features and skillfully annexed any lingering positive associations of the original. The repurposing of images recombined representations of emperors both 'good' and 'bad' and therefore cannot be simply categorized as bald attempts at cancellation or repudiation, but should rather be viewed as subtle negotiation and manipulation of visual memory. While on the one hand, the



22b Statue of Lucilla/Helena, Rome, Museo Capitolino, Stanza degli Imperatori, inv. 496

transformation of imperial images sought to confirm legitimacy and stability for new regimes and dynasties, they also reveal the incredibly fluid nature of imperial identity. Uncoupled from strict indexical relationships, reconfigured portraits with their elastic personalities constitute a dynamic and lasting corollary to real political change and the ongoing struggles to establish legitimate, if at times ambiguous, imperial identities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexandridis, A. 2004** *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses. Eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna*. Mainz.
- Alexandridis, A. 2010** "The Other Side of the Coin: The Women of the Flavian Imperial Family." In *Tradition und Erneuerung. Mediale Strategien in der Zeit der Flavier*, edited by N. Kramer and C. Reitz, 191–238, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 285. Berlin, New York.
- Ambrogio, A. 2009–10** "Una statua togata dal 'Ginasio Romano' di Siracusa: un caso di riempiego nella Sicilia tardoantica," *RendPontAcc* 82: 293–371.
- Anderson, J.C. jr. 1983** "A Topographical Tradition in the Fourth Century Chronicles. Domitian's Building Program," *Historia* 32: 93–105.
- Arata, F.P. 1993** "La statue seduta dell'Imperatrice Helena nel Museo Capitolino. Nuove considerazioni conseguenti il recente restauro," *RM* 100: 185–200.
- Assmann, J. 2006** *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Stanford.
- Baharal, D. 1999** "The Emperor Macrinus. Imperial Propaganda and the *Gens Aurelia*." In *Gli imperatori Severi: Storia, archeologia, religione*, edited by E. Dal Covolo and G. Rinaldi, 47–68. Rome.
- Barbanera, M. and A. Freccero (eds.) 2008** *Collezione di antichità di Palazzo Lancellotti ai Coronari. Archeologia, architettura, restauro*. Rome.
- Barrett, A. 1989** *Caligula. The Corruption of Power*. New Haven.
- Bergmann, M. 2007** "Bildnisse der Tetrarchenzeit." In *Konstantin der Grosse*, edited by A. Demandt and J. Engemann, 58–71. Trier.
- Bergmann, M. and P. Zanker 1981** "'Damnatio Memoriae'. Umgearbeitete Nero- und Domitiansporträts. Zur Ikonographie der flavischen Kaiser und des Nerva," *JdI* 96: 317–412.
- Bernoulli, J.J. 1891** *Römische Ikonographie* 2.2. Leipzig.
- Bertoletti, M. and E. La Rocca 1986** "I rilievi dell' arco di Portogallo." In *Rilievi storici capitolini*, edited by E. La Rocca, 21–32. Rome.
- Blanck, H. 1969** *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern*. *Studia Archeologica* 11. Rome.
- Bonacasa, N. 1964** *Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia*. Palermo.
- Borg, B., H. von Hesberg and A. Linfert 2005** *Die antiken Skulpturen in Castle Howard*. *Monumenta Artis Romanae* 31. Wiesbaden.

Born, H. and K. Stemmer 1996 *Damnatio Memoriae. Das Berliner Nero-Porträt. Sammlung Axel Guttman* 5. Mainz.

Boschung, D. 1989 *Die Bildnisse des Caligula. Das Römische Herrscherbild* 1.4. Berlin.

Boschung, D. 2002 *Gens Augusta. Untersuchungen zu Aufstellung, Wirkung und Bedeutung der Statuengruppen des julisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses. Monumenta Artis Romanae* 32. Mainz.

Boschung, D. 2007 "Römische Kaiserporträts. Zeichen der Loyalität und Spuren der Revolte." In *Kosmos der Zeichen. Schriftbild und Bildformel in Antike und Mittelalter. Ausstellung im Römisch-Germanischen Museum der Stadt Köln* (26. Juni bis 30. September 2007), 255–268. Wiesbaden.

Bucher, G. and M.C. Freeman 2010 "The 'Joslyn Augustus' and the 'Good, Bad, and Altered' Symposium at Creighton University," *MAAR* 55: 3–14.

Cagiano de Azevedo, M. 1951 *Le antichità di Villa Medici*. Rome.

Calcani, G. 2001 "La serie dei tondi da Adriano a Costantino." In *Adriano e Costantino. Le due fasi dell' Arco nella valle del Colosseo*, edited by M.L. Conforto, A. Melucco Vaccaro, P. Cicerchia, G. Calcani and A.M. Ferroni, 78–102. Rome.

Calza, R. 1964 *Scavi di Ostia* 5. *I ritratti, parte 1*. Rome.

Calza, R. 1977 *Scavi di Ostia* 9. *I ritratti, parte 2*. Rome.

Champlin, E. 1983 "Figlinae Marcianae," *Athenaeum* 61: 269–78.

Champlin, E. 2011 "Tiberius and the Heavenly Twins," *JRS* 101: 73–99.

Coarelli, F. 1999 *LTUR* 4: 107–8, s.v. "Pons Agrippae".

Croisille, J.M. 1999 "Néron dans la statuaire: le problème des identifications et des faux." In *Neronia V. Néron: histoire e légende. Actes du Ve Colloque international de la SIEN (Clermont-Ferrand et Saint-Étienne, 2–6 novembre 1994)*, *Coll. Latomus* 247, edited by J.M. Croisille, R. Martin and Y. Perrin, 397–406. Brussels.

Daltrop, G., U. Hausmann and M. Wegner 1966 *Die Flavier: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Julia Titi, Domitilla, Domitia. Das Römische Herrscherbild* 2.1. Berlin.

Davies, P.J.E. 2000 "What Worse than Nero? What Better Than his Baths?": 'Damnatio Memoriae' and Roman Architecture." In *From Caligula to Constantine. Tyranny and Transformation in Roman Portraiture*, edited by E. Varner, 27–44. Atlanta.

De Jong, J. and O. Hekster 2008 "Damnation, Deification, Commemoration." In *Un Discours en Images de la Condamnation de la Mémoire (Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain D'Histoire, Site de Metz)*, edited by S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey, 79–96. Metz.

De Kersauson, K. 1996 *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des portraits romains* 2. Paris.

De Puma, R. 2010 "Is This Our Princeps? Reflections on an Unusual Augustan Head in Cedar Rapids," *MAAR* 55: 15–22.

Elsner, J. 2003 "Iconoclasm and the Preservation of Memory." In *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, edited by R.S. Nelson and M. Olin, 209–232. Chicago, London.

Ensoli, S. and E. La Rocca 2000 *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana all città cristiana*. Rome.

Evers, C. 1991 "Remarques sur l'iconographie de Constantin. À propos du remploi de portraits des 'bons empereurs'," *MÉFRA* 103.2: 785–806.

Fejfer, J. 2008 *Roman Portraits in Context. Image and Context* 2. Berlin.

Fittschen, K. 2010 "The Portraits of Roman Emperors and Their Families: Controversial Positions and Unsolved Problems." In *The Emperor and Rome. Space, Ritual and Representation*. *Yale Classical Studies* 35, edited by B. Ewald and C. Noreña, 221–46. Cambridge.

Fittschen, K. 2011 "Il fenomeno dell'assimilazione delle immagini nella ritrattistica romana de età imperiale." In *Le Tante Facce del Potere*, edited by E. La Rocca, C. Parisi Pressice and A. Lo Monaco, 247–52. Rome.

Fittschen, K. and P. Zanker 1983 *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* 3. *Kaiserinnen-, Prinzessinnenbildnisse und Frauenporträts*. Mainz.

Fittschen, K. and P. Zanker 1985 *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom* 1. *Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse*. Mainz.

Flower, H.I. 2006 *The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill.

Frischer, B. et al. 2012 *Caligula 3-D. Man, Myth, Emperor*. Richmond.

Galinsky, K. 2008 "Recarved Imperial Portraits: Nuances and Wider Contexts," *MAAR* 53: 1–25.

Gasparri, C. (ed.) 2009 *Le sculture Farnese* 2. *I ritratti*. Verona.

Gasparri, C. (ed.) 2010 *Le sculture Farnese* 3. *Le sculture delle Terme di Caracalla, rilievi e varia*. Verona.

Giuliano, A. (ed.) 1979 *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture* 1.1. Rome.

Giuliano, A. (ed.) 1989 *I Cammei della Collezione Medicea del Museo Archeologico di Firenze*. Rome.

Giuliano, A. 1991 "Augustus-Constantinus," *Bollettino d'Arte* 68–69: 3–10.

Gleason, M. 2011 "Identity Theft: Doubles and Masquerades in Cassius Dio's Contemporary History," *ClAnt* 30.1: 33–86.

Goette, H.R. 1989 *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellung. Beiträge zur Erschließung hellenistischer und kaiserzeitlicher Skulptur und Architektur* 10. Mainz.

- Goette, H.R. and K. Hitzl 1987** "Zwei umgearbeitete Porträtköpfe in Olympia," *AM* 102: 283–93.
- Griffin, M.T. 1984** *Nero, the End of a Dynasty*. New Haven.
- Hallett, C.H. 2005** *The Roman Nude*. Oxford.
- Hunt, D. 1995** "Julian and Marcus Aurelius." In *Ethics and Rhetoric. Classical Essays for Donald Russell on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, edited by D. Innes, H. Hine and C. Pelling, 287–300. Oxford.
- Højte, J.M. 2005** *Roman Imperial Statue Bases from Augustus to Commodus*. Aarhus.
- Johansen, F. 1995** *Roman Portraits 2. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*. Copenhagen.
- Jones, B.W. 1992** *The Emperor Domitian*. London.
- Kampen, N.B. 2009** *Family Fictions in Roman Art*. Cambridge.
- Kelly, G. 2005** "Constantius II, Julian, and the example of Marcus Aurelius (Ammianus Marcellinus XXI, 16,11–12)," *Latomus* 64: 409–416.
- Keesling, C.M. 2007** "Early Hellenistic Portrait Statues on the Athenian Acropolis." In *Early Hellenistic Portraiture. Image, Style, Context*, edited by P. Schultz and R. von den Hoff, 141–60. Cambridge.
- Keesling, C.M. 2010** "The Hellenistic and Roman Afterlives of Dedications on the Akropolis." In *Die Akropolis von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, edited by R. Krumeich and C. Witschel, 303–28. Wiesbaden.
- Kinney, D. 1997** "Spolia. Damnatio and Renovatio Memoriae," *MAAR* 42: 117–48.
- Kleiner, D.E.E. 1992** *Roman Sculpture*. New Haven.
- Knudsen, S.E. 1988** *The Portraits of Constantine the Great: Types and Chronology, A.D. 306–337*. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Kragelund, P. 2006** "Livy, the Savelli, and a Domitian/Nerva in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek," *Journal of the History of Collections* 18.1: 1–7.
- Krumeich, R. 2008** "Formen der statuarischen Repräsentation römischer Honoranden auf der Akropolis von Athen im späten Hellenismus und in der frühen Kaiserzeit." In *Athens During the Roman Period. Recent Discoveries, New Evidence*, edited by S. Vizios, 353–370. Athens.
- Krumeich, R. 2010** "Vor klassischem Hintergrund. Zum Phänomen der Wiederwendung älterer Statuen auf der Athener Akropolis als Ehrenstatuen für Römer." In *Die Akropolis von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, edited by R. Krumeich and C. Witschel, 329–398. Wiesbaden.
- La Rocca, E., ed. 1986** *Rilievi storici Capitolini. Il restauro dei pannelli di Adriano e di Marco Aurelio nel Palazzo dei Conservatori*. Rome.
- La Rocca, E. and P. Zanker 2007** "Il ritratto colossale di Costantino del Foro di Traiano." In *Res bene gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma Antica in onore di Eva Margherita Steinby. LTUR Suppl. IV*, edited by A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker, 145–68. Rome.

La Rocca, E. and S. Tortorella (eds.) 2008 *Trionfi romani*. Rome.

La Rocca, E., C. Parisi Presicce and A. Lo Monaco (eds.) 2011 *Ritratti. Le tante facce del potere*. Rome.

Laubscher, H.P. 1976 "Arcus Novus und Arcus Claudii. Zwei Triumphbögen an der Via Lata in Rom," *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 67–108.

Liverani, P. 1989 *Guide Cataloghi Musei Vaticani 1. Museo Chiaramonti*. Rome.

Mansuelli, G.A. 1961 *Galleria degli Uffizi: le sculture 2*. Rome.

Matz, F. and F. von Duhn 1881 *Antike Bildwerke in Rom 1*. Leipzig.

Maviglia, A. 1913 "Gli attributi dei sostegni nella statuaria antica," *RM* 28: 1–91.

Megow, W.R. 1987 *Kameen von Augustus bis Alexander Severus. Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 11*. Berlin.

Megow, W.R. 1993 "Zum Florentiner Tituskameo," *AA*: 401–8.

Meyer, H. 2000 *Prunkkameen und Staatsdenkmäler römischer Kaiser. Neue Perspektiven zur Kunst der frühen Prinzipatszeit*. Munich.

Miniero, P. (ed.) 2000 *Il Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei nel Castello di Baia*. Naples.

Moreno, P. 1994 *Scultura ellenistica II*. Rome.

Murison, C.L. 1999 *Rebellion and Reconstruction: Galba to Domitian*. Atlanta.

Noreña, C. 2011 "Self-fashioning in the *Panegyricus*." In *Pliny's Praise. The Panegyricus in the Roman World*, edited by P. Roche, 29–44. Cambridge.

Oliver, J.H. 1941 *The Sacred Gerusia. Hesperia Suppl. 6*. Baltimore.

Osgood, J. 2011 *Claudius Caesar. Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge.

Parisi Presicce, C. 1994 "I Dioscuri Capitolini e l'iconographia dei gemelli divini in età romana." In *Castores. L'immagine dei Diocsurì a Roma*, edited by L. Nista, 153–91. Rome.

Parisi Presicce, C. 2012 "Costantino e i suoi figli. Il nuovo volto dei Potenti." In *Costantino 313 d.C. L'Editto di Milano e il tempo di Tolleranza*, edited by G. Sena Chiesa, 109–120. Milan.

Pensabene, P., L. Lazzarini and B. Turi 2002 "New Archeometric Investigations on the Fragments of the Colossal Statue of Constantine in the Palazzo dei Conservatori." In *Asmosia 5. Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone*, edited by J.J. Herrmann jr., N. Herz and R. Newman, 250–55. London.

Picozzi, M.G. (ed.) 2011 *Palazzo Colonna. Appartamenti. Sculture antiche e dall'antico*. Rome.

Platt, V. 2007 "Honor Takes Wings': Unstable Images and Anxious Orators

in the Greek Tradition.” In *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, edited by Z. Newby and R. Leader-Newby, 247–71. Cambridge.

Pollini, J. 2005 “A Portrait of Caracalla from the Mellerio Collection and the Iconography of Caracalla and Geta,” *RA*: 55–57.

Pollini, J. 2010 “Recutting Roman Portraits: Problems in Interpretation and the New Technology in Finding Possible Solutions,” *MAAR* 55: 23–44.

Prusac, M. 2006 “Recarving Roman Portraits: Background and Methods,” *ActaAArtHist* 20.6: 105–30.

Prusac, M. 2011 *From Face to Face. Recarving of Roman Portraits and the Late Antique Portrait Arts. Monumenta Graeca et Romana* 18. Leiden, Boston.

Roche, P. 2011a “The *Panegyricus* and the Monuments of Rome.” In *Pliny’s Praise. The Panegyricus in the Roman World*, edited by P. Roche, 45–66. Cambridge.

Roche, P. 2011b “Pliny’s Thanksgiving: an Introduction to the *Panegyricus*,” In *Pliny’s Praise. The Panegyricus in the Roman World*, edited by P. Roche, 1–28. Cambridge.

Romeo, I. 1999 “Tra Massenzio e Costantino: il ruolo delle officine urbane ed ostiensi nel creazione del ritratto costantiniano,” *BullCom* 100: 197–228.

Rose, C.B. 1997 *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*. Cambridge.

Rosso, E. 2008 “Le destins multiples de la *Domus Aurea*. L’exploitation de la condamnation de Néron dans l’idéologie flavienne.” In *Un Discours en Images de la Condamnation de la Mémoire*, edited by S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey, 43–78. Metz.

Sande, S. 1991 *Greek and Roman Portraits in Norwegian Collections. ActaAArtHist* 10. Rome.

Schäfer, T. 1999 “Felicior Augusto, Melior Trajano. Das Bildnis von Konstantin in New York.” In *Antike Porträts zum Gedächtnis von Helga von Heintze*, edited by H. von Steuben, 295–302. Möhnesee.

Schröder, S. 1993 *Katalog der antiken Skulpturen des Museo del Prado in Madrid. Die Porträts*. Mainz.

Shear, J.I. 2007 “Reusing Statues, Rewriting Inscriptions and Bestowing Honors in Roman Athens.” In *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, edited by Z. Newby and R. Leader-Newby, 231–246. Cambridge.

Spinola, G. 1999 *Guide Cataloghi Musei Vaticani 4. Il Museo Pio Clementino*. Rome.

Sturgeon, M.C. 2004 *Corinth 9.3. Sculpture. The Assemblage from the Theater*. Athens.

Tomei, M.A. and R. Rea (eds.) 2011 *Nerone*. Rome.

- Torelli, M. 1993** *LTUR* 1: 77–9, s.v. “Arco di Portogallo”.
- Tuck, S.L. 2005** “The Origins of Roman Imperial Hunting Imagery: Domitian and the Redefinition of Virtus under the Principate,” *GaR* 52: 221–45.
- Varner, E.R. 1995** “Domitia Longina and the Politics of Portraiture,” *AJA* 99: 187–206.
- Varner, E.R. 2004** *Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Leiden.
- Varner, E.R. 2010** “Reconfiguring Roman Portraits: Theories and Practices,” *MAAR* 55: 45–56.
- Vout, C. 2008** “The Art of Damnatio Memoriae.” In *Un Discours en Images de la Condamnation de la Mémoire. Centre Régional Universitaire Lorrain D’Histoire, Site de Metz*, 34, edited by S. Benoist and A. Daguet-Gagey, 152–72. Metz.
- Waters, K.H. 1969** “Traianus Domitiani Continuator,” *AJP* 90: 385–405.
- Weski, E., H. Frosien-Leinz, et al. 1987** *Das Antiquarium der Münchner Residenz. Katalog der Skulpturen*. Munich.
- Wood, S. 1995** “Diva Drusilla Panthea and the Sisters of Caligula,” *AJA* 99: 457–82.
- Wood, S. 1999** *Imperial Women. A Study in Public Images, 40 B.C.–A.D. 68*. Leiden.
- Zanker, P. 1984** *Il Foro di Augusto*. Rome.
- Zwierlein-Diehl, E. 2007** *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*. Berlin, New York.

CREDITS

- 1-3. 5-7. 9-12. 14-16a. 22a.b** Photos E. Varner.
- 4** G. Fittschen-Badura: FittCap83-03-01.
- 8a.b** Repro after A. Giuliano, Museo Nazionale Romano, Le Sculture I9 (Roma 1987) 196–7.
- 13** DAI-Rom-1265.
- 16b** G. Fittschen-Badura: Fitt69-35-06.
- 17** D-DAI-ROM-96Vat.2172.
- 18** Repro after Megow 1987 Taf. 46, 8.
- 19** G. Fittschen-Badura: FittCap73-45-10.
- 20** B. Malter: Mal807-0.
- 21** B. Malter: Mal62-7.

DESPOINA TSIAFAKIS

THRACIAN TATTOOS¹

ABSTRACT

The employment of the tattooing to mark various parts of the human body, is a 'custom' that appears throughout the centuries in numerous regions and cultures. Through the existing examples it is pointed out that it was very popular among the ancient Thracians. Either as a sign of nobility for the men of Thrace, or as a mark of punishment on the Thracian women for the death of Orpheus, the Thracian tattoo is testified through the literary sources and the iconography. Focus of this paper is to explore the visual and written information regarding the Thracian 'custom' of tattooing and to investigate its symbolism and meanings. In order to do that within the right context, it is provided some brief general information on tattooing and an introduction to the Thracian people and their habits. The Thracian tattoos are approached through the ancient Greek view and they appear to be signs and symbols of various and different status.

A. INTRODUCTION

An interesting and exotic people who lived in the periphery of the Greek world, the Thracians² allured and attracted the Greeks (historians, poets, artists etc) through their warlike characteristics and behaviors as well as

¹ I would like to thank Prof. H.A. Shapiro, Dr. Frank Wascheck and Prof. D. Boschung for their invitation to participate in this conference and their hospitality.

² For Thrace and Thracians see Tsiafaki 1998, 19–40; Archibald 1998; Tsiafakis 2000, 364–379; Tsiafakis 2002, 365–369; Marazov 2005; Tsiafaki 2009, 123–134.

their appearance and manners. Rude and quarrelsome was the Greek thought for them and they were pictured as red-haired, scorning the plow for the sword with the Thracian bards (e.g. Orpheus, Thamyris) to be celebrated through the ancient history.

As a general impression and assumption throughout Antiquity, the Thracians were wild people who tattooed their bodies. Symbol of barbarism for the Greeks, mark of noble birth for the Thracians, the tattoo is tightly connected with the latter. The classical authors describe the high-born Thracians as tattooed, and the depiction of geometric and zoomorphic tattoos on female bodies in Greek art serves as an ethnic identifier that makes them recognizable as Thracians.

The Thracian women, angry at the neglect of their husbands, murdered Orpheus and several Greek vases show his death at the hands of a group of tattooed wives. The ancient Greek iconography of the Thracian tattoos is the focus point of this paper in combination with the information provided by the literary sources in order to explore the various aspects and symbolisms of its use.

B. THRACIANS IN ANTIQUITY

“Thracian” as an ethnic term appears for the first time in Homer’s *Iliad* (2.596, 844; 4.519, 533, 537; 5.462; 10.559; 13.13, 577; 23.230, 808), where it designates a people to the north of Greece.³ According to Herodotus (5.3), the primary source for those people, Thracians comprised the ‘biggest nation in the world’, and they occupied a large geographical area that was extended from the region between Methone—on the western shore of the Thermaic gulf—and the Black Sea.⁴

Thrace with its abundance of timber, metals, grain, horses, warriors, and slaves, became important in early times and Greek colonies were established there already in the 7th c. B.C. According to Homer (13.4, 576; 23.808), Thrace was the land of horsemen, and Thracians were in particular famous for their weapons and their fighting abilities. The literary references also reveal that Thrace was a source for slaves and that Thracians used to sell their children into slavery, and moreover, that

³ Tsiafakis 2000, 365. Tsiafaki 2003, 43.

⁴ As for the geographical region occupied by the Thracians see Casson 1926, 3–51; Oberhummer 1936, 394–396; Samsaris 1980, 22–26; Michailov 1991, 591–618; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 10–13; Tsiafaki 2009, 123.

Thracian slave women were famous nurses (*trophoi*).⁵ The Attic inscriptions indicate that women from Thrace were sold as slaves in Athens and Aristophanes in *Thesmophoriazousai* (280) refers that Euripides had a Thracian woman as servant.

Thracians are clearly called barbarians by both Greek historians of the 5th c. B.C., Herodotus and Thucydides. They are described as people whose customs, language, and religion differ significantly from those of the Greeks. Herodotus (5.3–8) characterizes them as an uncivilized and crude people through the description of their customs and practices. Thucydides (2.96.2) names them as *machairophoroi* (knife carriers) and describes their capacity for savage and indiscriminate slaughter. In spite of this wildness, Thracians were famous musicians, including the legendary Orpheus and Thamyras, and Thrace was considered the home of music.⁶

All of those characteristics serve as symbols and attributes of the Thracian identity and they construct an ethnic group different from the Greeks and in particular from the Athenians.

In the extant literary sources⁷ the ethnographic picture of Thracians is completed with a description of their physical appearance that is adequately confirmed by the representations in Athenian vase-painting.⁸ (fig. 1) Thracian men are distinguished primarily by their elaborate dress and secondarily by their physiognomy. Herodotus (7.75) describes the Thracian costume in detail and he highlights its differences from the Greek garments. The Thracian cap, called *alopekis*, was made from a warm animal pelt, such as that of a fox. Of interest is that in the representations in art the tail of this cap is shown worn at the back and hanging down the neck.⁹ The cloak, that was called *zeira*, was a thickly woven woolen mantle, usually embroidered with geometric patterns in contrasting colors. Fawn-skin boots with down folded, overlapping tops, the so-called

5 Herodotus 5.6; Polyainus 7.22; Pliny, *Natural History* 35.70; Plato, *Laches* 187b; Eur. *Rhesos*, 924–926. For slaves in general see Wrenhaven 2012; Bradley and Cartledge 2011; Andreau and Descat 2011.

6 Strabo I.3.17. Tsiafaki 1998, 20.

7 Xenophanes of Kolophon (frg. 6) provides information regarding their physiognomy. See also Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.4.3.

8 Best 1969, 3–16; Zimmermann 1980b, 429–446; Raeck 1981, 73–81; Tsiafaki 1998, 31–37; Tsiafakis 2000; Tsiafakis 2002.

9 Best 1969; Zimmermann 1980b, 429–446; Tsiafaki 1998, 31–37; Tsiafakis 2000, 367–371.



1 Attic red-figure cup, attributed to the Manner of Onesimus, ca. 480–475 B.C. Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1959.219

embades, completed the costume. The fame of the Thracian dress is reflected in Euripides *Hecuba* (1153), where Polymestor is described as having clothes made by the Edonian women.¹⁰

In addition to the clothes, Herodotus (7.75) adds the characteristic weapons to his list of the Thracian attributes, with the most popular of them the *pelte*. The *pelte* was a type of small light, crescent-shaped shield which although not clearly described by the extant literary sources, is well known from the vase-painting.¹¹

According to Xenophanes of Kolophon (frg. 6), Thracians had red hair and blue eyes, and although the latter cannot be rendered on the black- and the red-figure vases, the former can be easily depicted.¹² Aside

¹⁰ *Edonoi* were one of the Thracian tribes. For the Thracian Tribes see Archibald 1983, 302–321; Delev 2014.

¹¹ Best 1969; Lissarrague 1990, 151.

¹² Cf. the A) Attic red-figure Nolan amphora depicting two Thracians by the Phiale Painter, in Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 281; *ARV*² 1015, 25; BAPD 214202; Oakley 1990, 43, 70–71, no. 25, pl. 15a. B)

from their complete foreign costume, and light colored hair, the Thracians shown in various vase-paintings, also have a distinctive pointed beard, that it is not mentioned by the literary sources.

The ancient authors, however, refer to another principal characteristic of Thracians that distinguished them from Greeks. And this is the tattooing, that appears to corresponds to the ancient Greek word '*stigma(ta)*'.¹³

For a better understanding of the Thracian tattoos and their meaning, it will follow a brief introduction regarding the 'custom'(?) of tattooing.

C. TATTOOS

Impressive, elaborate and attracting attention, the tattoos are very fashionable nowadays, as they were probably in the past. Taking a look at a few contemporary images of tattooed bodies it may be provided an adequate image of similar icons of the ancient times.¹⁴

The experience of a presence that exists beyond but close to our senses has been a cornerstone of the humanity throughout its existence.¹⁵ More or less all cultures maintain beliefs and behaviors that represent these experiences, which sometimes come in contradiction with the beliefs and the behaviors of other cultures.

Throughout the world history and civilization the tattooing appears to be one of the most widely disseminated customs or at least very well known.¹⁶ Following its course through the time it appears that it is very

Attic black-figure amphora depicting two Thracian horsemen, one with red hair, by the Bareiss Painter in Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.85; BAPD 10152; CVA J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 1 [USA 23], pls. 27–29. C) Chalcidian black-figure amphora depicting Rhesos with red hair and red beard, by the Inscription Painter in Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.1; True 1995, 415–429.

13 Jones 1987, 140–144; Jones 2000. The root '*stig-*' means '*to prick*'. The actual word *tattoo* became known in the 18th century at James Cook's voyage to Polynesia; Fisher 2002, 92. See also Bremmer 2014 (present volume).

14 https://www.google.gr/search?q=tattoos&hl=el&client=firefox-a&hs=ndb&rls=org.mozilla:el:official&prmd=imvns&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ei=F4NZUJuNF8vZ4QTEoYHgBw&ved=oCAoQ_AUoAQ&biw=1280&bih=661 (last visit January 2015).

15 Rush 2005, p. vii.

16 Jones 1987; Caplan 2000, *passim*; Krutak 2007. Bremmer 2014 (present volume).

popular during certain periods and times (and social groups), while at other stages it is out of favor and it might be detested. There are several publications that present an adequate history of tattooing,¹⁷ providing different aspects, interpretations and symbolisms. It is a common agreement in all of them however, that insertion of pigment into abraded, punctured, or incised skin has a long history. Of interest is that some scholars consider tattooing as to be a characteristic especially among the primitive mankind. But there is also the quite opposite aspect that considers it as a 'civilized' attribute.¹⁸ It is an exclusively human phenomenon and therefore it is a sign of culture, in the actual meaning of the term. The oldest indisputable evidence for the practice is to be found on preserved bodies accidentally or ritually mummified in one form or another.¹⁹ The earliest documented tattoos from a culture we have written history, are found in Egypt.²⁰ There, it is found on mummies of the Eleventh Dynasty, about 2100 B.C. It belonged to the King's Favorite, *Amunet*,²¹ perhaps a priestess of the Goddess Hathor at Thebes, and her tattoos comprise a series of abstract patterns of individual dots or dashes placed upon her body with no apparent regard for formal zoning of the artwork. The color that was used was a dark blackish-blue pigment applied with a pricking instrument, perhaps consisting of one or more fish bones set into a wooden handle. It should be noted, however, that all the tattooed mummies thus identified in Egypt belong to females, although the tattoos appear on both male and female statues and paintings.

The act of tattooing might have multiple meanings and symbolisms in various peoples, periods of times and cultures. Meanings and symbolisms that often contradict each other.²² But it should not be forgotten that there is no right or wrong, except through our cultural beliefs.

The tattooing may be considered a form of mutilation, such as scarification, branding or piercing, designed to purge or purify as a primary step to a spiritual life.²³

17 Caplan 2000; Fisher 2002, 91–107; Rush 2005, 17 ; Krutak 2007; Norman 2011, 140–143.

18 Rush 2005, 18

19 Rush 2005, 3.

20 Jones 1987, 144; Rush 2005, 19.

21 <http://www.tattoosymbol.com/timeline/timeline-3.html> (last visited January 2015).

22 It is of interest that tattoo is a sign of noble birth for certain people while at the same time it is closely related with criminals and slaves.

23 Rush 2005, p. vii.

In a Hellenistic curse, on Egyptian papyrus fragments it states:²⁴

"I will tattoo you with pictures of the terrible punishments suffered by the most notorious sinners in Hades! I will tattoo you with the white-tusked boar!"

The author of this curse is not known, but a strong candidate appears to be the poetess Moiro of Byzantium, who lived around 300 B.C. This role of tattooing as punishment appears also about the same time in a scene of the Greek playwright of the 3rd c. B.C., Herodas. In *The Jealous Women* (5th Mime), the scorned Bitinna summons Kosis, a professional tattooer of slaves, criminal, and prisoners of war, to bring his needles to punish her unfaithful slave lover.

Nowadays, the tattooing has a widespread decorative role, although other interpretations and readings might be given according to different cases. In Antiquity, however, tattoos might have also punitive, magical, and medical functions. In Greece for example, the use of penal tattoos was probably introduced from Persia in the 6th c. B.C. According to Herodotus (7.35), the Persian king Xerxes, on his way to invade Greece (480 B.C.), was so infuriated when the sea swept away his bridge at the Hellespont that he ordered his soldiers to enslave the disobedient body of water by tossing iron fetters into the sea. Then he had men flog it with 300 lashes. "I have even heard", writes Herodotus, "that he [Xerxes] sent branders with them to brand the Hellespont".²⁵

Another function of the tattoo, also known through Herodotus (5.35), is that used by Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, when he was imprisoned by the Persian king Darius, around 500 B.C. In an effort to inspire his son in law Aristagoras to revolt, Histiaeus shaved the head of his most trusted slave and pricked his scalp with pin and ink. "Aristagoras should revolt from the king", it was the message on the head.²⁶ A few weeks later, when the slave's hair grew over the tattoo, Histiaeus 'mailed' his living letter. The story is well known. On reaching his destination the slave was shaved, Aristagoras read the message and launched the revolt that ended in the Persian invasion of Greece.

The literary sources speak about the tattooing in various peoples and periods of time and they present it as an ancient custom that was

²⁴ Mayor 1999, 54.

²⁵ Herodotus 7.35.1, english translation by A.D. Godley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1920.

²⁶ Herodotus 5.35.2, english translation by A.D. Godley. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1920.

widespread. Vergil (*Aeneid* XIX) speaks about Agathyrsians about being tattooed, but through archaeological findings is suspected that Cretans and Mycenaean might also have been familiar with tattooing. Cycladic idols for example, often carry face marks that have been interpreted as a type of tattoo.²⁷ Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 5.4.26–34) talks about Mossynoikoi who like the Thracians tattooed designs upon their white skins. Pliny (*Natural History*, XXII.2) states that the men of the Dacians and Sarmatians marked their bodies: “*corpora sua inscribunt*”. Ethiopians also painted the images of their ancestors on their bodies. Tattooing is also recorded among ancient Gauls, Britons, Celts, and Germans.

Arms, legs, bodies, and faces, are all suitable places for tattooing. Ancient Egyptians, southern Chinese, east Indians and Thracians all knew of tattooing.

As for the Thracians the people of the primary interest in this paper, it seems that their passion for tattoos involved certain symbolisms which, however, challenged the Greek principles.

D. THRACIAN TATTOOS

Widespread among ancient people the tattooing was popular in Thrace. According to Herodotus (5.6), it was a sign of noble birth among the Thracians to be tattooed, while the lack of it was a mark of low birth. The historian does not mention anything about this custom expanded to the female Thracians.

The Greek art, however, and especially the Attic vase-painting of the fifth century B.C., presents the Thracian women to be tattooed and, as it will be shown in some cases the tattoos cover most parts of their bodies. In Athenian iconography Thracian women appear to be divided into two major categories: wild free women, and devoted slaves. It will follow a presentation of both, beginning with the latter.

D.1.A THRACIAN WOMEN AS SLAVES

As it has been already mentioned, Thracians used to sell their children into slavery (Herodotus 5.6) and it appears that female Thracian servants were not uncommon in Athens at least of the 5th c. B.C. The Athenian iconography preserves some vase-paintings depicting female slaves with

²⁷ Marangou 1992, 190; Papaefthimiou-Papanthimou 1997, 66–73.

certain attributes that allow to be recognized as Thracians. Those women carry marks on their legs, arms or necks that consist of motives such as lines and spirals or animal figures such as a deer.²⁸

A characteristic example of this category is depicted on an Attic red-figure hydria of around 470–460 B.C.,²⁹ on which occurs a daily life scene with women in a fountain. The short cropped hair of the women suggests that they are slaves. Taking a closer look at those females it is observed that there are tattoos on all three of them. They can be seen clearly on their chins, neck, arms, and legs revealing that way their specifically Thracian origin.

The most memorable example, however, of a Thracian female slave occurs probably on a red-figure skyphos of around 460 B.C.³⁰ (fig. 2) Here,



2 Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Pistoxenos painter, ca. 460 B.C. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 708

28 Jones 1987, 145.

29 Attic red-figure hydria by the Aegisthus Painter in Paris, Louvre Museum CA2587; *ARV*² 506.29; *Addenda*² 252; BAPD 205691; CVA Louvre 9, pl. 50.3–6; Osborne 2011, 141, fig. 5.12.

30 Attic red-figure skyphos by the Pistoxenos painter, in Schwerin Staatliches Museum 708; *ARV*² 859, 862.30, 1672; *Addenda*² 298; BAPD 211358; CVA Schwerin Staatliches Museum 1, pls 24.1–2, 25.1, 26.1, 27.1–2, 28.1–4; Tsiafakis 2000, 374, fig. 14.4.

the young Herakles is depicted on his way to a music lesson with his teacher Linos. The hero is escorted by his nurse, *Geropso* (the name in Greek means Old) who hobbles along, supported by her crooked walking stick, as she carries his lyre. Geropso can be identified as Thracian by means of the tattoos that decorate her body, which are shown as parallel wavy lines on her arms, feet, and neck.

Those two red-figure vases could be considered as clear representatives of the image of the Thracian female slaves in Athenian everyday life. Apart from those daily life scenes, however, Thracian female slaves appear to be included in scenes related to more intimate moments of an Athenian household, such as death and burial ritual. Examples of this category will be discussed in the next section, since due to their special role they deserve a separate treatment.

D.1.B ATHENIAN BURIAL RITUAL

The ancient Greek funeral was divided into three-step procedure: *prothesis* (laying out of the dead body), *ekphora* (carrying—out of the deceased from the house to the tomb), and *expositio* (the depositing of its cremated or inhumed remains).³¹

The *prothesis*, took place the day after a death in the house and prior to being transported to the grave. It lasted the whole day, and this was when the traditional laments were sung and the relatives and friends of the deceased said farewell for the last time. Bandaged in a linen wrapper (*endyma*), the corpse was placed on a bier—a high trestle with a thick mattress. The head of the deceased was raised on a head-rest. It was the women of the family who were in charge of preparing the corpse for its laying out. They washed it, rubbed it with olive-oil, dressed it, and decorated it with flowers, wreaths and jewelry. *Prothesis* is frequently depicted on Attic pots.³²

31 Kurtz, Boardman 1971; Garland 1985; Felton 2010, 86–88.

32 Shapiro 1991; Oakley 2004; Sabetai 2009; Oakley 2012, 489–491. Cf. also an Attic red-figure loutrophoros by the Kleophrades Painter in Paris, Louvre Museum CA 453; *ARV*² 184.22, 1632; *Paralipomena* 340; *Addenda*² 187; BAPD 201675; CVA Louvre 8, pls. 56–57. On the vase is presented a *prothesis* scene with mourning women, probably servants, who do not carry, however, any attribute of their origin. It should be noted though, that the scene below the *prothesis* shows Thracian horsemen. It is not clear whether there is any connection of the two representations.

One of the vase shapes that preserve *prothesis* scenes is the Attic loutrophoros.³³ Among the several representations of the subject on this type of vessel, there are some that include Thracian female servants for the mourning of the dead.³⁴ One of most characteristic and well preserved, is a loutrophoros coming from a grave at Pikrodaphne in Attica, of about 460–450 B.C.³⁵ (fig. 3) Here, a female servant is depicted with simple



3 Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the painter of Bologna 228, ca. 460–450 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170

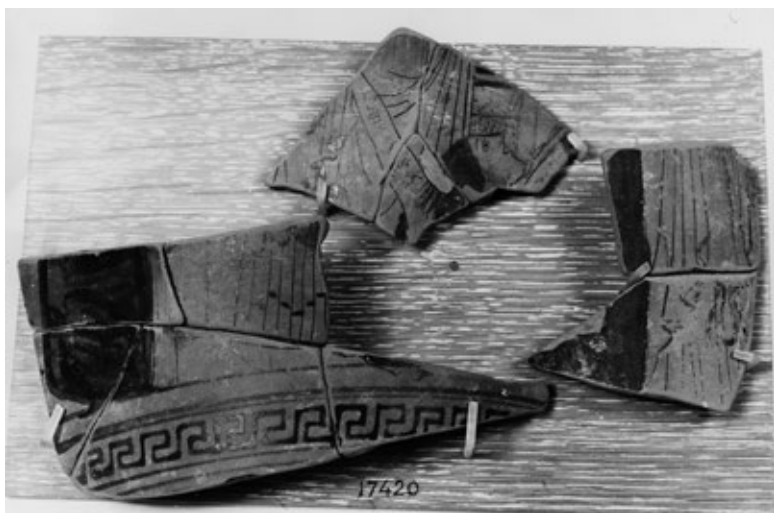
33 The subject appears to be popular on black- and red-figure loutrophoroi. Of interest is that the shape plays an important role in two principal aspects of the human life in Athens: marriage and death. Vases of this shape are commonly decorated with scenes of mourners or wedding processions. Cf. the Attic loutrophoroi in Beazley Archive <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/index.htm> (last visited January 2015). For loutrophoros see Kokula 1984; Mösch 1988; Shapiro 1991, 647–649; Sabetai 1993, 129–174; Mösch-Klingele 2006; Sabetai 2009.

34 Zimmermann 1980a, 168–183; Tsiafaki 1998, 38–39.

35 Attic red-figure loutrophoros by the painter of Bologna 228, in Athens National Archaeological Museum 1170; *ARV*² 512.13, 1657; *Paralipomena* 382; *Addenda*² 252; BAPD 205750; CVA Athens, Musée National 2, pls. 21.1–4, 22.1–3, 23.1–3, 24.3–4, 25.1–3, 26.1; Tsiafaki 1998, 38–39, 326, pl. 4.a–b; Sabetai 2009, fig. 5a.



4 Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the painter of Bologna 228, ca. 460–450 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170



5 Attic red-figure loutrophoros (fragments) attributed to the Syracuse Painter, ca. 470–460 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17420

linear tattoos on her face and she tends the body of a deceased woman who must have been her mistress. The Thracian ethnicity of the tattooed slave is also indicated through her light-colored hair, rendered in dilute glaze. On the other side of the vase are presented some Thracian horsemen (fig. 4) and one might wonder if there is any kind of relation between the two scenes.

Another Thracian female apparently servant,³⁶ mourning in a *prothesis* scene is depicted on the preserved fragments of one more loutrophoros, dated around 470–460 B.C. (fig. 5) In this case, the woman of interest is not standing nearby the deceased, but she is probably lying down on the floor extending high both her arms and with her head and face looking up. Her mouth is wide opened as if she is crying or screaming for the death of a beloved person. The Thracian origin of the woman is indicated through the tattoos that decorate her arms and face. A deer like animal is presented on the upper part of her right arm with parallel curved lines to follow. A second tattoo akin to an animal is observed beneath the lines and a snake below that. It is not distinguishable the shape of the tattoos that decorated the left arm of the woman, but it can be seen that they are also extended on the entire arm. The tattoos shown on her right profile are simple parallel lines.

In all the above mentioned scenes, the female Thracians are depicted as servants in a Greek household. The vases present them through three different aspects. They can be depicted in typical housekeeping works, such as to bring water for the household needs. In the second position they appear into more specific roles, as for example they could be *paidagogoi* or nurses (*trophoi*) of the children. The third aspect the female Thracian servants are presented is that of the mourners. In all the cases, however, they appear as members of the house.

This is indicated in the earlier mentioned Pistoxenos' painter skyphos for example, on which the Thracian Geropso proves also the information provided by the literary sources,³⁷ that the Thracian women were famous nurses (*trophoi*). The Thracian Geropso is depicted as the nurse of the most important hero, Herakles. The pose of the tattooed, meaning

³⁶ Attic red-figure loutrophoros frgs. by the Syracuse Painter, in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17420; *ARV*² 519.22; *Addenda*² 253; BAPD 205827; Zimmermann 1980a, 194, no. 35, fig. 29.

³⁷ Cf. Aristophanes' information (*Thesmophoriazousai* 280) about the Thracian *trophos* of Euripides, and this is perhaps where the Thracian themes in his tragedies came from.

Thracian, slaves in the *prothesis* scenes display great affection as well.³⁸ The mourning Thracian nurses presented before, for example, are presumably meant to be perceived of as loving, caring family members.

It should be noted here, however, that in all those scenes—and in the ones that follow—the Thracian women are not showed as how female slaves were or perceived themselves, but they are images of how their masters or Greeks and especially Athenians, wanted them to be or pictured them. Especially for the 5th c. B.C. a period with a great activity between Athenians and Thracians,³⁹ Thracians and their myths are interpreted through their depictions in the vase-painting and their references within Athenian drama and Greek historians.

D.2.A FREE THRACIAN WOMEN

The second category of the Thracian women depicted in the Athenian iconography is that of the free females. In this case the women show a quite different temperament than the one presented through the enslaved females. Furthermore, the free Thracian women appear to play an active and important role in the representations of the death of the Thracian musician Orpheus, a myth very popular in Attic vase-painting of the 5th c. B.C.⁴⁰

D.2.B DEATH OF ORPHEUS

The jealous Thracian women, who according to the myth,⁴¹ dismembered and decapitated Orpheus for having lured away their husbands—the Thracian men—with his music, are depicted in the preserved vase-paintings as tattooed foreigners, often with unkempt hair or exposed breasts, and they wield a makeshift arsenal of weapons, including not only spears and knives, but boulders, spits, double-axes, and the *harpe* (sickle), the tool used for decapitation in Greek art and castration in Greek myth.

On an Attic calyx krater of around 450–440 B.C.⁴² it is depicted a typical scene of the death of the musician Thracian Orpheus, whose

³⁸ Oakley 2000, 246.

³⁹ Tsiafaki 1998.

⁴⁰ Tsiafaki 1998, 41–93; Cohen 2000, 107–109.

⁴¹ Paus. 9.30.5. Kern 1922, 33–41, nos. 113–135. For visual representations of the reason of the murder see Tsiafaki 1998, 68–77.

⁴² Attic red-figure calyx krater in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.71; Tsiafaki 1998, 74–77, pl. 20–22.



6a Attic red-figure calyx krater, ca. 450–440 B.C. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.71

Thracian origin is denoted through the *embades* on his feet. (figs. 6a–c) He is killed by two Thracian women who have tattoos on their arms and legs. In this case the tattoos are simple lines, vertical and curved, placed in groups parallel to each other. (figs. 6.b–c)

Tattoos in the shape of ‘V’ appear on the arms of the Thracian woman who attacks Orpheus on an Attic red-figure amphora of the middle of the 5th c. B.C.⁴³ (fig. 7) Dots are the shape of the tattoos on the arms of the

43 Attic red-figure Nolan amphora by the Phiale painter, in Paris, Louvre Museum G 436; *ARV*² 1014.1; *Addenda*² 153; BAPD 214178; CVA Louvre 8, pl. 37.1–3; Tsiafaki 1998, 55–56, pl. 12a.



6b Attic red-figure calyx krater, ca. 450–440 B.C. Malibu,
The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.71

Thracian female presented on a stamnos by Hermonax.⁴⁴ The preserved vase-paintings indicate that the simpler tattoos found on the Thracian women, the more lately in date are the depictions. It appears that the wildness is lost gradually during the time.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Attic red-figure stamnos by Hermonax, in Paris, Louvre Museum G 416; *ARV*² 484.17, 1655; *Addenda*² 247; BAPD 205400; CVA Louvre 3, pl. 19.1, 19.4, 19.6–7; Tsiafaki 1998, 52–53, pl. 10a–b.

⁴⁵ Cf. the representations of the subject in Tsiafaki 1998, 48–77.



6c Attic red-figure calyx krater, ca. 450–440 B.C. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.71

The pattern is so obvious and well known, that it is recognized even if Orpheus is not included in the scene. As an example it might be mentioned the tondo of a cup dated in 480–470 B.C.⁴⁶ that depicts only a

46 Attic red-figure cup by Brygos Painter, in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 96.9.37; *ARV*² 379.156; *Addenda*² 227; BAPD 204053; Zimmermann 1980a, 169, fig. 2.



7 Attic red-figure Nolan amphora attributed to the Phiale painter, ca. middle of the 5th c. B.C. Paris, Louvre Museum G 436

Thracian woman in an attacking mode. The absence of any other figure within the tondo could be due to the lack of space. The tattoo, however, in the shape of an up-side-down 'V' that covers all her arm can be recognized—not only here but in similar cases—as the principal attribute not only for the recognition of the ethnic identity of the female but of the depicted myth as well.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The reverse can be said for the depiction of Orpheus himself, who is not depicted with tattoos in any of the known representations. In a very few of them he might be dressed in Thracian garments and usually he is

Of special interest is, however, the white-ground Orpheus cup from the Athenian Acropolis, that dates around 470 B.C.⁴⁸ (plate 1) The scene depicted on the tondo of the vase has often been linked with a prototype in Early Classical mural painting. At first glance, given this white-ground composition's fragmentary state of preservation, the image suggests a young couple in a romantic tryst. But the careful viewer knows better; death comes closely. The Acropolis cup, however, presents another version of the moment before Orpheus death. Although decorated with tattoos and in this case they are not only abstract motifs, but there is also a deer, the Thracian woman is rendered in a different way than the others we saw so far. She is a beautiful calm lady, with carefully rendered long hair and jewelry on her neck and ears and if it weren't for the tattoos—and the subject—she would have been identified as a respectable Athenian. The Thracian female is tattooed with a deer like animal on her right shoulder, such the one presented on the loutrophoros fragment by the Syracuse Painter mentioned above (fig. 5), while on the inside of her left forearm she carries a pattern of diagonal lines.

D.3 TYPES OF THE THRACIAN TATTOOS

The Athenian vase-painting provides an adequate information for the types of the tattoos occurred on the bodies of the women of Thrace. Based on the iconography of the vases, all the naked presented parts of their bodies—legs, arms and even their faces—can be decorated with tattoos.⁴⁹

represented as Greek among Thracians (male and/or female). Here might apply R. Osborne's (2011, 132) suggestion, that "... the status of being a protagonist with a name evidently precludes being given a foreign body ...". Therefore there was not a need for the vase-painters to highlight to the viewers Orpheus' non-Greek origin.

48 Attic white ground cup by the Pistoxenos Painter, in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.439 (former National Arch. Museum 15190); *ARV*² 859, 860.2, 1672; *Paralipomena* 425; *Addenda*² 298; BAPD 211325; Zimmermann 1980a, 177, no. 16, fig. 13; Tsiafaki 1998, 53–54, pl. 11a–b; Cohen 2000, 112–113, fig. 4.4.

49 The 'decorated' here does not mean that they had simply a decorative role, as it will be shown below. It is not known whether tattoos decorated other parts of their bodies since they are never depicted naked on the Attic vases. It is remarkable, however, that the representations of the nude hetaerae do not preserve any signs of tattoos, but they show a perfect body without any mark. Since it is difficult to accept that there were not Thracian females who served as hetaerae in the Athenian society, they either

The tattoos might be in the shape of an animal, such as a deer for example, or a snake, or can consist of a variety of abstract designs, including vertical, horizontal or diagonal lines. They can be shown singly or in groups that form patterns such as zigzags and chevrons, as well as curvilinear motifs, such as rosettes, dots, and spirals.⁵⁰

E. SYMBOLISM OF THE THRACIAN TATTOOS

The existing information on both literary and iconographic sources, indicates a multiple and often contradictory symbolism and meaning for the presence of the tattoos on the human body, in our case of the Thracians. It was undoubtedly an ancient custom that signified the ethnic identity of the Thracians and it was probably interpreted in various ways through place and time.

E.1 SIGN OF NOBILITY

As it has been already mentioned, Herodotus (5.6) describes for the Thracians that to have punctures on their skin is with them a mark of nobility. The Greek historian also informs us (5.6) that for the Thracians being free of tattooing is for the lower born. This information can be translated that not all the Thracians were tattooed but only the nobles and that for the Thracians tattooing was a custom which clearly indicates the contrast between the aristocracy and the peasantry.

Taken that information into the Athenian iconography it is interesting that it is not confirmed, since the Thracian men on the Attic vases are dressed in Thracian garments but they do not have any tattoos on their bodies.⁵¹ This could be due to the fact that the male Thracians depicted on the Attic vases were not among the Thracian aristocrats, but they may be considered as ordinary people. On the other hand, their clothing in addition to the occasionally depicted physical features such as the red hair or the pointed beard might be enough attributes for their foreign origin.

didn't have any tattoos—something hard to believe—or it is due to the ideal of the nudity as it was perceived by the Greeks, that it is not preserved any depiction of a nude Thracian female body with tattoos. Cf. also Berard 2000, 390–391; Bonfante 2011, 20–21.

⁵⁰ Zimmermann 1980a; Tsiafaki 1998, 48–77; Tsiafakis 2000, 373.

⁵¹ Zimmermann 1980b, 429–446; Tsiafaki 1988, 31–93; Tsiafakis 2000, 365–376.

E.2 SIGN OF BARBARIANS

In contrast to the cultural beliefs of the Thracians, the ancient Greeks and in particular Athenians, regarded tattooing as sign of barbarism.⁵² They were not in favor of its use on their bodies and they recognize it as a barbaric practice and abomination. They consider tattoos as marks of ignominy, something understandable, since in Antiquity the tattoos were used to mark slaves, war captives etc.

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the Greek, and in particular the Athenian approach to the nudity.⁵³ The 'costume' of nudity was a ritual costume that set the Greeks apart from the barbarians. The nude body with certain proportions fixed sometime in the 5th c. B.C., served as the ideal model until the end of antiquity and the rise of Christianity. The model was total and absolute nudity. Any body mark was an intolerable stigma. Therefore inscribed, painted, tattooed, or scarified bodies were not and would never be Greek.

E.3 SIGN OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

Based on what it has been said before, this sign of barbarism functions at the same time as sign of ethnic—with the contemporary meaning of the term—recognition. This information based on the literary sources is confirmed also by the iconography. It appears that it was a common practice for the vase-painters to employ bodily features in order to distinguish the various non-Greek groups around them.⁵⁴

The ancient Greeks recognized a barbarian as Thracian through his exotic garments and the tattoos that covered different parts of the body. Especially in the case of the Thracian women, where the Athenian iconography doesn't preserve any special types of garments, it is the acquired physical attribute of tattooing that gives them their ethnic identity. Especially in the case of the death of Orpheus a tattooed woman is enough to identify the subject the vase-painter meant to depict.

Furthermore, a tattooed woman does not signify only her Thracian identity but something more; it separates the woman who performs this

⁵² Herodotus 5.6; Zimmermann 1980a, 163–196; Jones 1987, 139–155; Jones 2000, 15; Lee 2009, 173.

⁵³ Berard 2000, 390–391; Bonfante 2011, 20–21.

⁵⁴ Osborne 2011, 130.

cruel act from the other respectable Greek female.⁵⁵ The tattoo is also an expression of her wildness; an element that leads to the next sign presented through the tattoo.

E.4 SIGN OF WILDNESS

Herodotus (5.3–8) describes the Thracians as wild and warlike people. It is interesting enough that the Attic vase-painting does not depict this crudeness on the male Thracians. On the contrary, the appearance of the women of Thrace, especially in the early representations, keeps strong the feeling of their wildness that is rendered mostly through their hair and their tattoos and secondly through the weapons they hold in their hands.

The sense of the wild and barbarous is reflected clearly in the Thracian woman, depicted by the Pan painter on a column krater of about 470 B.C.⁵⁶ (fig. 8) Although Orpheus is not included in the scene, each side of the vase shows a Thracian female who undoubtedly is running to kill him. Apart from the streaming long hair, the arms and the legs of both women are completely covered with tattoos of various types, such as zigzags, rosettes and deer. Her depiction and the tattoos remind of the mourning servant shown on the loutrophoros by the Syracuse painter, presented earlier. (fig. 5)

The long hair is an attribute that is found on the women who participate to the death of Orpheus; meaning the free Thracian females. The Thracian women who have been enslaved carry short hair, a typical attribute of slaves in general.

E.5 SIGN OF SLAVERY

One of the principal attributes that identify female slaves with near certainty is the short hair.⁵⁷ It is known from Herodotus (5.6) that Thracians used to sell their children into slavery and that Thrace was a source for slaves, information confirmed also through the epigraphic evidence. Tattooing was a custom of the free Thracians that they had to have it also into slavery.

⁵⁵ Osborne 2011, 140.

⁵⁶ Attic red-figure column krater by the Pan Painter, in Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2378 (J.777); *ARV*² 551.9; *Addenda*² 257; BAPD 206284; Tsiafaki 2000, 375, fig. 14.5; Lee 2009, 175, fig. 9.

⁵⁷ Oakley 2000, 246. For slavery in antiquity see Wrenhaven 2012; Bradley and Cartledge 2011; Andreau and Descat 2011.



8 Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Pan Painter, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek 2378 (J.777)

In addition, it is known that slave bodies, regardless their place of origin, were marked in various ways. Moreover, slaves who misbehaved or ran away were sometimes tattooed.⁵⁸ In one of Herodas' *Mimes* (Mime 5), the mistress of Gastron, a slave used for sexual pleasure, threatens him with

⁵⁸ DuBois 2010, 132. Fisher 2002.

tattooing. Slaves sometimes were marked with the names or signs of the divinities into whose service they had willingly or unwillingly fallen. Tattooing is found also in the case of prisoners of war.⁵⁹ Since they were usually turned into slaves, this type of tattoo can also be conceived as sign of slavery.

E.6 SIGN OF PUNISHMENT

As a sign of punishment tattooing was mentioned in the case of slaves, the unruly and rebellious ones, prone to flight away.

Most punishment rituals are designed to render the individual physically and emotionally helpless without choice, just as interestingly enough, other types of rituals do, as for example the rites of passage.⁶⁰ Punishment rituals are enacted to remove something from the social system. That could be for example an unacceptable behavior in order to bring the system back to 'normal', regain control, or undoubtedly to remove obstacles to the future.

In the case of Thracian women, however, it is specifically mentioned that the tattoo was their punishment for the death of Orpheus. According to Phanokles (frg. 1.25–29), the Thracian women are said to have been tattooed by their husbands for their cruelty to Orpheus. Plutarch (*De sera num. vind.* 557D) confirms it by saying that the Thracians of his time made tattoo marks on their wives to avenge the death of Orpheus whom they had murdered in Maenad fury while celebrating the mysteries of Bacchus. Of interest is that in the same passage Plutarch does not consider this as something to be proud of.

That interpretation of the Thracian female tattooing comes to a contradiction with the male tattooing, which was considered a mark of social standing. Furthermore, in the representations on the Attic vases of the 5th c. B.C., however, Thracian women already have tattoos when they attack Orpheus.

According to other traditions,⁶¹ however, it was the Scythian women who tattooed the bodies of the wives of the Thracians who lived to the west and north of them, using pins to produce the designs.

Other symbolisms, such for example, sacral or ritual tattooing could be also traced in the case of Thracians. The role of cosmetic and decorative cannot also be excluded. Through various references is suspected

⁵⁹ DuBois 2010, 132. Fisher 2002.

⁶⁰ Rush 2005, p. ix.

⁶¹ Jones 1987, 145.

that it was cosmetic for the Thracians to tattoo their daughters and that it was a mark of beauty for Thracian women.⁶²

Some of them or all of them, symbolism or decoration, the Thracian tattoos existed and identified the people of a region with certain characteristics and attributes, that attracted the Greek attention. Beyond any further reading, their presence on the vase-painting indicates that they consisted a visible feature that the Athenians had come to notice and to depict it.

It is worth of note that the depiction of the Thracian tattoos disappears in Athenian iconography after the 5th c. B.C.⁶³ It seems that it is related to a certain period of the Athenian society and history and it might follows the changes of the Athenian relationship with the area of Thrace. For the time that it lasted, however, it appears as a denoting of a certain people distinguished from the others (Greeks included).⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

The interpretation of the ancient Thracian tattoos images, subject of this brief study, was set within the view of a particular culture, that of the Greeks and specifically the Athenians. The focus has been on the iconography of the Athenian vase-painting and the literary sources as evidence for the customs of the Thracians and their meanings. The employment of the tattoo by the ancient Thracians indicates that the Thracian tattoo carries similar interpretations and symbolisms as they are found in other cultures from the antiquity until nowadays.

The history of the tattooing shows that it occurs throughout the human record, with changes in the ways of its perception by the various

⁶² Jones 1987, 145 with reference to literary sources.

⁶³ Tsiafaki 1998, 48–77. It seems that the tattooing gradually disappears after the middle of the century, when the Thracian female lose also their physical wildness and become more Greek looking females. Of interest is the depiction of the Thracian woman killing Orpheus on the Pistoxenos cup mentioned before; unless for the context and the tattoo the Thracian female would not easily be distinguished from any Athenian woman. The jewelry that adorns her could be easily recognized as sign of nobility.

⁶⁴ Although not referred to Thracians it is interesting the suggestion of Ivanchik (2005, 100–113) that the Skythian costume elements had nothing to do with the identification of actual Skythians or with ethnicity in general.

people and cultures.⁶⁵ Popular among certain peoples in Antiquity as for example the Thracians, it was heavily detested by others, such as the Greeks.

In general, tattooing can be divided into two major categories: a) the voluntarily, and the b) involuntarily tattooing. The presented examples indicate that in the case of the Thracians both categories could be recognized through the reading of the preserved iconography and the literary sources. Primarily, it was voluntarily since it was considered a sign of noble birth for the male or of beauty for the female. The hint of the involuntarily tattooing is distinguished through the fact that it was considered a punishment to the Thracian women for the death of Orpheus. In any case, it has been shown that tattooing can be considered as an attribute of the Thracian people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andreau, J. and R. Descat 2011 *The Slave in Greece and Rome*. English translation by M. Leopold, Madison.

Archibald, Z.H. 1983 "Greek imports: some aspects of the Hellenic impact on Thrace." In *Ancient Bulgaria. Papers presented to the International Symposium on the ancient history and archaeology of Bulgaria, University of Nottingham 1981*, edited by A.G. Poulter, 304–321. Nottingham.

Archibald, Z.H. 1998 *The Odrysian kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus unmasked*. Oxford.

Bérard, C. 2000 "The Image of the Other and the Foreign Hero." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, edited by B. Cohen, 390–412. Leiden.

Best, J.G.P. 1969 *Thracian Peltasts and their influence on Greek warfare*. Groningen.

Bonfante, L. 2011 "Classical and Barbarian." In *The Barbarians of ancient Europe: realities and interactions*, edited by L. Bonfante, 1–36. Cambridge.

Bradley, K. and P. Cartledge (eds.) 2011 *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 1: the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Cambridge, New York.

Bremmer, J.N. 2014 "Stigmata: From Tattoos to Saints' Marks." In *Bodies in Transition: Dissolving the boundaries of embodied knowledge*, edited by D. Boschung, A. Shapiro and F. Wascheck. Paderborn. (present volume)

⁶⁵ Caplan 2000; Fisher 2002; Rush 2005.

- Caplan, J. (ed.) 2000** *Written on the Body. The Tattoo in European and American History*. Princeton.
- Casson, S. 1926** *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria: their relations to Greece from the earliest times down to the time of Philip, son of Amyntas*. Oxford.
- Cohen, B. 2000** "Man-killers and Their Victims: Inversions of the Heroic Ideal in Classical Art." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, edited by B. Cohen, 98–131. Leiden.
- Delev, P. 2014** "A History of the Tribes of South-Western Thrace in the First Millennium B.C. Sofia.
- DuBois, P. 2010** *Out of Athens: the new ancient Greeks*. Cambridge.
- Felton, D. 2010** "The Dead." In *A Companion to Greek Religion*, edited by D. Ogden. Blackwell.
- Fisher, J.A. 2002** "Tattooing the Body, Marking Culture," *Body and Society* 8,4: 91–107.
- Garland, R. 1985** *The Greek Way of Death*. New York.
- Ivanchik, A.I. 2005** "Who were the 'Scythian' archers on archaic Attic vases?" In *Scythians and Greeks: Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (sixth century BC—first century AD)*, edited by D.C. Braund, 100–114. Exeter.
- Jones, C.P. 1987** "Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," *JRS* 77: 139–155.
- Jones, C. 2000** "Stigma and Tattoo." In *Written on the Body. The Tattoo in European and American History*, edited by J. Caplan, 1–16. Princeton.
- Kern, O. 1922** *Orphicorum Fragmenta*. Berlin.
- Kokula, G. 1984** *Marmorloutrophoren, AM Beih.* 10. Berlin.
- Krutak, L. 2007** *The Tattooing Arts of Tribal Women*. London.
- Kurtz, D.C. and J. Boardman 1971** *Greek Burial Customs*. New York.
- Lee, M.M. 2009** "Body-Modification in Classical Greece." In *Bodies and boundaries in Graeco-Roman antiquity*, edited by T. Fogen and M.M. Lee, 155–180. Berlin, New York.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990** *L'autre guerrier. Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*. Paris, Rome.
- Marangou, L. (ed.) 1992** *Minoan and Greek Civilization from the Mitsotakis Collection, N.P. Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art*. Athens.
- Marazov, I. 2005** *Ancient Thrace: the Thracians, art, the king and culture, gods and heroes, faith in immortality, conclusion*. Plovdiv.
- Mayor, A. 1999** "People Illustrated," *Archaeology* 52.2: 54–57.

Mihailov, G. 1991 "Thrace before the Persian entry into Europe," *CAH III*2.2: 591–618.

Mösch, R.M. 1988 "Le Marriage et la Mort sur les Loutrophores," *AnnArch-StorAnt* 10: 117–139.

Mösch-Klingele, R.M. 2006 *Die Loutrophoros im Hochzeits- und Begräbnisritual des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Athen*. Bern.

Norman, C. 2011 "The Tribal Tattooing of Daunian Women," *European Journal of Archaeology* 14 (1–2): 133–157.

Oakley, J.H. 2000 "Some 'Other' Members of the Athenian Household: Maids and Their Mistresses in Fifth-century Athenian Art." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, edited by B. Cohen, 227–247. Leiden.

Oakley, J.H. 2004 *Picturing Death in classical Athens. The evidence of the White Lekythoi*. Cambridge.

Oakley, J.H. 2012 "Birth, Marriage, and Death." In *A Companion to Greek Art*, edited by T.J. Smith and D. Plantzos, 480–497. Blackwell.

Oberhammer, E. 1936 *RE VI A1*: 394–396, s.v. "Thrake (Grenzen)". Stuttgart.

Osborne, R. 2011 *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body*. Cambridge.

Papaefthimiou-Papanthimou, A. 1997 *Τελετουργικός καλλωπισμός στο προϊστορικό Αιγαίο*. Thessaloniki.

Raeck, W. 1981 *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Bonn.

Rush, J. 2005 *Spiritual Tattoo: A Cultural History of Tattooing, Piercing, Scari-fication, Branding, and Implants*. Berkeley.

Sabetai, V. 1993 *The Washing Painter*. Diss. University of Cincinnati.

Sabetai, V. 2009 "Marker vase or burnt offering? The clay loutrophoros in context." *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th–4th centuries B.C.)*, *Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, 27–29 April 2006*, edited by A. Tsingarida, 291–306. Brussels.

Samsaris, D.K. 1980 *Ο εξελληνισμός της Θράκης κατά την ελληνική και ρωμαϊκή αρχαιότητα*. Thessaloniki.

Shapiro, H.A. 1991 "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," *AJA* 95: 629–656.

True, M. 1995 "The murder of Rhesos on a Chalcidian neck-amphora by the Inscription Painter." In *The Ages of Homer. A tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, edited by J.B. Carter and S.P. Morris, 415–429. Austin.

Tsiafaki, D. 1998 *Η Θράκη στην αττική εικονογραφία του 5 ου αι. π.Χ. Προσεγγίσεις στις σχέσεις Αθήνας και Θράκης*. Center for Thracian Studies, Komotini.

Tsiafakis, D. 2000 "The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, edited by B. Cohen, 364–389. Leiden.

Tsiafakis, D. 2002 "Battles between Athenians and Thracians: An abstract representation or a realistic scene?" in *Pitye: Studia in honorem Prof. Ivan Marazov*. Sofia, 365–389.

Tsiafaki, D. 2003 "Θράκες βασιλείς από τον Στρυμόνα στην Ίσμαρο," *Peri Thrakis* 3: 43–66.

Tsiafaki, D. 2009 "Έλληνες και Θράκες από τον 7ο μέχρι τον 5ο αι. π.Χ." In *Greeks and Thracians in Coastal and Inland Thrace during the Years before and after the great colonization. Proceedings of the Intrernational Symposium, Thasos, 26–27 September 2008*, edited by Z. Bonias and J.Y. Perreault, 123–134. Thasos.

Veligianni-Terzi, Ch. 2004 *Οι ελληνίδες πόλεις και το βασίλειο των Οδρυσών από Αβδήρων πόλεως μέχρι Ίστρου ποταμού*. Thessaloniki.

Wrenhaven, K.L. 2012 *Reconstructing the Slave: the Image of the Slave in Ancient Greece*. London.

Zimmermann, K. 1980a "Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf griechischen Vasenbildern," *JdI* 95: 163–196.

Zimmermann, K. 1980b "Thraker-Darstellungen auf griechischen Vasen." In *Actes du IIe Congrès international de thracologie: Linguistique, ethnologie (ethnographie, folkloristique et art populaire), anthropologie*, edited by R. Vulpe, 429–446. Bucarest.

CREDITS

- 1 Reprint from Tsiafakis 2000, 368, fig. 14.1.
- 2 Reprint from Tsiafakis 2000, 374, fig. 14.4.
- 3 Reprint from Tsiafaki 1998, 326, pl. 4.a.
- 4 Reprint from Tsiafaki 1998, 326, pl. 4.b.
- 5 Courtesy of the Athens, National Archaeological Museum.
- 6 Courtesy of The J. Paul Getty Museum.
- 7 Reprint from Tsiafaki 1998, pl. 12.a.
- 8 Reprint from Tsiafakis 2000, 375, fig. 14.5.

PLATES

- 1 Courtesy of the Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

HANS BERNSDORFF

SCHMERZ UND BESTRAFUNG IN DER HELLENISTISCHEN ‚TÄTOWIERELEGIE‘¹

1. EINLEITUNG

Die Haut, nach außen hin sichtbare Grenze² und Schutzhülle des Körpers, verhindert sein Zerfließen. Um diese Aufgabe zu erfüllen, ist sie das Körperorgan mit der größten Fläche. Deshalb kann sie auch, vom Körper eines Tieres abgezogen, als Beschreibstoff (sei es als Leder,³ sei es als Pergament) dienen. Am lebendigen Körper ist sie ein sensibles Sinnesorgan, das – reich ausgestattet mit Nervenzellen – der Aufnahme äußerer Reize durch den Tast-, Temperatur- und nicht zuletzt den Schmerzsinne dient. Die Haut kann verletzt werden und nach der Vernarbung dauerhafte, nach außen hin sichtbare Spuren davontragen. Diesen wird bei der Tätowierung durch das Einführen von Farbmitteln in die mittlere Hautschicht⁴ eine besondere Sichtbarkeit und Dauerhaftigkeit verliehen.

1 Ich danke Dr. Robert Daniel (Köln), Dr. Ursula Mandel und Helena Schmedt, M. A., (beide Frankfurt) für wichtige Hinweise.

2 Durch diese Funktion wird die Haut zu einem wesentlichen Träger der Identität, wie der Marsyas-Mythos gut illustriert: Ovid, im Verfahren der ‘waving identity’ (Bernsdorff 2000, 67–124, im Anschluss an H. Fränkel), spielt damit, wenn er Marsyas während der Häutung zu Apoll sagen lässt (*met.* 6.385): *quid me mihi detrahis* „Was ziehst du mich von mir ab?“, dazu Bernsdorff 2000, 100–101.

3 Als Schreibstoff der Antike bezeugt z. B. bei Hdt. 5.58.8.

4 Das Tätowieren ist also abzugrenzen vom bloßen Zufügen von Vernarbungen sowie Brandzeichen. Zu Techniken des Tätowierens in der Antike vgl. Jones 1987, 142–144.

Die Tätowierung nutzt die genannten Funktionen und Eigentümlichkeiten der Haut: Die Grenze des Körpers, nach außen hin sichtbar, erhält Zeichen, die dem Träger in einem schmerzhaften Vorgang dauerhaft eingestochen werden.

Dabei kann die Praxis der Tätowierung in verschiedenen Zeiten und Kulturen unterschiedliche Ziele verfolgen: Während in der derzeitigen Tätowierrenaissance der modernen westlichen Gesellschaften⁵ die Schmucktätowierung vorherrscht, dominierte bei den Griechen und Römern die Funktion als Strafe. Die schmückende Tätowierung galt ihnen als barbarisch, vornehmlich assoziiert mit den Thrakern.⁶ Bei der Straffunktion wird einerseits das Schmerzhafte und Erniedrigende des Tätowierungsvorgangs genutzt, andererseits die Dauerhaftigkeit des Eintätowierten, die ermöglicht, das Opfer für immer zu zeichnen.

Im Folgenden soll es mit der ‚Tätowier-Elegie‘ um ein hochartifizielles Stück hellenistischer Poesie gehen, das gewiss nicht als authentische Quelle für die antike Tätowierpraxis dienen kann. Gleichwohl nehmen die Verse diese Praxis als Voraussetzung und nutzen sie für ihre ästhetischen Ziele.

Um dies zu erläutern, möchte ich in folgender Weise vorgehen: Nach einem kurzen Überblick über die ‚Tätowierelegie‘ und die Geschichte ihrer Entschlüsselung (Abschnitt 2) will ich kurz (in Abschnitt 3) einige Beobachtungen zur literarischen Gestalt des Textes zusammenfassen, die ich an früherer Stelle vorgetragen haben. Das Hauptaugenmerk aber soll dann (in Abschnitt 4) auf der noch nicht hinlänglich diskutierten Frage liegen, inwieweit die eintätowierten mythischen Bilder mit der Funktion der Straftätowierung korrespondieren. In einem weiteren Schritt soll nach Parallelen für eine solche Korrespondenz in antiker und neuzeitlicher Realität und fiktiver Literatur gesucht werden (Abschnitt 5). Text und Übersetzung der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ sind als Anhang beigegeben.

5 Zur geschichtlichen Entwicklung der neuzeitlichen Tätowierung Schüttpelz 2006.

6 Neben der dekorativen Tätowierung war in der Antike auch die religiöse Tätowierung bekannt. Aber auch diese wurde vorwiegend mit vorderasiatischen Völkern wie Syrern und Ägyptern assoziiert (Jones 1987, 144–145). Zu der religiös motivierten Efeublatt-Tätowierung des Ptolemaios IV. Stähli 1999, 246 und 291, Anm. 624, zur Tätowierung bei den Thrakern Tsiafakis 2014 in diesem Band.

2. ÜBERBLICK ÜBER DIE ‚TÄTOWIEREELEGIE‘

2.1. FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE

Bei der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ handelt es sich um keinen Text, der über mittelalterliche Handschriften auf uns gekommen ist, sondern um einen der Zufallsfunde, die vor allem in Ägypten gefundene Papyri beschert haben. Man wird sagen können, dass es – wie im Falle der hoherotischen ‚Kölner Epode‘ des Archilochus, die 1974, also ziemlich genau auf dem Höhepunkt der sexuellen Revolution, erstmals ediert wurde – ein wissenschaftshistorischer Glücksfall ist, fallen die Etappen ihrer Entdeckung und Erklärung doch in einen Zeitraum (die sechziger bis neunziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts), während dessen das Tätowieren in den westlichen Gesellschaften nach weitgehender Marginalisierung ein verstärktes allgemeines Interesse erfahren hat (freilich, wie bereits gesagt, fast nur als Dekorationstätowierung, ein Umstand, der uns das Verständnis der Elegie nicht erleichtert).

Die Entdeckungs- und Erklärungsgeschichte des Textes ist auch in anderer Hinsicht glücklich verlaufen, gibt sie doch eines der leider viel zu seltenen Beispiele dafür, dass eine durch scharfsinnige Interpretation gewonnene Hypothese durch einen späteren weiteren Fund bestätigt wird.

Der Papyrus, geschrieben im 2. Jh. v. Chr., besteht aus zwei Hälften, die linke heute in Brüssel (P. Brux. inv. e 8934), die rechte (P. Sorb. inv. 2254) in Paris liegend. Zunächst war nur der Pariser Teil bekannt, der den rechten, ca. zwei Drittel der Zeilenlänge umfassenden Teil einer Kolumne von 24 Zeilen umfasst, sowie die Anfänge der Kolumne rechts daneben. Sein wesentlicher Inhalt wurde vom Ersteditor Papathomopoulos noch nicht erkannt. Dies gelang erst den Oxforder Philologen Barns und Lloyd-Jones ein Jahr später, indem sie eine kühne Neuinterpretation wagten. Eine wichtige Rolle spielte dabei die Auffassung der Formulierung $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\xi\omega\ \sigma\ddot{\upsilon}\nu\ \alpha\gamma\rho\iota\acute{o}\delta\delta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ (col. 2.14): Während der Ersteditor diese Worte als Drohung der Artemis auffasste, sie werde den Eber ‚anstacheln‘, führte Lloyd-Jones die Beobachtung Barretts an, dass das Verbum $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$ niemals diese Bedeutung habe, sondern gewöhnlich ‚tätowieren‘ heiße. Bei Annahme dieser Bedeutung auch an dieser Stelle, so Lloyd-Jones, ergebe sich ein anderer Inhalt, der zwar bizarr wirke, aber doch verständlich sei: Die Mythen des Fragments würden nicht direkt erzählt, sondern ein Sprecher drohe seinem Adressaten an, sie in dessen Haut zu tätowieren.

Nach z. T. heftigem Widerstand einzelner Interpreten wurde diese Deutung 1991 schließlich durch die Auffindung des Brüsseler Teils bestätigt. Jetzt zeigte sich, dass Lloyd-Jones den Vers col. 2.14 richtig erklärt hatte: Denn die mit $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$ eingeleitete Drohung begegnete nun an zwei weiteren Stellen des Gedichts (col. 1.5; col. 2.4),⁷ wo das Verbum nichts anderes als ‚tätowieren‘ bedeuten kann.

2.2. ÜBERBLICK ÜBER DEN TEXT

Nach dieser heute fast ausnahmslos akzeptierten Interpretation ist der Text wie folgt zu rekonstruieren:

col. 1.3–4: Der Sprecher kündigt Gesänge an, er brennt von Feuer, eine Metapher, die neben anderen Leidenschaften auch von Liebesschmerz gebraucht wird.⁸ Vielleicht ist das Opfer hier also ein erotischer Rivale oder eine treulose geliebte Person.⁹

Es folgt der Katalog der mythischen Bilder, die jeweils durch $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$ ‚ich werde tätowieren‘, verbunden mit der Angabe eines Körperteils, eingeleitet werden.

col. 1.5–23: Auf den Rücken will er die Tötung des Kentauren Eurytion durch Herakles eintätowieren. Er hatte die Tochter des Königs Dexamenos bedrängt.

col. 2.4–14: Die nächste Sektion, durch eine Paragraphos abgetrennt, schildert die Bestrafung des Tantalos in der Unterwelt, hier in der Version, dass ein Stein über seinem Haupt schwebt. Diese Szene gedenkt der Sprecher auf das Haupt seines Opfers einzutätowieren.

Und schließlich (col. 2.14–24, wiederum durch Paragraphos getrennt) folgt der kalydonische Eber, der von Artemis als Strafe für die Vernachlässigung durch den König Oineus die Felder der Aitolier verwüstet und vom Oineus-Sohn Meleager auf der kalydonischen Jagd schließlich zur Strecke gebracht wird.

⁷ Col. 2.4 war der entsprechende Text schon 1962 von Barrett vermutet worden, in col. 3.18 hatte schon die editio princeps $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$ konjiziert; da aber von dieser Kolumne nur der äußerste linke Rand erhalten ist, bleibt der weitere Inhalt unklar.

⁸ Cf. die Belege bei Huys 1991, ad loc.

⁹ Zu möglichen erotischen Konnotationen des Tätowiermotivs cf. Bernsdorff 2008, 52–54.

3. RÜCKGRIFF AUF TRADITIONELLE FORMEN DER POESIE

Ich habe früher zu zeigen versucht,¹⁰ wie stark dieser zunächst so exzentrisch wirkende Text auf althergebrachte Formen der etablierten Poesie zurückgreift und sie in origineller Weise kombiniert:

Das Gedicht hat die Form eines Katalogs, d. h. er besteht in der ‚Aufzählung‘ einzelner Glieder. Diese Form – frühestes und zugleich berühmtestes Beispiel ist der Schiffskatalog im zweiten Buch der Ilias – wird stofflich wie formal weiter betont: Unterweltsbüßer wie Tantalos sind seit der Nekyia im 11. Buch der Odyssee ein traditioneller Gegenstand von Katalogen, ebenso wie die Teilnehmer an der kalydonischen Eberjagd, die am Ende der zweiten Kolumne mise-en-abyme-artig als ‚Katalog im Katalog‘ präsentiert werden. Die Form passt aber andererseits gut zum Inhalt der angedrohten Bestrafung, denn aus der Antike überlieferte gelehrte Fluchdichtungen (man denke an den unter Ovids Namen überlieferten ‚Ibis‘) haben häufig Katalogform.¹¹

Aber auch angesichts der Besonderheit, dass die Strafandrohung sich hier als eine Art Bildbeschreibung präsentiert, scheint die Katalogform mit Bedacht gewählt, nehmen Kunstwerksektphraseis doch häufig die Form von Aufzählungen (Katalogen) einzelner Szenen oder Personen an.¹² Auch hier wird der Zusammenhang stofflich unterstrichen, wenn unter den Tätowierungen solche Sujets auftauchen, die dem antiken Leser auch als Gegenstand von Bildwerken vertraut waren (z. B. der in der Eurytion-Sektion zunächst evozierte Kampf zwischen Lapithen und Kentauren).¹³

Im Zusammenhang mit dem ekphrastischen Charakter der Textes kam es mir darauf an zu zeigen, dass die Grundidee des Textes ein fundamentales Problem der literarischen Bildbeschreibung überhaupt reflektiert und dadurch, dass die Herstellung der Bilder in jedem Detail neuen Schmerz verursacht, mit neuer Eindringlichkeit zu Bewusstsein bringt.¹⁴ Ich meine die schon in der Schildbeschreibung der Ilias begegnende und sich bei den hellenistischen Vertretern verstärkende Unsicherheit darüber,

¹⁰ Bernsdorff 2008.

¹¹ Vgl. Bernsdorff 2008, 54–55 mit Anm. 29.

¹² z. B. [Hes.] asp., Theoc. 1.29–57; Ap. Rhod. 1.730–67; Ov. *Met.* 6.84–100; 103–26, vgl. Bernsdorff 2008, 57.

¹³ Bernsdorff 2008, 57.

¹⁴ Bernsdorff 2008, 60–4.

was Beschreibung eines im Bild tatsächlich repräsentierten Elementes ist (das in diesem Fall dem Opfer also Schmerz verursacht) und was Ergänzung des Erzählers ohne Entsprechung im Bild (und in diesem Fall ohne entsprechenden Schmerz) ist. Im vorliegenden Text werden wir diese Unsicherheit (deren Präsenz in konventionellen Bildbeschreibungen allzu vertraut ist und daher zu verblassen droht) mit besonderer Intensität erleben, wenn wir uns unter die Haut des Opfers denken. Eine metapoetische Wirkung also, der auch die gegenüber anderen Fluchkatalogen relative Ausführlichkeit in einem durch Homerreminiszenzen angereicherten Stil dient: Für den Abschnitt über den kalydonischen Eber ist der homerische Charakter durch die Analysen von Thomas Gärtner und Richard Rawles weiter nachgewiesen worden. Diese Ausführlichkeit ergibt sich also aus der Wirkungsabsicht des Textes und kann nicht – wie von einigen Interpreten versucht – als Indiz für eine Datierung ins frühe dritte Jahrhundert, vor einen möglichen Einfluss durch die kallimacheische Abneigung gegen Homerimitation, gewertet werden.¹⁵

4. DER INHALT DER BILDER

Im vorliegenden Beitrag soll es aber nun um einen anderen Aspekt der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ gehen, der gerade angesichts einer anderen These von Rawles eine genauere Analyse verdient: Ich meine den besonderen Inhalt der Bilder, die auf der Haut des Opfers angebracht werden sollen.

Rawles legt starkes Gewicht auf den ‚lack of fit‘, das ‚Missverhältnis‘, das durch den gehobenen epischen Stil der Mythen erzählung und dem gewöhnlich auf Angehörige niedriger sozialer Schichten angewandten Vorgang der Tätowierung entstehe. Dazu trage ferner bei, dass es sich bei dem Opfer wahrscheinlich um einen erotischen Rivalen handle, während die Strafe sonst vornehmlich an Sklaven und Kriegsgefangenen vollzogen werde.¹⁶ Dieses Spannungsverhältnis zwischen ‚hoch‘ und ‚tief‘ erzeuge eine für einen Text hellenistischer Poesie typische Ironie der Darstellung.

¹⁵ Dies zu zeigen, war meine Absicht in Bernsdorff 2008, bes. 49–50 und 64.

¹⁶ Rawles 2006, 490.

4.1. KORRESPONDENZ BILDINHALTE - VORGANG DER STRAFTÄTOWIERUNG

Die von Rawles beschriebene Diskrepanz ist gewiss nicht von der Hand zu weisen, doch allein das ‚Unpassende‘ der Mythen hervorzuheben, verstellt den Blick auf das Faktum, dass der *Inhalt* dieser Mythen mit dem Vorgang der Tätowierung korrespondiert:

Denn jeder der drei Mythen handelt von einer Verfehlung und Bestrafung eines Übeltäters, im Falle von Eurytion und des kalydonischen Ebers durch einen Heros, nämlich Herakles bzw. Meleager. Die Strafe besteht in einer tatsächlich vollzogenen tödlichen Verletzung (bei Eurytion und dem Eber), bei Tantalos in einer nur angedrohten durch den über seinem Kopf schwebenden Stein. Die tatsächlich vollzogenen Verletzungen werden genau (im Falle des Eurytion besonders detailliert) und im Stile epischer Verwundungsszenen geschildert. Insofern spiegelt sich das Verhältnis zwischen Sprecher und Adressaten der ‚Tätowierelegie‘. Da die Verletzungen, die dem Opfer durch die Tätowierung beigebracht werden, naturgemäß nur klein sind (und sein Vergehen vielleicht erotischer Natur ist) erscheint diese Spiegelung zugleich als Verkleinerung.

Die grundsätzliche Analogie zwischen dem Vorgang der Tätowierung und den mythologischen Strafen wird durch eine Reihe von Details markiert:

- In col. 2.4 sagt der Sprecher, er werde ‚auf den Kopf (ἐν κορυφῇ) den großen und schamlosen Stein‘ tätowieren, der Tantalos in der Unterwelt über dem Kopf (κρατὸς ὑπερκρέμαται, 5) schwebt.
- Am Ende des Abschnittes, in Zeile 12, wird die Bestrafung des Tantalos ausdrücklich in Analogie zur Bestrafung des Adressaten gesetzt, wobei der Sprecher mit 12 b ἐκφεύξασθαι das synonyme 12a ἐξήλυξε aus dem Tantalosmythos (12a) aufnimmt, sowie mit 13 θεοῖς ... ἀθανάτοις dieselbe Junktur aus Vers 8.
- Den realen Stein in der Unterwelt, wenn er über seinem Kopf schwebt, wird Tantalos meist nicht vor Augen haben: Die daraus entstehende Unsicherheit ist gerade Teil der Bestrafung. Ähnliches gilt für den tätowierten Stein *auf* dem Kopf des Opfers: ebenso wenig wie die Bilder über den Augenbrauen und auf dem Rücken wird er ihn nicht sehen. Tantalos' qualvolle Ungewissheit über die Bestrafung, auch darüber, wann und ob sie tatsächlich eintritt, spiegelt die Ungewissheit, die das Opfer der Tätowierung erleidet (man beachte, dass der Sprecher die Tätowierung nur ankündigt). In dieser Korrespondenz mag ein

Grund gerade für die Wahl dieser Version des Tantalos-Mythos liegen, und nicht derjenigen, nach der dem Darbenden Wasser und Früchte unerreichbar vor den Augen lagen.¹⁷

- Die Erzählung vom kalydonischen Eber erscheint ebenfalls wohl abgestimmt auf den sie darstellenden Akt der Tätowierung: Der Körperteil, auf dem er eintätowiert werden soll (col. 2.14), die Stirn, ist beschrieben mit ὑπέρθ' ὀφρύων („über den Augenbrauen“); in l. 15 folgt dann der Schaden, den er angerichtet hat, indem er über die Felder der Aitolier lief und sie verwüstete. Hier scheinen die Haare der Augenbrauen in passender Weise in das mythische Bild integriert, sind sie doch geeignet, die Felder zu repräsentieren. Das Erstechen¹⁸ des Ebers mit der Lanze schließlich lässt sich vielleicht als vergrößerte (und daher tödliche) Version der Tätowierungsstiche auffassen.

Wir sehen also: Die gewählten Mythen sind nicht beliebig gewählt, sondern spiegeln den Strafvorgang, der sie darstellt – die Tätowierung – mit bald genaueren, bald weniger genauen Entsprechungen. Damit scheint ein Verfahren raffiniert zu werden, das in der Fluchdichtung des Hellenismus begegnet: Dort wird der Adressat mit den Vergehen und Strafen mythischer Büsser konfrontiert, verbunden mit dem Fluch, ihn mögen ähnliche Strafen erwarten.¹⁹ Ein Beispiel aus dem ‚Ibis‘ des Ovid, enthaltend eine Liste von Opfern des Theseus, möge das verdeutlichen:

Ov. *Ibis* 405–414

„Ut pronepos, Saturne, tuus, quem reddere vitam
 Urbe Coronides vidit ab ipse sua:
 Ut sus et Sciron et cum Polypemone natus:
 Quique homo parte sui, parte iuvenus erat:
 Quique trabes pressas ab humo mittebat in auras,
 Aequis aspiciens huius et huius aquas:
 Quaeque Ceres laeto vidit pereuntia vultu
 Corpora Thesea Cercyonea manu.
 Haec tibi, quem meritis precibus mea devovet ira,
 Evenient, aut his non leviora malis.“

¹⁷ Hinweis von U. Mandel.

¹⁸ Das hier verwendete Verbum πῆγνυμι wird im Pariser Zauberbuch (cf. unten) vom Durchstechen der Puppe mit der Nadel gebraucht.

¹⁹ Zu diesem Prinzip allgemein Watson 1991, 83.

„Wie dein Urenkel, o Saturn, den der Sohn der Coronis von seiner eigenen Stadt aus sein Leben hingeben sah; wie die Sau und Sciron und der Sohn Polypemons und dieser selbst und der, welcher teils Mensch, teils junger Stier war; und wie der, welcher die Baumstämme, die er niederdrückte, vom Boden in die Lüfte schnellen ließ, mit dem Blick auf das Wasser des einen und des anderen Meeres; wie der Leib des Cercyon, den Ceres fröhlichen Blickes von der Hand des Theseus hinsterben sah. All das wird dir, den mein Zorn mit berechtigten Gebeten verflucht, widerfahren oder was nicht weniger schlimm ist als diese Übel!“ (Übersetzung B. W. Häuptli)

Man beachte: In unserer Elegie wird nicht etwa gesagt, dass das Opfer ähnliche Strafen wie die mythischen Büßer erwarten: Die Strafe besteht in der ‚künstlerischen‘ Reproduktion dieser Mythen, und zwar in einem Reproduktionsverfahren, nämlich der Tätowierung, das als eine zwar miniaturisierte, aber doch auch schmerzhaft Version jener mythischen Vorgänge erscheint. In dieser Analogie zwischen dem Inhalt (Mythos) und der Darstellungstechnik scheint mir ein wesentliches künstlerisches Prinzip des Textes zu bestehen.

5. PARALLELEN FÜR EINE SOLCHE KORRESPONDENZ

Dafür, dass der Inhalt einer Tätowierung so umfassend die Verfehlung des durch sie Bestraften wie auch seine Bestrafung durch die Tätowierung reflektiert, wird man schwerlich Parallelen in der Realität finden.

Gleichwohl begegnen wir dem Phänomen, dass Straftätowierungen die Vergehen des Opfers beschreiben, und insofern ihre eigene Begründung liefern. Jones präsentiert eine Reihe von Beispielen aus Antike und Neuzeit:²⁰

Ein Scholium zum Redner Aischines (Σ Aesch. 2.83) gibt den Text einer auf der Stirn eines flüchtigen Sklaven angebrachten Tätowierung mit κάτεχέ με, φύγω („halte mich, ich fliehe“) an. Es gibt freilich auch Nachrichten über noch längere Texte: Zonaras 3.409 Dind. zitiert 12 jambische Trimeter, die der Kaiser Theophilus zwei Opfern auf die Gesichter tätowierte. Ähnliches ist auch aus der Neuzeit überliefert, etwa aus der britischen Armee im Jahre 1871, in der Deserteuren die Buchstaben „D.“

²⁰ Jones 1987, 148–149.

(für „Deserter“) und „B.C.“ (für „Bad Character“) eintätowiert wurden. Wir wissen nicht, worin sich das Opfer in der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ vergangen hat, aber es ist plausibel anzunehmen, dass das Verhalten der bestraften mythischen Figuren dazu Ähnlichkeiten erkennen ließ (etwa die Treulosigkeit und mangelnde Diskretion des Tantalos). Insofern ist das Vergehen hier anders als in den eben genannten Straftätowierungen nicht direkt beschrieben, sondern (wie in den gelehrten Fluchgedichten) durch ein mythisches Exemplum charakterisiert.

Ein Beispiel für einen vergleichbaren Selbstbezug einer Straftätowierung begegnet schließlich in einem der grundlegenden Texte der klassischen Moderne, Franz Kafkas Erzählung „In der Strafkolonie“ (entstanden 1914, veröffentlicht 1919), in dem ein Offizier einem eine exotische Kolonie bereisenden Forscher eine Maschine vorführt, die mittels eines komplizierten Nadel-Mechanismus einem Opfer das Urteil in den Leib sticht.²¹ Der Offizier erläutert dem Reisenden:

„Unser Urteil klingt nicht streng. Dem Verurteilten wird das Gebot, das er übertreten hat, mit der Egge auf den Leib geschrieben. Diesem Verurteilten zum Beispiel – der Offizier zeigte auf den Mann – ‚wird auf den Leib geschrieben werden: Ehre deinen Vorgesetzten!‘“²²

Und später:

„Der Reisende hatte Verschiedenes fragen wollen, fragte aber im Anblick des Mannes nur: ‚Kennt er sein Urteil?‘ ‚Nein‘, sagte der Offizier und wollte gleich in seinen Erklärungen fortfahren, aber der Reisende unterbrach ihn: ‚Er kennt sein eigenes Urteil nicht?‘ ‚Nein‘, sagte der Offizier wieder, stockte dann einen Augenblick, als verlange er vom Reisenden eine nähere Begründung seiner Frage, und sagte dann: ‚Es wäre nutzlos, es ihm zu verkünden. Er erfährt es ja auf seinem Leib. (...) Sie haben gesehen, es ist nicht leicht, die Schrift mit den Augen zu entziffern; unser Mann entziffert sie aber mit seinen Wunden.‘“²³

21 Ich danke Helena Schmedt für die Anregung, Kafkas Erzählung genauer mit der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ zu vergleichen.

22 Kafka in Raabe 1970, 117.

23 Kafka in Raabe 1970, 117–8; 122.

Der Vergleich mit Kafka lehrt uns, dass Straftätowierungen ein grundsätzlicher selbstbezüglicher Charakter innewohnt, der fundamental für das Verständnis auch der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ ist. In unserer Zeit, die zwar eine Tattoo-Renaissance sieht, doch eine Renaissance des Dekorations-, nicht des Straftattoos, ist diese Grundlage vielleicht nicht von vornherein evident.

5.1. MÖGLICHE MAGISCHE PARALLELEN

(LIEBESZAUBER IM ‚GROSSEN PARISER ZAUBERBUCH‘):

Neben diesen literarischen Parallelen kann der Blick auf den sublitterarischen Bereich erhellend sein.²⁴ Im ‚Großen Pariser Zauberpapyrus‘ (Papyri Graecae Magicae [= PGM] IV, 4. Jh. n. Chr.) wird in einem Liebeszauber folgende Anweisung gegeben:

PGM IV, 296–302

Φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός λαβὼν κηρὸν <ἢ πηλὸν> ἀπὸ τροχοῦ
κεραμικοῦ πλάσον ζῶδια δύο, ἀρρενικὸν καὶ θηλυκόν· τὸν μὲν ἄρσενα
ὡς Ἄρεα καθωπλισμένον ποιήσον τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατοῦντα
ξίφος, καταπλήσσοντα αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν κατακλιδα τὴν δεξιάν, αὐτὴν
δὲ ὀπισθάγωνα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα καθημένην ...

„Wunderbarer Liebeszwang. Nimm Wachs <oder Ton> von einer Töpferscheibe und knete zwei Figuren, eine männliche und eine weibliche. Den Mann bilde wie einen gewappneten Ares: in der Linken halte er ein Schwert, das er gegen ihre linke Schlüsselbeingrube zückt, sie selbst aber sei an den Armen rücklings gefesselt und auf die Knie gesunken ...“ (Übersetzung K. Preisendanz)

Nach der Befestigung von *materia magica* an Kopf und Hals folgt eine Liste mit Zauberswörtern (z. T. identifizierbar als Namen von Gottheiten und Dämonen),²⁵ die auf verschiedene Körperteile geschrieben werden sollen. Dann wird das Durchstechen der Puppe vorgeschrieben:

²⁴ Angedeutet schon Bernsdorff 2008, 54, n. 28, einem Hinweis von H. Versnel folgend. Dass ähnliche Praktiken wie die im Zauberbuch beschriebenen tatsächlich angewandt wurden, zeigt eine zusammen mit einer von Nadeln durchstochenen Tonfigurine gefundene Bleitafel (Mittelägypten, 2–3. Jh. n. Chr.), Supplementum Magicum I 47.

²⁵ Graf 1996, 129–136.

PGM IV, 321–322

καὶ λαβὼν δεκατρεῖς βελόνας χαλκᾶς πῆξον²⁶ α' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου λέγων·
'περονῶ σου, ἢ δεῖνα, τὸν ἐγκέφαλον'

„und nimm dreizehn eherne Nadeln und steck eine in das Hirn und
sprich dazu: ‚Ich durchbohre dir, du N N, das Hirn‘ ...“

Dies soll noch an einer Reihe weiterer Körperteile vollzogen werden, zum
größten Teil anderen als den zu beschriftenden, und zwar mit dem Spruch:

PGM IV, 327–328

'περονῶ τὸ ποιὸν μέλος τῆς δεῖνα, ὅπως μηδενὸς μνησθῇ πλὴν ἐμοῦ
μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα.'

„Ich durchbohre das betr. Glied der N N, auf dass sie an niemanden
denke als an mich, den N N allein ...“

Ohne die Unterschiede solcher magischen Praktiken zur ‚Tätowierelegie‘
übersehen zu wollen, so sind doch die Ähnlichkeiten nicht von der Hand
zu weisen:

- Mit Hilfe von Nadeln werden entscheidende Körperteile durchbohrt.
Zweck scheint nicht zu sein, dem Opfer durch Sympathie-Zauber einen
körperlichen Schaden zuzufügen, sondern sich unvergesslich zu ma-
chen.²⁷ Der Schmerz, in Nietzsches Worten „das mächtigste Hilfsmittel
der Mnemonik“,²⁸ spielt dabei wohl eine entscheidende Rolle.
- Eine Reihe von Körperteilen werden mit Aufschriften, z. T. von Göttern
versehen.
- Die weibliche Puppe (sie ist mit dem Opfer zu identifizieren, da der
Name nach der Mutter auf die Brust geschrieben werden soll), bildet
mit der zweiten Figur, die Ares darstellt, eine Art mythischer Gruppe.
Ares zückt dabei sein Schwert gegen ihr rechtes Schlüsselbein und

²⁶ In der ‚Tätowierelegie‘, col. 2.19 vom Durchbohren mit der Lanze verwendet.

²⁷ Graf 1996, 126–7.

²⁸ Nietzsche Kritische Studienausgabe 5, 295, 31–32. Die neuere Neuro-
psychologie wird dies bestätigen: was mit starken Emotionen einhergeht,
wird am wenigsten vergessen (Hinweis von U. Mandel).

spiegelt damit den magischen Ritus (ähnlich wie die mythischen Helden auf den Tattoos die Tätigkeit des Tätowierers spiegeln): das rechte Schlüsselbein, so die spätere Anweisung, soll auch beschriftet (freilich nicht durchbohrt) werden.

Natürlich ist das Durchbohren (gr. *περνάω*) etwas anderes als ‚stechen‘ *στίζειν*,²⁹ und dieses Durchbohren ist nicht mit dem Beschriften identisch, abgesehen von der Differenz zwischen Wort und Bild. Gleichwohl scheinen mir die Ähnlichkeiten die Annahme zu erlauben, dass die magische Praxis zum Zustandekommen der Fantasie der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ beigetragen hat.

6. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Es ist deutlich geworden, dass die antiken Praktiken der Straftätowierung und des Bindezaubers durch Nadeln in der ‚Tätowierelegie‘ keineswegs realistisch wiedergegeben werden. Der Text ist ein Fantasiegebilde und daher keine geeignete Quelle für diese oder andere Praktiken oder gar als Gebrauchstext innerhalb einer dieser Praktiken zu interpretieren.

Gleichwohl finden sich darin Reflexe solcher Praktiken und werden Teil eines komplexen und voraussetzungsreichen poetischen Kunstwerks, das die Eigenschaften mit zentralen Vertretern frühhellenistischer Poesie teilt:

- Ein starker Rückgriff auf die archaische und klassische Vorgängerdichtung, vor allem Homer, in Inhalt, Sprache und Formelementen.
- In Kombination damit der Ausgriff auf etwas Neues, in der bisherigen Literatur Marginalisiertes, die Tätowierung. Man vergleiche die *Eidyllia* Theokrits, welche die Welt der Hirten oder städtischen kleinen Leute (z. B. im 2. *Eidyllion* die Magierin Simaitha) in Sprache und Metrum der homerischen Epen darstellt; dieses Spannungsverhältnis zeigt sich übrigens auch im Falle von Theokrits wichtigster Kunstwerksephrasis, deren bedeutendstes Modell ohne Zweifel die iliadische Schildbeschreibung ist. Doch die Bilder sind in einen Hirtennapf aus Holz eingeschnitzt, ein in der literarischen Tradition neuartiges Material, wenn auch nicht so drastisch neuartig wie die lebendige menschliche Haut in der ‚Tätowierelegie‘.

²⁹ Freilich findet auch *στίζειν* Verwendung in den Zauberpapyri, nämlich wenn der Dämon aufgefordert wird, das Opfer oder sein Herz zu ‚stechen‘ PGM IV, 2607; XVI, 13 und 64.

- Dieses Neuartige, die Tätowierung, (und das zu zeigen, war wichtigstes Anliegen dieses Beitrages), dient freilich nicht dem Zweck, in ein bloßes Missverhältnis mit den Elementen der literarischen Tradition zu treten, wie Rawles es sehen will: Das Neuartige *belebt* das Traditionelle, es *sensibilisiert* uns im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes (durch das sensible Organ der Haut) für ein der Ekphrasis immanentes poetologisches Problem.
- Die beschriebenen Mythen – so entfernt sie von der Welt des Sprechers und seines Opfers sein mögen – spiegeln doch das Verhältnis zwischen Strafendem und Bestraftem sowie den Vorgang der Tätowierung, darin einer überzeitlich zu beobachtenden Tendenz der Straftätowierung folgend.
- Die Verletzung durch die Tätowierung miniaturisiert freilich die in den Mythen dargestellten Verletzungen: Da die Elegie selbst (dieser konkrete Text wie auch andere hellenistische Beispiele der Gattung; gleiches gilt wieder für die theokriteische Bukolik) als eine Miniaturisierung des homerischen Großepos aufgefasst wird, mag die geniale Integration des Tätowiermotivs auch in dieser Hinsicht der metapoetischen Reflexion dienen.

ANHANG

P. Brux. inv. e 8934 und P. Sorb. inv. 2254 (Textgestalt nach Huys 1991, mit wenigen in den Fußnoten vermerkten Veränderungen)

col. 1

P. Brux. inv. e 8934³⁰

(Anfang der Kolumne)

1] . [
2] . [.] . . . [.] . . [
3] . π . [. .] . μνήσονται ἀοιδαὶ
4] . . [.] . [.] . ὥς τε πυρὶ φλέγομαι
5] γῶτον στίξω μέγαν Εὐρυτί[ω]να

30 Im hier abgedruckten Text folge ich im Allgemeinen der Ausgabe von Huys 1991. Nur an folgenden Stellen weiche ich von Huys' Text ab: col. 1, Z. 8 τ' ὅστε Hutchinson: -τος τε Huys; col. 2, Z. 14 ὑπέρθ' ὀφρῦων Huys im Apparat, befürwortet von Lloyd-Jones 1990: ὑπέρ σ' ὀφρῦων Huys im Text.

- 6 N]εφέλης υἱὸν ἀτρεστοβίην
 7 Ἀμφιτρωνι]άδαο δαῖζόμενον ὑπὸ χερσίν
 < . . . >
 8]κ . . τ' ὅσ τε μνηστεύετο κούρην
 9 ἀνθ]ρώπων ἄζόμενος νέμεσιν
 10]ας δεινὸν χόλον, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ δειλ[.] .
 11] . ον δριμύν [ἀεὶ] τίθεται
 12] τίσις τω . σ . . ο . ρι . ἥ γὰρ ὁ γ' οὐδ' ἐν
 13]π[.] κακῆς ὕβριος
 14] . . . ε [τ]ρίποδα μέγαν
 15] . φο . . [.]ις κρατὸς ὑπε[ρ] λασίου
 16] . ει μέσσον δ' εἰς στήθ[ο]ς ἔρεισεν
 17]ν ἀνέρος οὐδεμίαν
 18]εθηκε βέλος Τριτωνὶς Ἀθήνη
 19]του φειδομένη μεγάλως
 20 ἐτ]έρηι μὲν ὑπ' ἀσφάραγον λάβε χειρί,
 21 τῇ δ' ἐτέρηι ῥ]όπαλον σκληρὸν ἀνασχόμενος
 22] κρόταφον σὺν [τ' ὁ]στέα πάντα ἄραξεν
 23]νων ἔκπεσεν [ἐγ]κέφαλος
 24] πλήγην ψυχῇ [δ' ἀνὰ ἥερα δῶκε

(Ende der Kolumne)

„... (meine) Gesänge werden berichten ... wie ich von Feuer brenne ... auf den Rücken werde ich dir tätowieren den großen Eurytion ... Sohn der Nephele, der nicht Gewalt fürchtet, wie er unter den Händen des Amphitryonsohnes zerschmettert wird ... der ... freite um das Mädchen ... (nicht) den Tadel der Menschen scheuend, (und ohne Furcht vor) dem schlimmen Zorn (?des Zeus?), der auf den armen (?Frevler?) immer grimmigen (?Krieg?) legt ... Rache ... wahrlich nichts ... des schlimmen Übermuts ... einen großen (?Drei-)fuß ... oberhalb seines zottigen Kopfes ... mitten in die Brust stieß er ... keine ... des Mannes ... es ließ ihm das Geschloß verfehlen die am Triton geborene Athene³¹ ... (?ihnen?) schonend auf mächtige Weise (?) ... mit der einen Hand ergriff er unten seine Kehle, mit der anderen hielt er die harte Keule in die Höhe ... und zerschmetterte die Schläfe zusammen mit allen

31 Hutchinsons Ergänzung ἀλλ' ἄλιόν οἱ ἔθηκε (col. 1, Z. 18) ist hier vorausgesetzt.

Knochen ... sein Gehirn spritzte heraus ... den Schlag, seine Seele aber schwand in die Luft herauf.“

col. 2 *P. Brux.* inv. e 8934 | *P. Sorb.* inv. 2254
(Anfang der Kolumne)

1 μείδησεν [δ]ὲ Δίκη παρθένος ἀθάνα[τος,
2 ἦτε ἀναπεπ[ταμένοις ἀτενὲς βλέπε[ι ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
3 ἐν δὲ Διὸς Κρ[ο]νίδεω στήθεσιν ἐδριά[ει].

4 στίξω δ' ἐν κ[ο]ρυφῇ σε μέγαν καὶ ἀναιδέα λαῶν,
5 ὅς τε καὶ εἰν Αἴδεω κρατὸς ὑπερκρέματα
6 Ταντάλῳ ἀ[ξ]υνέτου γλώσσης χάριν· ἢ μέγ' ἐκείνῳ
7 πῆμα καὶ εἰν | Αἴδεω δώμασιν ἐστρέφετο.
8 ἢ μὲν δὴ καὶ | θεοῖσιν ὀμέστιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
9 ἦεν καὶ Ζην[ι]ὸς παῖς νεφεληγερέος,
10 καὶ πλούτῳ | καὶ παισὶ μέγας καὶ τίμιος αὐτῷ.
11 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς γλ[ω]σση δούς χάριν ἀξυνέτως
12 ποινὴν ἐξή[λυξε· σὺ δ' ἔλπει ἐκφρεῦξέσθαι;
13 μήπω τοῦτο [θ]εοῖς ἀνδάνοι ἀθανάτοι[ς].

14 αὐτὰρ ὑπέρθ' ὀφρυῶν στίξω σὺν ἀργιόδοξα,
15 ὅς ποτ' ἀν' Αἰτ[ω]λῶν ἐρχόμενος καμάτ[ους
16 Ἀρτέμιδος βο[υ]βλήισι – τὸ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετ[ο] κοῦρῃ –
17 σίνετο μὲν [σίτ]ον, σίνετο δὲ σταφυλάς,
18 πολλοὺς δὲ σ[κ]ύλας θηρήτορας ἐξενά[ρι]ξεν,
19 πρίν γ' ὅτε οἱ μ[ε]λίην πῆξεν ὑπὸ λλαπά[ρ]ῃν
20 Ὀϊκείδης | Μελέαγρος· ὁ γὰρ θηρέστατος ἦεν
21 πολλῶν ἡρώων σὺν τότε ἄθροισαμένων.
22 ἦλυθε μὲν Θη[ι]σεὺς Πιτθίδος, ἦλυθε δ' Αἰθῶν,
23 ἦλυθε δ' Ἀγκαῖος σὺμ μεγάλῳ πελέκει,
24 ἦλθον δὲ Λή[ι]δος κοῦροι καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀνακτορ

(Ende der Kolumne)

„Es lächelte die unsterbliche Jungfrau Dike, die mit weitgeöffneten Augen unverwandt blickt und auf der Brust des Kronossohnes Zeus sitzt. Ich werde dir auf den Kopf den großen und schamlosen Stein tätowieren, der auch im Hades dem Tantalos über dem Haupte schwebt, seiner unverständigen Zunge wegen. Wahrlich, den erwartete

großes Leid auch in den Häusern des Hades. Er war Gast sogar bei den unsterblichen Göttern, war Sohn des Wolkensammlers Zeus, und war durch Reichtum und Kinder in gleicher Weise ebenso groß wie angesehen. Doch dennoch entkam er nicht der Strafe dafür, dass er unverständlich der Zunge nachgab. Du aber hoffst zu entkommen? Niemals möge dies den unsterblichen Göttern gefallen. Doch über die Augenbrauen werde ich den weißzahnigen Eber eintätowieren, der einstmals durch die Felder der Aitolier laufend nach dem Ratschluss der Artemis – denn das war der jungfräulichen Göttin lieb – verwüstete das Getreide, verwüstete die Rebstöcke, viele Jagdhunde riss er, ehe ihm die Lanze in die Flanke stieß Meleager, der Sohn des Oineus. Denn der war ohne Zweifel der Wildeste unter den vielen Heroen, die sich damals versammelt hatten. Es kam Theseus, der Sohn der Pittheus-Tochter, es kam Ankaïos mit einem großen Beil, es kamen die Söhne der Leda und des Herren Zeus ...“

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Barns, J. W. B. und H. Lloyd-Jones 1963 „Un nuovo frammento papiraceo dell'elegia ellenistica,“ *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 35: 205–27. Englisch in: Lloyd-Jones 1990.

Bernsdorff, H. 2000 *Kunstwerke und Verwandlungen. Vier Studien zu ihrer Darstellung im Werk Ovids*. Frankfurt.

Bernsdorff, H. 2008 „Mythen, die unter die Haut gehen – zur literarischen Form der Tätowierelegie (PBrux. inv. e 8934 und PSorb. inv. 2254),“ *Mnemosyne* 61: 45–65.

Caplan, J. (Hrsg.) 2000 *Written on the Body. The Tattoo in European and American History*. London.

Gärtner, Th. 2006 „Die Erzählung vom Kalydonischen Eber und Meleager bei Homer, in der ‚Tattoo Elegy‘ und bei Ovid,“ *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 52: 123–130.

Graf, F. 1996 *Gottesnähe und Schadenszauber. Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike*. München.

Huys, M. 1991 *Le Poème élégiaque hellénistique P. Brux. inv. e 8934 et P. Sorb. inv. 2254*. Brüssel.

Jones, C. P. 1987 „Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity,“ *JRS* 77: 139–155.

Lloyd-Jones, H. 1990 *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea. The Academic Papers of Sir H. Lloyd-Jones*, 196–215. Oxford.

Papathomopoulos, M. 1962 „Un poème élégiaque inédit et la sanglier de Calydon“, *Recherches de papyrologie* 2: 99–111.

Raabe, P. (Hrsg.) 1970 *Franz Kafka, Erzählungen*. Frankfurt.

Rawles, R. 2006 „Homeric Beginnings in the ‚Tattoo Elegy‘“, *CQ* 56: 486–495.

Schüttpelz, E. 2006 „Unter die Haut der Tätowierung. Die Veränderung der Körpertechnik ‚Tätowieren‘ seit 1769.“ In *Ex machina. Zur Geschichte der Kulturtechniken*, hrsg. von T. Nanz und B. Siegert, 109–154. Weimar.

Stähli, A. 1999 *Die Verweigerung der Lüste. Erotische Gruppen in der antiken Plastik*. Berlin.

Tsiafakis, D. 2014 „Thracian Tattoos.“ In *Bodies in Transition: Dissolving the boundaries of embodied knowledge*, hrsg. von D. Boschung, A. Shapiro und F. Wascheck. Paderborn. (im vorliegenden Band)

Watson, L. 1991 *Arae. The Curse Poetry of Antiquity*. Leeds.

JAN N. BREMMER

STIGMATA: FROM TATTOOS TO SAINTS' MARKS

For Erik Bleumink

Walking along the beaches of Europe one cannot but be struck by the growing number of tattoos.¹ They not only adorn the bodies of the average European. Bettina Wulff, the wife of the previous German president, has one, as does Samantha Cameron, the wife of the present British Prime Minister: tattoos have become almost *salonfähig*.² However, the fact that these women do not normally show them also illustrates a certain ambivalence about the phenomenon.³ Why would that be, and why do we use a Greek term, *stigmata*, that originally meant 'tattoos' to refer to the wounds in the hands and feet of Saint Francis of Assisi that subsequently became one of the marks of sainthood?⁴ Those wounds have been discussed in literally hundreds of studies from all kinds of perspectives,⁵ but no-one has tried to chart the development of the term *stigma* from ancient Greece to Francis. To contribute to a better understanding of that history is the modest aim of these few pages.

1 The present contribution corrects, updates, abbreviates and expands Bremmer 2000, 11–19. I was and remain much indebted to the authoritative study of tattooing in antiquity by Jones 1987, 139–55, reprinted, albeit somewhat revised, in Caplan 2000, 1–16.

2 <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/leben/bettina-wulff-first-tattoo-1.967871> (accessed on 18 July 2013).

3 For women's tattoos, see now Mifflin 2013.

4 Vauchez 1981, 514–18.

5 See especially the historiographical surveys by von Rieden 1963, 210–66, 392–422 (with exhaustive bibliography) and Schmucki 1991, 3–69. Schmucki also prints all relevant early testimonies in Latin with an English translation.

Stigma, ‘tattoo’, and related Greek words, such as the verb *stizein*, ‘to tattoo’, *stiktês/stigeus*, ‘the tattooer’, and *stigmatias/stigôn*, ‘the bearer of a tattoo’, all derive from an ancient Indo-European root, which is also at the basis of words such as Latin *instinctus*, English *sting*, German *Stich* and Dutch *steek*. The term thus is connected with the activity of pricking or with the actual prick (of a needle, I hasten to add) itself. This meaning also explains why the early nineteenth-century Dutch called tattooing *puncteren* or *prikschilderen* (‘prick painting’).⁶ It is not surprising, then, that Greek *stigma* can also mean the grammatical point, a point in time and even the mathematical point.

In ancient Greek, we meet words related to *stigma* first in Herodotus in his report on the beginning of the Ionian revolt against the Persians. He relates how a prominent Milesian, Histiaeus, who was kept prisoner in Susa, sent a message to his son-in-law Aristagoras, the Persian governor of Miletus, in the following manner: “He shaved the head of his most trustworthy slave, *estixe*, ‘tattooed’, the message on his scalp, and then waited for his hair to grow back. As soon as it had, he sent him to Miletus”.⁷ Until that moment the Greeks themselves had not practised tattooing, and it seems safe to say that Histiaeus had learned the practice from the Persians during his imprisonment in Susa. The latter both tattooed and branded their slaves,⁸ practices probably taken over from their Near Eastern neighbours.⁹ The fact that Histiaeus tattooed a slave indeed suggests that a tattoo was not immediately considered to be an honour.¹⁰ In fact, the Greeks were so struck by this Persian practise that the epitaph of a certain Pollis from Megara, who had died in the early fifth-century war against the Persians, mentions that he had fallen against ‘the tattooers’.¹¹

It was probably their proximity to the Persians that made the Greeks imitate their neighbours and introduce the tattooing of slaves in order to prevent them from running away. Such a slave was called a *stigmatias* or

6 C.M., *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* 1820, 530; Joest 1887, 6 ascribes the word ‘prikschilderen’ to ‘Holländische Chronisten’, but I have been unable to locate these, and the word has been overlooked by the standard Dutch dictionary *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.

7 Herodotus 5.35, translated by Waterfield 1998.

8 Briant 2002, 945.

9 Westbrook 2003, 361–430 at 382; Oelsner *et al.* 2003, 911–74 at 932.

10 Note also Herodotus 7.35.1, 7.233, where in both cases Waterfield 1998 wrongly translates with “branded”.

11 *SEG* 41.413, 45.421, cf. Ebert 1996, 19–33.

stigôn;¹² in other words, he was literally *stigmatised*. That does not mean that the Greeks could not have encountered other peoples that also practised tattooing. Fifth-century texts already mention the tattoos of Thracian males, and vase paintings regularly display Thracian women who are tattooed on their arms.¹³ Herodotus reports an Egyptian temple where run-away slaves dedicated themselves to the god via sacred *stigmata*.¹⁴ Yet the connection at home between tattooing and slavery was probably too strong for religious and decorative tattooing, which never became part of archaic and classical Greek culture,¹⁵ although it was probably practised in cults in countries that became Hellenised later.¹⁶

Punitive tattooing, on the other hand, soon caught on, and is often found in Greek comedy.¹⁷ It usually happened on the forehead of slaves, and in certain cases even the words “Arrest me. I am a runaway” were tattooed on their brows,¹⁸ but it also seems to have been used to disfigure prisoners of war.¹⁹ Interestingly, the theme was also used in a literary

12 For early mentions of *stigmatias*, see Eupolis F 172.14 and F 298.2 Kassel and Austin (henceforth K/A); Hermippus F 63.14 K/A; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 331; Theophrastus, *Char.* 28.2 (a palmary emendation of James Diggle; see also his commentary *ad loc.*); *SEG* 47.274 (a—probably—early fourth-century BC Athenian *defixio*); Jordan 1985, 151–97 at 165 no. 52 (a third-century BC Athenian *defixio*). *Stigôn*: Aristophanes F 99 K/A; Pollux 3.79; Hesychius σ 1854.

13 Thracian men: Herodotus 5.6.2; Aristophanes F 90 (probably also F 99) K/A; Lysias 13.19; Cicero, *Off.* 2.25; Artemidorus 1.18. Women: *Dissoi Logoi*, fr. 2.13 DK; Zimmermann 1980, 163–96; the occurrence of tattoos on a figure, named as ‘Adikia’, on a neck amphora of about 520 BC from Cerveteri may also derive from knowledge of tattooed Thracian women and depict Adikia as barbaric, cf. Shapiro 1986, 388–91 at no. 3; Diggle 2004, 489–91; Renaut 2011a, 191–216.

14 Herodotus 2.113.2, cf. Stolper 1998, 133–43; Poon and Quickenden 2006, 123–36.

15 Note also the tattooing of the outrageous Mossynoecians, who did things in public that civilised people did in private: Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.4.32.

16 For a discussion of religious tattoos, with the older bibliography, see Ysebaert 1962, 187–204, overlooked by Renaut 2006, 211–38.

17 Eupolis F 277 K/A; Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 1296, *Av.* 760–61, *Ra.* 1508–14, F 71 K/A; Menander, *Sam.* 321–24, 654–57; note also the anecdote about Philip II of Macedonia who had the words “ungrateful man” tattooed on an ungrateful soldier: Seneca, *De benef.* 4.37.3–4.

18 Schol. Aeschines 2.83.

19 Bühler 1999, 542–48.

mode. In a more recently published papyrus containing all kinds of curses, one of these curses, which has given the poem the name of 'The Tattoo Elegy', states that the author will tattoo the, unfortunately unknown, object of his wrath with various mythological penalties, such as with a big stone à la Tantalus on the crown of his head as a punishment for his uncontrolled tongue.²⁰

We do not know how exactly the Persians and early Greeks made tattoos. In the sixth century AD the doctor Aetius relates only that one first has to make ink, then prick, wipe away the blood, rub in juice of leek and, finally, make the tattoos. He also provides a prescription for how to remove the tattoo, a problem which was just as complicated then as it is now. Probably people never fully succeeded in doing so, and the fact that some males let their hair grow long to hide tattoos suggests that little was to be expected from an operation. Anyway, if it had been easy to remove tattoos, the practice would probably never have arisen in regard to slaves in the first place.²¹

In all cases where the Greeks use the word *stigma* and related terms, the meaning 'tattoo' is the most probable one. However, some modern translators, as for example Robin Waterfield in his Herodotus translation,²² think instead of 'branding', but that is unlikely. In ancient Greece, branding was restricted to animals, in particular to horses, as valuable beasts, undoubtedly to prevent them from being stolen. In those cases the word *charaktêr* was used. Originally, it meant "he who or that which sharpens or engraves". Later it acquired the meaning of "that which has been sharpened or engraved, a mark", especially regarding coins and stamps, but also concerning motifs used in branding horses, such as an axe, owl or ivy leaf (to mention only the most popular ones), and sacrificial victims.²³ In the Hellenistic era the term came to be applied to people too and acquired its present meaning of 'character', but in Greek this always remained limited to certain stock types and was never used for individual characters.²⁴

²⁰ Bernsdorff 2008, 45–65.

²¹ Aetius 8.12 (*CMC* 8.2, pp. 417–18), Jones 1987, 142–44. The practice of wearing the hair long in order to hide tattoos may well go back to the later fifth century BC, cf. Dunbar 1995, 760–61.

²² See note 7.

²³ Jones 1987, 151; Feyel 2006, 49–54.

²⁴ Körte 1929, 69–86; van Groningen 1930, 45–53.

Like the Greeks, the Romans originally did not practise tattooing, as is evident from the fact that their tattooing terminology was taken over from the Greeks. In the second half of the third century BC the poet Naevius had written a comedy *Stigmatias*, presumably ‘The runaway slave’;²⁵ but the term *stigmata* becomes more frequent in Latin only after Augustus. According to Suetonius, Catullus’ poetry had put *perpetua stigmata*, ‘eternal tattoos’, on Caesar and, again according to Suetonius, Caligula had defaced many people of the better sort with *stigmatum notis*, ‘the marks of tattoos’, and subsequently condemned them to the mines and the paving of roads.²⁶

It is clear from our evidence so far that it was the Greeks who introduced tattooing for punitive reasons in the Western part of the Mediterranean. Not everybody followed them, however. Among the Jews tattooing remained forbidden, perhaps at first only for priests but later certainly for the whole population, as appears from *Leviticus* (19.28, 21.5; see also *Deuteronomy* 14.1–2).²⁷ By this the Jews were probably trying to differentiate themselves from the other inhabitants of Palestine who did practise tattooing (*1 Kings* 18.28, *Jeremiah* 16.6, 41.5).²⁸ In the first centuries of the Christian era the rabbis even often warned against religious tattoos, which were seen as the pagan pendant of circumcision. Naturally, not many new Jewish texts have been published in this area, but the happy discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls means that we can now read in the *Temple Scroll*: “nor shall you daub yourselves with tattoos because you are a holy people for YHWH your God” (11Q19.48, 9–10, translated by García Martínez and Tigchelaar).

It is against this Jewish background that we have to look at a famous passage of the apostle Paul. He concludes his letter to the Galatians with a short remark that stresses his authority: “From now on, let no one cause

25 The title is quoted by Varro, *De lingua latina* 7.107, but nothing else has survived of this comedy.

26 Scribonius Largus 231; Petronius 105.11; Quintilian 7.4.14; Martial 10.56, cf. Schneider 2004, 163–64; Suetonius, *Iul.* 73, *Cal.* 27.3.

27 These passages already attracted the interest of early German scholars: Dresig 1733; Biedermann 1755. However, it is not always clear from our texts whether these mean tattoos or just incisions. It may well be that the two categories were not always sharply distinguished.

28 Cf. Betz 1964, 657–64 (not wholly satisfactory). For modern Jewish views, see, for example, http://www.myjewishlearning.com/practices/Ethics/Our_Bodies/Adorning_the_Body/Tattoos.shtml (accessed on 18 July 2013).

me any trouble, for I bear *ta stigmata* of Jesus on my body” (6.17). What did Paul mean by these words? From the usage of *ta stigmata* until and in the time of Paul, we can be certain of one thing: his readers will not have thought of branding, even though modern Bible translations often tend towards that direction.²⁹ This makes it more likely that he will have meant *ta stigmata* metaphorically because, as a Jew, Paul will not have had any real tattoos. Although it is not immediately clear what Paul means by the expression *ta stigmata tou Iêsou*, it seems plausible to connect these words with the current usage of *ta stigmata*, ‘tattoos’. Therefore he may well have wanted to say that he was the inalienable property of Christ, just as a slave belonged to his master forever as attested by his tattoos. In fact, as elsewhere in his letters, Paul also refers to himself, in his letter to the Galatians, as being a ‘slave of God’ (Gal. 1.10: *Christou doulos*).³⁰

In Late Antiquity tattooing continued to be actively practised on soldiers and those considered criminals, such as the early Christians;³¹ moreover, the early Christians now started to accuse pagans and heretical fellow Christians of the practice.³² In the course of time, though, the verb *stizein* gradually vanished from daily usage as tattooing disappeared as a living tradition in the Byzantine Empire and the West, and this development meant that authors increasingly felt the need to explain the practice of tattooing.³³ Yet the term *stigmata* remained current in Latin through Paul’s letter to the Galatians, as the Vulgate had kept *stigmata* in its translation of Paul’s words: *Ego enim stigmata Domini Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto*.

Regarding these words of Paul, Christopher Jones observes:

“Out of St. Paul grew the medieval use of the word stigma for marks received on the body by participation in Jesus’ sufferings, either by self-laceration or by mystic transmission, and this may have fostered the belief that the word primarily signified branding”.³⁴

²⁹ See the many translations gathered at <http://biblehub.com/galatians/6-17.htm> (accessed on 18 July 2013).

³⁰ For the expression and its place in Hellenistic religiosity, see Pleket 1981, 152–92; Versnel 1990, 88–92 and Versnel 2011, 291 f.

³¹ Gustafson 1997, 79–105; Rivière 2004, 279–308; Renaut 2011b, 11–27; Hartmann 2013.

³² Elm 1996, 409–39 and Elm 1999, 345–63; see also Burrus 2003, 403–17.

³³ Jones 1987, 154–55.

³⁴ Jones 1987, 150–51.

Although this is not untrue, the observation is not very illuminating about the development of *stigmata* from Paul to Saint Francis, the first stigmatist. Moreover, the best modern experts on Francis and medieval sainthood, Octavian Schmucki and André Vauchez, do not improve on Jones. On the contrary, Schmucki refers to Betz³⁵ in order to explain that *stigma* means “a mark by which someone is branded with a red-hot iron”, and Vauchez, in his recent biography of Francis, remarks: “À proprement parler, le mot *stigmata* signifie ‘marques’”, which is incorrect, as we have seen. Moreover, he states that “Par la suite, le terme (*stigmata*) ne fut plus guère employé, sauf par Pierre Damien dans la Vie de l’ascète Dominique l’Encuirassé au milieu du xi^e siècle, jusqu’à ce que le frère Élie l’applique à François ...”.³⁶ This is not correct either. In fact, as the following survey will show, the exclusive reference to Peter Damian’s *Life of Dominic Loricatus* (995–1069) is rather arbitrary.

Although occasionally a learned scholar, such as Lanfranc of Canterbury (c. 1010–1089), still mentions the connection between *stigmata* and runaway slaves,³⁷ it is true that late antique and earlier medieval Christians use the term *stigmata* in the vast majority of cases when referring to the words of Paul, except when commenting on the prohibition of tattoos in *Leviticus*.³⁸ Moreover, they almost always understand it to mean the scars that the apostle bore on his body, except for Peter Damian (c. 1007–1077), whose Dominic seems to have painted a cross on his forehead and his limbs.³⁹ Only the late fourth-century Victorinus explains the words of Paul as meaning that he bears the whole suffering of Jesus, even the very scars received on the cross, *in addition to the cetera stigmata* on his body.⁴⁰ Thus not even Victorinus explains Paul’s *stigmata*

³⁵ See note 28.

³⁶ Schmucki 1991, 181 note 5; Vauchez 2009, 324.

³⁷ Lanfranc of Canterbury, *In Ep. ad Galatas* 6.17 (PL 150.286): “*Stigma proprie nota fugitivo servo impressa; quod Apostolus se portare dicit, eo quod prius Dominum fugerit.*” For Lanfranc, see Cowdrey 2003.

³⁸ See, for example, the commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Walafridus Strabo *ad loc.*

³⁹ Peter Damian, *Vita Sancti Rodulphi episcopi Eugubini et S. Dominici Loricati* 13 (PL 144.1024): “*Dominicus autem noster stigmata Jesu portavit in corpore, et vexillum crucis non tantum in fronte depinxit, sed cunctis etiam undique membris impressit*”, cf. Trexler 2001, 474–5.

⁴⁰ Victorinus, *In Ep. ad Galatas* 6.17, edited by Gori 1986: “*Ego enim stigmata domini nostri Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto: id est omnem passionem et illa quae in cruce toleravit clavis figentibus corpus vel vulnere lanceae per latus et*

as being exclusively the wounds of Jesus on the cross; rather, they are just one part of all the *stigmata* borne by Paul.⁴¹ Both more or less contemporary and later authors, without exception, when commenting on the passage of Paul, think of the *stigmata* as scars borne on Paul's body that he acquired during missionary efforts, probably inspired by Paul's words: "Five times I received from the Jews the forty lashes minus one. Three times I was beaten with rods, once I was stoned, three times I was shipwrecked, I spent a night and a day in the open sea" (2 *Corinthians* 11.24–25, *New International Version*). We can see this from a range of authors, such as the fourth-century Ambrosiaster and Jerome,⁴² Eusebius 'Gallicanus' (5th and 6th centuries),⁴³ Autpert Ambrose (died 784),⁴⁴ Pope

cetera, inquit, stigmata Iesu Christi domini nostri in corpore meo porto, id est et ego passus sum et, in mysterio cum servo Christo, mysterium Christi patior."

41 Note also, in the sixth century, Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, 9.14.5, edited by Jacob and Hanslik 1952: "*Alii diversis macerati suppliciis adhuc stigmata Christi et vulnera in suo corpore circumferre noscuntur and Cassiodori discipulus,*" *In Ep. ad Galatas* 6.17 (PL 68.608): "*Ego enim stigmata Domini nostri Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto. Ego enim signa et characteres non circumcisionis, sed crucis per passionem in corpore meo circumfero, et plagas vel flagella, quae propter Christum sustinui.*"

42 Ambrosiaster, *Ad Galatas* 6.17, edited by Vogels 1969: "*haec (ista) enim stigmata, id est cicatrices plagarum, testimonia sunt credentium {eorum qui patiuntur}, quod digni sint futura promissione*"; Jerome, *Ad Galatas* 6.17, edited by Raspani 2006: "*qui uero in plagis supra modum, in carceribus frequenter, ter uirgis caesus est, semel lapidatus et caetera quae in catalogo scripta sunt gloriandi, hic stigmata Domini Iesu in corpore suo portat*". Note the recent appearance of two translations of Jerome's commentary: Cain 2010; Raspani 2010.

43 Eusebius 'Gallicanus', *Hom.* 23.135, edited by Glorie 1970–71: "*Et ideo custodiamus totis uiribus, regenerationis dona, redemptionis munera, sacrae imaginis ornamenta, ut quandoque in conspectu iudicis nostri non diaboli ulcera, sed Christi stigmata reparato in corpore praeferamus; neque hostis noster aliquid suum in membris nostris, sed sua in nobis redemptor noster membra cognoscat.*" For the most recent study of this collection of sermons, see Bailey 2010.

44 Autpert Ambrose, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* 9.19.13, edited by Weber 1975: "*Potest autem per uestem aspersam sanguine Ecclesia in beatis martyribus intellegi, de quibus longe superius in hac Apocalypsi dicitur: Hii sunt qui uenerunt de magna tribulatione et lauerunt stolas suas in sanguine Agni. Vnde et Apostolus ad hanc se uestem pertinere cognoscens ait: De cetero nemo mihi molestus sit. Ego enim stigmata Iesu in corpore meo porto.*"

Adrian I (c. 700–795),⁴⁵ Claudius of Turin (*floruit* 810–827),⁴⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1163),⁴⁷ and Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167).⁴⁸ In fact, as far as I can see, no author before Francis of Assisi explains the *stigmata Christi* as only the five wounds on Christ's hands, feet and side.

It is therefore the great innovation of Francis (or perhaps one of his colleagues) to interpret the *stigmata Christi* in Paul's text as the actual wounds of Christ on the cross, as we can read first in the famous letter of Brother Elias, which he wrote on 3 October 1226, immediately after the death of Francis:

"A little while before his death, our brother and father appeared crucified, bearing in his body the five wounds, which are truly the stigmata of Christ. His hands and feet had as it were the punctures of nails, pierced on both sides, retaining the scars and showing the black colour of nails. His side appeared pierced by a lance, and it often oozed blood".⁴⁹

45 *Epistola Adriani Papae ad Beatum Carolum Regem de Imaginibus*, Act. 6.4 = *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi* III (Berlin, 1898) 15: "*Quis mihi tribuet perfundi corpore Pauli, et adherere sacre sepulture et pulverem sancto videre corporis illius, in quo imitatus est Christum, in quo Christi stigmata portavit, qui ubique praedicationem disseminavit?*"

46 Claudius of Turin, *Ad Galatas* 6.17 (PL 104.911): "*Ego enim stigmata Jesu in corpore meo porto. Id est, ego signa et characteres, non circumcisionis, sed crucis per passionem in corpore meo circumfero, et plagas vel flagella, quae propter Christum sustineo, et habeo alios conflictus, et certamina cum carne mea, quae in persecutionibus quas patior mecum dimicant. Stigmata enim dicuntur notae quaedam poenarum servilium.*"

47 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sententiae* 18, edited by Leclercq and Rochais 1972: "*Sanguinea in martyribus, qui in sanguine Agni suorum corporum indumenta laverunt, et per iter martyrii, triumphalis altitudinis solium attigerunt. Purpurea est in confessoribus, qui in sua carne vestigia dominicae passionis per abstinentiam expresserunt, et in suis corporibus vulnere Christi stigmata portaverunt,*" and *Ep.* 42.2.4, edited by Leclercq and Rochais 1974: "*Non Christi stigmata sunt haec, quae isti Martyrum exemplo circumferant in corpore suo.*"

48 Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermo* 8.18, edited by Raciti 1989: "*Tamdiu ergo est in laboribus, ieiuniis, uigiliis insistendum, donec mortificentur membra nostra quae sunt super terram, donec mortem Iesu circumferamus in carne nostra, ut dicere possimus cum Apostolo: Christo confixus sum cruci. Et illud: Ego stigmata Domini Iesu in carne mea porto.*"

49 Fr. Elias, *Epistola Encyclica de Transitu Sancti Francisci* 5 = *Analecta Franciscana: sive, Chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum*

This relatively modest description was very quickly overtaken in texts and images by the much more sensational description of the stigmatisation by Thomas of Celano in his *Vita prima* of Saint Francis,⁵⁰ written between 1228 and the beginning of 1229, but that development is another story and falls outside the scope of this article. For us it is sufficient to observe that from now on *stigmata*, thanks to Francis, will mean only one thing: the marks of Jesus' passion on the cross as displayed on the bodies of saints.⁵¹ This development, as we have seen, was very sudden and was not prepared by the usage of *stigmata* in the previous centuries. The reason for this sudden development is not wholly clear, but the increasing identification with the human side of Christ, due to Cistercian influence, as visible in several testimonies from 1200 to 1230 about lay people who inflicted the passion wounds on themselves in order to come as close as possible to the suffering Christ, will have been an important contributing factor.⁵²

With the disappearance of tattooing as a practice, the loss of knowledge of Greek in the medieval West and the usage by the Church of *stigmata* in its now religious meaning, it is not surprising that Europe had to wait until the eighteenth century before tattooing again became visible. It was James Cook who on Tahiti noted:

"Both sexes indent or prick the flesh about and below the hips in a multitude of places, with the points of sharp bones, and these indentures they fill with a deep blue or blackish paint, which ever after continues, and discolours the skin in those places, rendering it black. This practice is universal among them, and it is called tat-tow, a term which they afterwards applied to letters when they saw us write, being themselves perfectly illiterate".⁵³

Minorum spectantia 10 (Quaracchi, 1926–1941) 526–27: "*Non diu ante mortem frater et pater noster apparuit crucifixus, quinque plagas, quae vera sunt stigmata Christi, portans in corpore suo. Nam manus eius et pedes quasi puncturas clavorum habuerunt, ex utraque parte confixas, reservantes cicatrices et clavorum nigredinem ostendentes. Latus vero eius lanceatum apparuit et saepe sanguinem evaporavit,*" translated by Schmucki 1991, 264.

50 Thomas of Celano, *Vita prima* = *Analecta Franciscana* 10, 94. For the images, see Frugoni 1995; Davidson 2009, 451–80; Frugoni 2010.

51 It would exceed the bounds of my article if I traced that development here. Let me just mention one article that analyses a modern case of *stigmata* in a very illuminating manner: Krass 2011, 363–94.

52 Trexler 2001; Vauchez 2009, 335–37.

53 Cook 1771, 44, cf. Landfester 2003, 175–84 and Landfester 2006, 13–20.

Although soon after Cook the term ‘tattoo’ appeared in the major European languages, tattooing itself long remained characteristic of socially lower groups in society, such as soldiers and sailors, or pilgrims who travelled to holy places far away.⁵⁴ However, it is typical of our own times that tattooing is gradually advancing up the social ladder, as the examples at the beginning of my contribution show. Clearly, as people desperately try to preserve some individuality in our globalising world, tattooing is developing into one of the ways by which we can show that we are different;⁵⁵ even some professors studying the subject no longer feel above the practice.⁵⁶ Moreover, the present trend towards remembering, as manifested in the growing number of museums and books on *lieux de mémoire*, has led people to tattoo marks of emotional moments in their lives, as was done by the New York fire-fighters who tattooed “9/11” on their arms.⁵⁷ Yet the original connotation of the practice with the lower classes remains surprisingly strong, and it may still be some time before most of my readers will have taken a trip to the tattoo shop.⁵⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailey, L.K. 2010 *Christianity’s Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul*. Notre Dame IN.

Bernsdorff, H. 2008 “Mythen, die unter die Haut gehen: zur literarischen Form der Tätowierelegie (P. Brux. inv. E 8934 und P. Sorb. inv. 2254),” *Mnemosyne* IV 61: 45–65.

Betz, O. 1964 *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* VII: 657–64, s.v. “stigma”. Stuttgart.

Biedermann, J.G. 1755 *De characteribus corpori impressis*. Freiberg.

⁵⁴ Caplan 1997, 107–44; Meinardus 1988–91, 117–22; Lewy 2003, 1–39.

⁵⁵ Friess 2000, 167–87; Menke and Vinken 2004; Vandekerckhove 2006; Neef 2011, 237–63; note also Geulen *et al.* 2011; Galliot 2014.

⁵⁶ Bremer 2011, 16.

⁵⁷ Caplan 2010, 119–46.

⁵⁸ I am most grateful to Adam Cain, Wouter Henkelman, Goffe Jensma, Birgit van der Lans and Mladen Popović for information, to Ton Hilhorst for his careful scrutiny of my text, and to Orla Mulholland for her skilful correction of my English.

- Bremer, J. 2011** "Ist ein Stigma nicht auch ein Tattoo? Eine Tagung im Vatikan befasst sich mit Tätowierungen. Schließlich sagt schon die Bibel: 'Der Herr selbst machte ein Zeichen an Kain'," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* 18 December 2011: 16.
- Bremmer, J.N. 2000** "Christelijke tatoeages in de tijd van Jezus en nu." In *Erik Bleumink op de huid gezeten*, edited by J.N. Bremmer, 11–19. Groningen.
- Briant, P. 2002** *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake.
- Bühler, W. 1999** *Zenobii Athoi proverbia V*. Göttingen.
- Burrus, V. 2003** "Macrina's Tattoo," *Journal Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33: 403–17.
- Cain, A. 2010** *Saint Jerome, Commentary on Galatians*. Washington DC.
- Caplan, J. 1997** "'Speaking Scars': the Tattoo in Popular Practice and Medico-Legal debate in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *History Workshop Journal* 44: 107–44.
- Caplan, J. (ed.) 2000** *The Tattoo in European and American History*. London.
- Caplan, J. 2010** "'Indelible memories'. The tattooed body as theatre of memory." In *Performing the Past. Memory and the Making of European Culture*, edited by K. Tilmans *et al.* 119–46. Amsterdam.
- Cook, J. 1771** *A Journal of a Voyage round the World*. London.
- Cowdrey, H. 2003** *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop*. Oxford.
- Davidson, A.I. 2009** "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or How St. Francis Received the Stigmata," *Critical Inquiry* 35: 451–80.
- Diggle, J. 2004** *Theophrastus: Characters*. Cambridge.
- Dresig, S.F. 1733** *Dissertatio de usu stigmatum apud veteres*. Leipzig.
- Dunbar, N. (ed.) 1995** *Aristophanes, Birds*. Oxford.
- Ebert, J. 1996** "Neue griechische historische Epigramme." In *Energieia. Studies on Ancient History and Epigraphy Presented to H.W. Pleket*, edited by J.H. Strubbe *et al.*, 19–33. Amsterdam.
- Elm, S. 1996** "'Pierced by Bronze Needles': Anti-Montanist Charges of Ritual Stigmatization in Their Fourth-Century Context," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4: 409–39.
- Elm, S. 1999** "'Sklave Gottes': Stigmata, Bischöfe und anti-häretische Propaganda im vierten Jahrhundert," *Historische Anthropologie* 7: 345–63.
- Feyel, C. 2006** "La *dokimasia* des animaux sacrifiés," *RPhil* 80: 33–55.
- Friess, M. 2000** "Die europäische Kultivierung einer südseeinsulanischen Tradition. Tätowierung als Kennzeichnung individualisierter sexueller, kultureller und nationaler Identität," *Anthropos* 95: 167–87.

- Frugoni, Ch. 1995** *Vita di un uomo: Francesco d'Assisi*. Turin.
- Frugoni, Ch. 2010** *Le storie di San Francesco. Guida agli affreschi della Basilica superiore di Assisi*. Turin.
- Galliot, S. (ed.) 2014** *Tatoueurs, taoués*. Paris.
- Geulen, B. et al. (eds.) 2011** *Das Herz auf der Haut: Literarische Geschichten über das Tattoo – von Herman Melville bis Franziska Gerstenberg*. Hamburg.
- Glorie, F. (ed.) 1970–71** *Eusebius 'Gallicanus'*. Turnhout.
- Gori, F. (ed.) 1986** *Marii Victorini opera II*. Turnhout.
- van Groningen, B.A. 1930** "Charaktêres," *Mnemosyne* II 58: 45–53.
- Gustafson, M. 1997** "Inscripta in fronte: Penal Tattooing in Late Antiquity," *CLAnt* 16: 79–105.
- Hartmann, A. 2013** "Nochmals zur angeblichen Brandmarkung von Sklaven nach der Lex Portorii Asiae," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 46: 188–204.
- Jacob, W. and R. Hanslik (eds.) 1952** *Cassiodorus, Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*. Vienna.
- Joest, W. 1887** *Tätowieren, Narbenzeichen und Körperbemalen*. Berlin.
- Jones, C.P. 1987** "Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity," *JRS* 77: 139–55.
- Jordan, D. 1985** "A Survey of Greek Defixiones not Included in the Special Corpora," *GRBS* 26: 151–97.
- Körte, A. 1929** "Charaktêr," *Hermes* 64: 69–86.
- Krass, U. 2011** "Stigmata and yellow press. Die Wunder des Padre Pio." In *Wunder*, edited by A. Geppert and T. Kössler, 363–94. Berlin.
- Landfester, U. 2003** "Beschriebene Haut: Eine kleine Kulturgeschichte der Tätowierung." In *Verborgen im Buch. Verborgen im Körper. Haut zwischen 1500 und 1800*, edited by U. Zeuch, 175–84. Wolfenbüttel.
- Landfester, U. 2006** "Die Geburt der Tätowierung aus dem Geist der Schrift." In *Kalender kleiner Innovationen. 50 Anfänge einer Moderne zwischen 1755 und 1856 für Günter Oesterle*, edited by R. Borgards et al., 13–20. Würzburg.
- Leclercq, J. and H. Rochais (eds.) 1972** *Sancti Bernardi opera* VI.2. Rome.
- Leclercq, J. and H. Rochais (eds.) 1974** *Sancti Bernardi opera* VII. Rome.
- Lewy, M. 2003** "Jerusalem unter der Haut. Zur Geschichte der Jerusalemer Pilgertätowierung," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 55: 1–39.
- Meinardus, O. 1988–91** "Jerusalemer Pilgerstätten auf Hamburger Armen. Zur Tätowierung eines Hamburger Jerusalem-Pilgers, 1669," *Beiträge zur deutschen Volks- und Altertumskunde* 26: 117–22.
- Menke, B. and B. Vinken (eds.) 2004** *Stigmata: Poetiken der Körperinschrift*. Munich.

Mifflin, M. 20133 *Bodies of Subversion. A Secret History of Women and Tattoo*. New York.

Neef, S. 2011 *Imprint and Trace: Handwriting in the Age of Technology*. Cambridge.

Oelsner, J. 2003 "Mesopotamia, Neo-Babylonian Period." In *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law* 2, edited by R. Westbrook, 911–74. Leiden

Pleket, H.W. 1981 "Religious History as the History of Mentality: The 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World." In *Faith, Hope and Worship*, edited by H.S. Versnel, 152–92. Leiden.

Poon, K. and T. Quickenden 2006 "A Review of Tattooing in Ancient Egypt," *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 17: 123–36.

Raciti, G. (ed.) 1989 *Aelredi Rievallensis, Opera omnia, Vol. II*. Turnhout.

Raspanti, G. (ed.) 2006 *Hieronymus, Commentarii in epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Galatas*. Turnhout.

Raspanti, G. 2010 *Girolamo di Stridone: Commento alla Epistola ai Galati*. Turnhout.

Renaut, L. 2006 "Ptolémée Philopator et le stigmate de Dionysos," *Mètis NS* 4: 211–38.

Renaut, L. 2011a "Mains peintes et menton brûlé: la parure tatouée des femmes thraces." In *Parures et artifices, le corps exposé dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*, edited by L. Bodiou *et al.*, 191–216. Paris.

Renaut, L. 2011b "Le tatouage des hommes libres aux IV^e et V^e siècles de notre ère," *Diasporas. Histoire et sociétés* 16: 11–27.

von Rieden, O. 1963 "De S. Francisci Assisiensis stigmatum susceptione dissertatio historico-critica luce testimoniorum saec. XIII," *Collectanea Franciscana* 33: 210–66, 392–422.

Rivière, Y. 2004 *Le Cachot et les fers: détention et coercition à Rome*. Paris.

Schmucki, O. 1991 *The Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi*. St. Bonaventure NY.

Schneider, W.J. 2004 "Von Stirnen und Steinen. tristia saxorum stigmata – eine Korruptel im Martial-Text?" *ZPE* 148: 163–64.

Shapiro, H.A. 1986 *LIMC* III.1: 388–91, s.v. "Dike".

Stolper, M.W. 1998 "Inscribed in Egyptian." In *Studies in Persian History. Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, edited by P. Briant *et al.*, 133–43 (= *Achaemenid History* XI). Leiden.

Trexler, R. 2001 "The Stigmatized Body of Francis of Assisi Conceived, Processed, Disappeared." In *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter*, edited by K. Schreiner, 463–97. Berlin.

Vandekerckhove, L. 2006 *Tatouage. De la sociogenèse des normes esthétiques*. Louvain-la-Neuve.

- Vaucher, A. 1981** *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age*. Rome.
- Vaucher, A. 2009** *François d'Assise*. Paris.
- Versnel, H.S. 1990** *Ter unus*. Leiden.
- Versnel, H.S. 2011** *Coping with the Gods*. Leiden.
- Vogels, H.J. (ed.) 1969** *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur Commentarius in Epistulas Paulinas III*. Vienna.
- Waterfield, R. 1998** *Herodotus: The Histories*. Oxford.
- Weber, R. (ed.) 1975** *Autpert Ambrose, Expositio in Apocalypsin*. Turnhout.
- Westbrook, R. 2003** "Mesopotamia, Old Babylonian Period." In *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law 1*, edited by R. Westbrook, 361–430. Leiden.
- Ysebaert, J. 1962** *Greek Baptismal Terminology*. Nijmegen.
- Zimmermann, K. 1980** "Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf griechischen Vasenbildern," *JdI* 95: 163–96.

CREDITS

PLATES

- 2** Harvard Art Museums / Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund, S1.25.7.
- 3** Harvard Art Museums / Fogg Museum, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund, S1.29.

VÉRONIQUE DASEN

BODY MARKS—BIRTHMARKS

Body Divination in Ancient Literature and Iconography¹

ABSTRACT

A very popular form of ancient divination relies on reading the signs delivered by the human body, such as quivering or skin irregularities. A treatise attributed to Melampous, Περί ἐλαιῶν τοῦ σώματος, lists predictions and psychological interpretations drawn from the observation of cutaneous defects. Physiognomic omens are well evidenced in ancient Babylonia, as well as in later Arabic and Jewish traditions. This practice did exert a marked influence in Graeco-Roman Antiquity. It appealed to all, the elite as well as the plebe, to men and women. Several texts allude to professionals, men and women, who read the future from facial features. Allusions to elaioscopy may be found in iconography, and the treatise of pseudo-Melampous could offer a key for interpreting the presence of moles on portraits, mostly of the Roman Republican period.

The range of omens used in ancient divination comprised signs delivered by the human body. Predictions drawn specifically from the observation of skin irregularities are listed in a little known treatise, *Περί ἐλαιῶν τοῦ σώματος*, allegedly written by Melampous, ἱερογραμματεὺς. Two versions are known. Version A was published by Camillus Peruscius in 1545 and

¹ This paper is based on the study of the treatises of pseudo-Melampous in collaboration with Christian Zubler who is editing the text with the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation. The english translation is by Irby-Massie and Keyser 2002.

by Fridericus Sylburg in 1587.² It was edited for the last time by Johann Georg Friedrich Franz in his *Scriptores Physiognomoniae Veteres* in 1780 with a latin translation and commentaries.³ It is composed of twenty-six statements dealing with the interpretation of ἐλαία on the human body, differentiating for each case between men and women, though not systematically. Version B, first edited by Armand Delatte in 1927, provides two distinct lists of eleven cases, one for men, the other for women.⁴

Ἐλαία is a generic term designating olive-shaped cutaneous lesions, moles, warts or benign skin tumours, such as neurofibromatosis. Birthmarks may be meant as well; they are normally called σημεῖον in Greek writings, but ἐλαία is used by Johannes Malalas, a sixth century author, describing the congenital sign of the Pelopides on the shoulder of Orestes.⁵ The extant, and much abridged, versions of this divinatory treatise may have suppressed earlier distinctions kept, for example, in the Arabic tradition.⁶ For convenience, I will use here the translation ‘mole’, aware that it comprises various possible types of skin anomalies, sometimes designated by an epithet, such as ‘tawny’, πυρρά (A§2 and 3), probably detailed in lost variants of the text.

The dating of the treatise is difficult. The opening dedication to King Ptolemaios refers to a Hellenistic context, but this is most likely an invention, as is common in this kind of literature. Melampous, the author’s name, is fictional too; his name was probably intended to provide the treatise with the authority of the famous mythical seer and healer of Thessaly.

The study of the vocabulary points towards a Late Antiquity work (5th–7th cent.),⁷ which does not imply that the content is recent. A second treatise attributed to Melampous, *Περὶ παλμῶν μαντική*, on predictions

² Peruscius 1545: it includes also the first edition of the treatise of palmomantic attributed to Melampous; Sylburg 1587.

³ Franz 1780, 451–500. See the italian translation (with G. Cardano’s *Metoposcopia*) by Arecchi 1994, and the english translation by Irby-Massie and Keyser 2002, 343–44, commented on 538–39.

⁴ Delatte 1927, 627–28.

⁵ On *elaia*, see Skoda 1988, 229–230. Malalas, *Chronicle*, 5.64 (139) (transl. E. Jeffreys *et al.*, Canberra, Melbourne 1986; ed. J. Thurn and M. Meier, Stuttgart, 2009, 107, l. 20). See also its use in astrological texts (*semeion* and *elaia*): Delatte 1924, 102, 8, and in later period greek texts: Kriaras 1977, 401.

⁶ See Fahd 1966 and below.

⁷ See the forthcoming edition by V. Dasen and Ch. Zubler.

based on the observation of παλμός, twitching or quivering,⁸ is preserved on papyri going back to the second century A.D.⁹

Artemidorus mentions a manual *Περὶ τεράτων καὶ σημείων*, *On Prodigies and Signs*, attributed to Melampous that may have included these two treatises as well as a fragmentary *lunarium* *Περὶ τῶν τῆς Σελήνης προγνώσεων*.¹⁰ However, apart from Artemidorus, no ancient author refers to Melampous' work.

THE DIVINATORY MEANING OF ELAIA

In pseudo-Melampous' elaioscopy,¹¹ the close inspection of a mole provides a prophetic as well as a psychological meaning, reflecting the contiguity of this expertise with physiognomy. Physiognomy could also have a predictive dimension; in the anonymous latin treatise *De physiognomonía*, one reads that "Polemon and Loxus advance this discipline to such an extent that they affirm it can predict some things in the future."¹²

The treatise on moles' interpretation follows the structure of divinatory tradition. First, the record of the sign on the body proceeds from head to heels, a *capite ad calcem*. Second, it follows a binary system; the location of the sign on the left or on the right side of the body induces its value, usually negative on the left side, and positive on the right one, but not systematically: "Therefore observe in regard to men and women. If there be a mole on the right parts, they will be rich and altogether virtuous. If on the left side, they will be sickly and poor." (A26) Third, the list is composed of conditional sentences with *protasis* and *apodosis*: "If ..., then ...", relating the position of the mole with an individual prediction. This formula conforms to an inference system already used in Mesopotamian divination. In the more elaborate versions of the *Peri palmôn mantike*, a general prognostic is followed by a second one, varying

⁸ Diels 1908, 1–42. Variants attribute this treatise to the Sybil (Suda, *sigma* 355) or Hermes Trismegistos (Diels 1908, 39–42, version H).

⁹ Costanza 2009.

¹⁰ Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 3.42.

¹¹ The term ἐλαιοσκοπία is the title of the treatise the cod. Florentinus 28.14 (14th cent.); Delatte 1927, 627.

¹² Anonymus latinus, *Book of Physiognomy* 133 (transl. I. Repath in Swain 2007). See also below Pliny, *Natural History* 35.88 on Apelles.

according to different social categories, such as slaves, widows, soldiers, and ending with a possible invocation to a deity, suggesting that the final result is suspended (Hekate, Demeter, Helios ...).

In the extant versions of the *Περὶ ἐλαιῶν*, the enumeration only differentiates between man, *ἀνὴρ*, and woman, *γυνή*, but the interpretations are often similar for both sexes. Some statements do not make the distinction. Social status and activities are not specified, as in the *Περὶ παλμῶν μαντική*.

The simplified phraseology is part of the genre: it standardized and eased the learning and transmission of a mostly oral knowledge, as did the Hippocratic aphorisms.¹³ Repetitions could be associated with memorisation techniques.

The logic conducting the statements is often not explicit. For Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, it was useless to try exploring it because body divination was just a simplified form of physiognomy, a 'degenerescence' deprived of subtlety.¹⁴ Despite the abridged form of the extant text, it is however possible to uncover the logic of some interpretations rooted in popular lore. As in Artemidorus and other divinatory treatises, they refer to cultural knowledge and beliefs drawn from heterogeneous sources that reflect the long history of this practice. Deconstructing this amalgam is a long and challenging venture.

Some predictions are prompted by anatomy. Most statements concern the head, and more specifically the forehead, possibly because it is traditionally associated with power. Thus a mole on the forehead of a man means that he will be the master of many good men, likewise for a woman (A1). On the opposite, placed at the back of the head of a man, in the neck, a mole foretells a dramatic reversal of fortune: he will be beheaded (A10). A mole on the loins (A11) suggests bending under a weight; it means poverty and being a burden for both men and women.

In some cases, the mole intensifies anatomical functions. Behaviors are betrayed, such as gluttony when the mole is on the lips or the belly (A6; 17), or sexual voracity when it is in a 'hidden place', *krypton* (A20). Explicitly on the sex, *physikon*, however, it is associated with procreation and announces the birth of several children, boys to a man, girls to a woman (A21).

¹³ On the similarities between prognosis and divination, see Langholf 1990, 232–254.

¹⁴ Bouché-Leclercq 1879, 175 (reedited 2003, 139).

A few interpretations refer to beliefs related to medical knowledge; a mole above the spleen is thus associated with sickness for both man and woman (A18). A mole above the *kardia* of a man displays that he is wicked (A16); the term *kardia* may not designate the heart but the upper part of the stomach, at the esophageal orifice, which was viewed as the seat of uncontrolled emotions, usually negative ones;¹⁵ in latin literature, the adjective *stomachosus* denotes a bad temperered person, a meaning probably reflected by the *Περὶ ἐλαιῶν*.¹⁶ For a woman, however, a bad temper is revealed by a mole on her breast, *mastos* (A16).

Other statements belong to widely shared mantic beliefs. Thus movements of eyelids and eyebrows occur often as predictive signs in Greek literature. Twitches of the eyebrow are of good omen in Theocritus and mean seeing a beloved one: “Lo there! a twitch o’ my right eye. Shall I be seeing her?”¹⁷ In elaioscopy, a mole above or upon the eyebrow (A2) is similarly related with love and successful marriage. Above a man’s eyebrow, it indicates that he will marry a good and beautiful wife. The meaning is similar for women, but it depends of the ‘tawny’ color of the mole. But if the *elaia* is *upon* a man’s eyebrows, he should not marry; the matrimonial meaning is amplified: the man could have five wives, likewise the woman.

Another widespread belief concerns hearing. Thus Pliny reports that: “a notion is universally received, that absent persons have warning that others are speaking of them, by the tingling of the ears”.¹⁸ Similarly, we read in pseudo-Melampous that a mole on the ear means that he or she will be wealthy and of good repute (A8).

Correspondences occur too with Hellenistic melothesia. The *Περὶ ἐλαιῶν* thus states that a tawny mole on the nose or near the eye (A3) implies that he or she will be insatiable in intercourse, with a subtle distinction between the sexes: the man will have insatiable sexual appetites, “the woman too will be unfaithful”.¹⁹ Did the author mean that sexual greed implied adultery for women only, or was it just a variation, lust being necessarily associated with extramarital relations? The connection

¹⁵ Skoda 1988, 90.

¹⁶ Gourevitch 1977, 56–74.

¹⁷ Theocritus, *Idyll* 3.37. Cf. Plautius, *Pseudolus* 106. Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1.5.

¹⁸ Pliny, *Natural History* 18.4.

¹⁹ This variant occurs in the Berlin manuscript, Phill. 1576, fol. 23v; see the forthcoming commentary by V. Dasen and Ch. Zubler.

between nose and sex occurs in Vettius Valens who associates the nose with Venus.²⁰ In the latin *Book of Physiognomy*, only snub-noses, *simoi*, designate lustful persons.²¹

Dreambooks share other common beliefs, such as the association of hands with procreation found in pseudo-Melampous: “If the mole is on the hand, the man will have many children. Likewise for the woman.” (A14) This connection occurs also in Artemidorus, where dreaming of having many hands means having goods and more children, but also implies more broadly wealth.²² It is repeated with the meaning of wealth in Byzantium dreambooks: “Scratching your hand indicates that you will get your hands on gold”.²³

Other associations belong to foreign traditions. In pseudo-Melampous having a mole on the foot (A25), implies that man and woman will beget many children. The relation of feet and procreation is well known in Hebrew; it goes back to the metaphoric use of feet for the sexual organs in the Old Testament.²⁴

Some unexpected body parts, such as the tongue with a mole (A5), may reflect the ambition to be comprehensive. Divinatory treatises belong to a highly stereotyped genre. All constituents of the human body had to be included in the enumeration, even beyond realism, especially the tongue that belongs to the conventional targets of magicians, and could not be missed.²⁵

The extant versions of the *Περὶ ἐλαιῶν* makes no reference to astrology, planets or to gods, but zodiologia associate the presence of *elaia* or *semeion* on the human body with zodiacal signs.²⁶ Elements of melothesia appear in the *Περὶ παλμῶν μαντική* on twitching, a treatise which is longer and more detailed. As in chiromancy, a planet and a god govern each finger of the hand. The thumb is associated with Aphrodite (§ 94); thus, a vibration in the right thumb (§ 83) predicts good luck, for the slave a

²⁰ Vettius Valens 1.1.

²¹ Anonymus latinus, *Book of Physiognomy* 51.

²² Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1.42.

²³ The *Oneirocriticon of Daniel* Letter xxi, § 383; Oberhelman 2008, 104.

²⁴ Carmichael 1977, 321–336, esp. 329.

²⁵ On anatomical curses, see Versnel 1998.

²⁶ Zodiologia are collected in the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* in twelve volumes. On *elaia* or *semeion*, that do note provide omens, see e.g. Delatte 1924, 101–121 (cod. Ath. B.P. 127), 228–243 (cod. Ath. Bibl. Soc. Hist. 211).

delight, for the unmarried girl a marriage (as does a vibration in the big toe), but spoliation for the widow. The little finger belongs to Hermes and is associated with trust (§ 90). The ring finger is governed by Helios and means becoming wealthy (§ 91). The middle finger is associated with Kronos and means insults and jealousies (§ 92). The index finger means punishment of an insult because this is the finger of Ares (§ 93).

ELAIA IN DAILY LIFE

At first, Melampous' treatise appears as a surprise, because Greek and Latin texts usually refer to skin anomalies as imperfections to suppress. A satire of Lucilius thus enumerates the blemishes of a girl: "a wart, *uerruca*, a mole, *naeuus*".²⁷ In ancient physiognomy, skin anomalies also have negative connotations. They indicate morally dubious persons: "Those who have variegated color, as if sprinkled with lentils, *tamquam lente aspersum*, which the Greeks call *phakodeis*, lead a disgraceful life and perform disgraceful deeds (*uitam turpem*), women as much as men."²⁸ Similarly, in Artemidorus' *Dreambook* a spotty forehead means shame and damage.²⁹

Rulers, such as Hadrian, concealed skin blemishes. Hadrian let his beard grow in order to hide a congenital mark, as the author of his life in the *Historia Augusta* reports: "He wore a full beard to cover up the natural blemishes on his face, *ut uulnera quae in facie naturalia erant*".³⁰ He may have concealed them because any physical defect could create unease in the body of an emperor.³¹

Similar negative views are found in ancient medicine. Celsus asserts that: "To treat pimples and spots and freckles is almost a waste of time, yet women cannot be torn away from caring to their looks. But of these just mentioned, pimples and spots are commonly known, although that species of spot is more rare which is called by the Greeks *semeion*, since

²⁷ Lucilius, *Satire* 17.2.

²⁸ Anonymus latinus, *Book of Physiognomy* 85.

²⁹ Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 1.23.

³⁰ *Historia Augusta* 26.1.

³¹ Cf. Corbeill 1996, esp. 14–15 on physical peculiarities, and 57–98 on names and *cognomina*. On the ambiguous value of scars, see e.g. Baroin 2002.

it is rather red and irregular. Freckles are in fact ignored by most; they are nothing more than a roughened and indurated discoloration.”³²

Pliny the Elder offers many medico-magical recipes in order to get rid of various kinds of skin blemishes, including warts and pimples, the most weird and exotic ingredients being the most efficient. Crocodile’s intestines, “filled with fragrant stuff called *crocodilea*, which with leek juice makes a very useful salve for affections of the eyes, and to treat cataract or films. Applied also with Cyprus oil *crocodilea* removes blotches appearing on the face, and it also clears the complexion. It removes freckles, pimples, and all spots.”³³

AN EXOTIC PRACTICE?

Is elaioscopy a foreign import? Body divination is well attested in ancient Mesopotamia. Cuneiform handbooks on physiognomic omens, called *Alamdimmû*, are found in the first millennium libraries of Nineveh and other cities, such as Uruk. These handbooks, newly edited by Barbara Böck,³⁴ were probably compiled by the end of the second millennium and derive from older traditions. Twenty-seven tablets provide individual prophetic interpretations based on somatic signs (hair, skin, body marks) or behavior (speech, movements ...), reviewed from top to toe. The series *Šumma liptu* (“If the mole”) lists various cutaneous irregularities, distinguishing between different types of spots, possibly warts, moles and birthmarks, characterized by distinct colors (black, red, discolored ...), and their meaning on men (eight tablets) or women (one tablet).³⁵ Post-antique Arabic elaioscopy has kept two different manuals, one on warts, the other on moles, that may derive from Babylonian distinctions.³⁶ In *Alamdimmû*, the signs are regarded as divine messages left, or written, by gods on the body, especially on the forehead where marks are sometimes compared with cuneiform signs.³⁷ The influence of zodiacal signs on the

³² Celsus, *On Medicine* 6.5.1.

³³ Pliny, *Natural History* 28.109.

³⁴ Böck 2000; 2010. On these omina, including twitching muscles, as in Melampous, see also Bottéro 1974; Maul 2003.

³⁵ Akkadian names refer to individuals characterized by skin anomalies; see Stamm 1939, 264–7. I thank Pascal Attinger for this reference.

³⁶ Fahd 1966, esp. 390–393 (on *naeu*), and 397–402 (on palmoscopy).

³⁷ Böck 2000, 92–95 (*Alamdimmû* III: 76–121). See Popovic 2007, 68–118 comparing Babylonian, Graeco-Roman and Hebrew physiognomic principles.

appearance of the human body is also evidenced in the tablets, though not for skin irregularities.³⁸

The eastern origin of this expertise is recorded by Velleius Paterculus (10 B.C.–A.D. 30) who explains that Sulla met a Parthian embassy when he was praetor in Cilicia in 92 B.C.: “There came to him ambassadors of the Parthians—he was the first of the Romans to be so honored—and among them some wise men (*magi*) who, from the marks on his body (*ex notis corporis*), foretold that his life and his fame would be worthy of a god.”³⁹

Plutarch offers a variant where a Chaldaean this time provides predictive physiognomy: “A certain man in the retinue of Oriobazus, a Chaldaean, after looking Sulla intently in the face, and studying carefully the movements of his mind and body, and investigating his nature according to the principles of his peculiar art, declared that this man must of necessity become the greatest in the world.”⁴⁰

Velleius Paterculus does not describe the nature of these *nota*, signs, but the word occurs later in Suetonius’ report of Augustus’ congenital skin anomalies that again foretold his prestigious destiny: “It is said that his body was covered with spots and that he had birthmarks scattered over his breast and belly, corresponding in form, order and number with the stars of the Bear in the heavens.”⁴¹ Suetonius does not precise if it was the *Ursa major* or *minor*, both composed of seven stars. In any case, the constellation designated the child as a future *kosmokrator*, inscribing his fate into the cosmic order. It justified his rise to power, unusual physical marks also demonstrating the singular status of the emperor.⁴²

Julius Africanus (1st cent. A.D.) confirms that skin defects could be interpreted as mantic signs: “Concerning tumors, warts and acrocordons. Irritating warts are outgrowths of the body resembling rough studs; they occur in many places. They call the condition *myrmekiai*, which many superstitious persons also regard as signs of something which is going to happen to them.”⁴³

38 On the connections of physiognomy with astrology in the Dead Sea scrolls and Babylonian tablets, see Popovic 2007.

39 Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 2.24.3.

40 Plutarch, *Sulla* 5.5–6.

41 Suetonius, *Augustus* 80.

42 On birthmarks as divine legitimation, see Dasen 2009 and 2015.

43 Julius Africanus, *Cestes* 3.17 (transl. F.C.R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic*, Tübingen, 1984).

The continuing importance of the practice in Mesopotamia in the Roman period is suggested by the coinage of Parthian kings. A series may show the depiction of a benign tumour on the forehead of King Mithridates II (125–88 B.C.) and his successors over several generations. Beyond the possible inherited pathology, the growth appears as the distinctive sign of a dynasty, providing the legitimacy of a royal origin.⁴⁴

A closer look at ancient sources shows that this science did exert a marked influence in Graeco-Roman Antiquity and appealed to all, the elite as well as the plebe, to men and women. Several texts allude to professionals, men and women, who read the future from facial features and provided services very similar to physiognomists. In *The Braggart Soldier* by Plautus (c. 205 B.C.), the expert is a woman.⁴⁵ The author presents a full list of female experts, all hired by a woman too: an old man, Periplectomenus, explains to Pleisicles the burden of having a wife and enumerates the expenses of a superstitious woman for gifts to diviners, all female, possibly as a joke:⁴⁶ “Husband mine, give me some money for a present for mother at the matrons’ Festival; give me some money to make preserves; give me some money to give to the sorceress (spell caster (*praecantrix*), at the festival of Minerva, and to the dream interpreter (*coniectrix*), and the diviner (*hariola*), and the interpreter of prodigies (*haruspica*) [...]. It’s a shame if I don’t send something to that woman that tells you fortune to your eyebrows (*quae supercilio spicit*)”.

The term *metoposcopoi* occurs first in Pliny’s description of specialists.⁴⁷ The practice must have enjoyed the same vogue as physiognomy: “[Apelles] also painted portraits so absolutely lifelike that, incredible as it sounds, the grammarian Apio has left it on record that one of those persons called ‘metoposcopists’ who prophesy people’s future by their countenance, pronounced from their portraits either the year of the subjects’ deaths hereafter or the number of years they had already lived.” The term *morphoscopoi* is found in Artemidorus who lists them among diviners of ill repute, deceitful charlatans, unlike astrologists and oniromancers.⁴⁸

44 Hart 1966 and Todman 2008 trace it on rulers’ coins from Mithridates II (125–88 B.C.) down to Artabanus V (213–227 A.D.); Dasen 2007, 28, fig. 7a–c.

45 Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 692–694.

46 Traill 2004. See also Montero 1993, 77–82.

47 Pliny, *Natural History* 35.88. For other evidence of the term, see e.g. Clemens of Alexandria, *Paedagogue* 3.3.

48 Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica* 2.69.

The clientele of diviners, however, was not exclusively composed of women. The male elite often had recourse to specialists who could contribute to providing ruling legitimacy. Thus, according to Suetonius, Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, brought in a *metoposcopus* who asserted that Britannicus would never become emperor: "At that time, so that they say, a physiognomist was brought in by Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, to examine Britannicus and declared most positively that he would never become emperor; but that Titus, who was standing near by at time, would surely rule."⁴⁹

Many anecdotes refer to the possible divinatory dimension of these marks, sometimes forecasting death. Suetonius records in his life of Domitian that: "The day before he was killed [...] while he was vigorously scratching a festered wart on his forehead, and had drawn blood, he said: 'May this be all'".⁵⁰

ELAIOSCOPY AND ICONOGRAPHY

Allusions to elaioscopy may be found in iconography. The treatise of pseudo-Melampous could offer a key for interpreting the presence of moles on portraits, mostly sculpture of the Republican period. Skin anomalies are usually explained by verism and the concern to be identifiable in a society marked by political competition.⁵¹ In this logic, moles had to be shown, because they characterise an individual.

The question of identity appears very strongly on official documents from Graeco-Roman Egypt detailing the particulars of individuals as in our modern passeports. They provide the age, the size, the shape of the face, nose and ears, the color of the eyes, the pilosity (baldness or beard) and distinctive signs, such as a scar, *oule*, a wart or mole, *phakos*.⁵² The description must allow the identification of the individual without ambiguity.

Marks, however, do not make a person unique. They can be hereditary, and thus specific to a family, as in the Parthian dynasty. Pliny states: "some marks (*signa*) moles (*naevi*) and even scars reappear in the

⁴⁹ Suetonius, *Titus* 2.1.

⁵⁰ Suetonius, *Domitian* 16. Cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 30.16 on Nero's freckles.

⁵¹ Cf. Giuliani 1986.

⁵² Hübsch 1968; Rivière 2002; Cordier 2004.

offspring.”⁵³ Bodily marks can thus construct a family identity, as show the names relating to them: Naevius, Gnaeus, Verrucius ... that may have originally designated a specific individual and then denoted a whole family. The most famous example concerns Cicero who had no skin blemish, but one of his ancestors.⁵⁴

Could portraits with moles also relate to mantic? They cannot be used to illustrate pseudo-Melampous, and their possible prophetic meaning is uncertain, but they belong to a cultural context where these signs were observed and regarded as meaningful. These portraits may thus reflect the influence of this type of divination in Roman society.

A circular growth is thus depicted on the ‘Green head’ of a priest with shaven head from Ptolemaic Egypt (c. 220–180 B.C.), on the left cheek, below the eye.⁵⁵ Other examples on various material and media come from Rome and the Vesuvian cities. The marble portrait of the so-called Postumius Albinus thus exhibits a wart on the right part of the chin (fig. 1).⁵⁶ Freedmen imitate the style. Another portrait, with a round irregularity under the left eye, was listed in 1622–1624 by Nicolaas Rockox as the bust of Q. Fabius Maximus, whose cognomen was *uerrucosus* (fig. 2).⁵⁷ The study of the piece conducted by Dietrich Boschung shows that it probably comes from a freedman’s funerary monument. A marble funerary relief (1st cent. A.D.) depicts the freedman P. Aiedius Amphio and his young wife, Aiedia Fausta Melior. The man exhibits a wart on the forehead, above the left eyebrow (fig. 3).⁵⁸ The detail occurs too on portraits of the Antonine period.⁵⁹

53 Pliny, *Natural History* 7.50; Plutarch, *Moralia* 563a. See also Aristotle, *History of Animals* 9.6.29; *Generation of Animals* 4.3.769a and 1.16.721b.

54 Plutarch, *Cicero* 1.3–6.

55 Boston, MFA 04.1749; Dasen 2007, 24, fig. 3.

56 Amelung 1903, cat. no. 60, pl. 8; Flavian copy of the beginning of the first century B.C. original. See also the bronze portrait from the house of Lucius Caecilius Jucundus in Pompei, individualised by a prominent fibrome at the bottom of the left cheek; Naples, MAN 110663; Dasen 2007, 24, fig. 4 and the bronze statue of a togatus, M. Calatorius Quarto from Pompei, with a distinct wart below the right eye; Naples, MAN 5597; Dasen 2008, 230, fig. 3a–b.

57 Boschung 2005, 17, fig. 8 (right), 26–27, no. C. Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus* 1.3. I thank D. Boschung for this new evidence.

58 Kockel 1993, 149–150, pl. 56d and 62a; Dasen 2007, fig. 5.

59 See two busts of men from Spain, Dasen 2008, 230, fig. 4 and 5 (Merida, Archaeological museum, no inv. no. Italica, Sevilla, Archaeological Museum



1 Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, 2261. Flavian copy of a first century B.C. original. Marble (h. 75,5 cm)

coll. Lebrija), and the portrait of a woman from Rome; Wellington Classics Museum, Victoria University, VUW Classics 2003.2; Dasen 2008, 230, fig. 6 a–b.



2 Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Sk 75. Marble (h. 50 cm)



3 Berlin, Staatliche Museen SK 840. Funerary relief.
Marble (h. 64 cm; length 99 cm)



4 London, British Museum Walters 1190.
Chalcedony (1,5 cm × 1,4 cm)

This singularity is also found on gems. A few portraits carved on seals depict warts. The best example is a chalcedony (75–50 B.C.) showing a middle-aged man with a wart on his right chin (fig. 4).⁶⁰ Two are found on mummy portraits, one in tempera on wood in Florence (ca. A.D. 138–161) shows a woman with a mole on the forehead (plate 4),⁶¹ the other in encaustic on limewood, from Antinopolis, with a mole on the side of the nose.⁶²

CONCLUSION

In pseudo-Melampous treatises, the body produces signs with a prophetic, sometimes also psychological meaning, which can express divine will, relating each part of the body to cosmic order, as in astrological melothesia or chiromantics. In its abridged form, the extant version reduces to a generic term, *elaia*, a much larger range of skin anomalies well evidenced in related traditions, such as Mesopotamian and Arabic manuals. In Jewish tradition, the practice is associated with zodiacal physiognomy.⁶³

Ancient morphoscopy may have included the interpretation of other facial features. In the mid-16th century, Girolamo Cardano, a famous Milanese scientist and occultist (1501–1576), wrote a treatise of *Metoposcopia*, on the divinatory reading of the face, which was published posthumously in 1658 as a French translation by Claude Martin de Laurendière, with 800 illustrations. Twelve chapters are dedicated to the language of wrinkles, associated with planets, from the Moon to Saturn; the last chapter lists the position of moles or warts, with 151 figures (fig. 5 and 6), also with astrological connections. G. Cardano does not mention his sources, but an appendix presents the treatise of pseudo-Melampous *Περὶ ἐλαιῶν μαντική* in Greek with a French translation by C.M. de Laurendière.⁶⁴

Does the divinatory reading of wrinkles by Girolamo Cardano, rely on an ancient source now lost, either because it was never standardized and remained oral, or got lost, as did ancient chiromantic treatises which left almost no written trace from Antiquity?⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Dasen 2007, 24, fig. 6.

⁶¹ Doxiadis 1995, pl. I, 220 (the so-called Zenobia, bought in Egypt in 1829 by I. Rosellini).

⁶² New York MMA Rogers Fund, 1909 09.181.2; Doxiadis 1995, 155, fig. 97.

⁶³ Popovic 2007.

⁶⁴ On the reception of Cardano, see Rizzardini 2005.

⁶⁵ Chr. Zubler, in press.

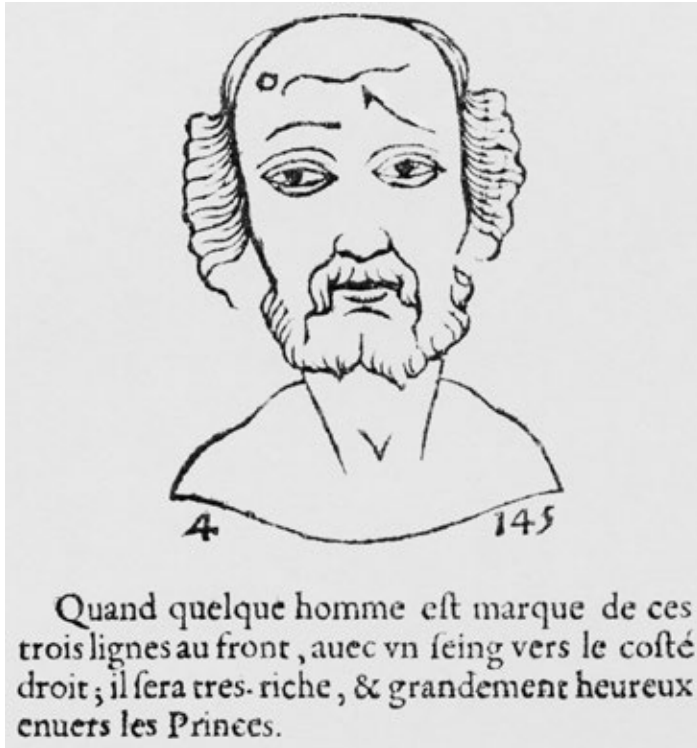


5 After Cardan 1990, fig. on 182

It is difficult to refrain from questioning the variety and oddity of some wrinkles on Republican portraits. Their shapes may express age and experience, *gravitas* and *seueritas*, and hence the competences of a magistrate, but the disposition is sometimes very complex with assymetries.

Could these wrinkles be signs as are cutaneous lesions? In chiromantics, future is pronosticated by reading in the hands lines that are called wrinkles, in Greek *rhytis*, in Latin *ruga*. A passage in Juvenal suggests that the wrinkles of the face could be read like the wrinkles of the hand: "If the woman be of a humble rank, she will promenade between the turning-posts of the circus; she will have the fortune told, and will present her brow and her hand to the seer who asks for many an approving smack."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Juvenal, *Satires* 6.582–4.



6 After Cardan 1990, no. 145

Like chiromancy, this divinatory method perhaps remained oral until the Renaissance. Metoposcopy was explicitly practiced in parallel with chiromantics. Men were believed to bear printed on the head or the hand the sign or signature of his or her destiny. Planets were then associated with the marks.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ In the Renaissance, chiromancy often composed with physiognomy and metoposcopy a common divination manual: “*Naturalis coniecturae tres sunt partes: Metoposcopia ex fronte, Chiromantia ex manibus, ex toto autem Physiognomia*”. Cf. Alexander Achillinus Bononiensis, *De Chiromantiae principiis et phsyionomiae*, Bologna, 1503; Barthelemy Cocles, *Physiognomiae et chiromantiae Compendium*, Strasbourg, (1533). See Courtine and Haroche 1988 and the bibliography by P. Gerlach, *Bibliographie von Texten zur Physiognomik*, 400 v. Chr.–1999, <http://www.peter-gerlach.eu/pdf/Bibliographie/Alphabetisch.pdf>.



7 Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 22. Black stone (h. 42 cm)

This hypothesis could explain the unusual grouping of wrinkles forming an enigmatic circle on the forehead of an Egyptian priest in black stone with a back pillar (fig. 7).⁶⁸ Was it the mark of a god, proving the legitimacy of the religious position of the priest? We know that in ancient Egypt sacred animals had to exhibit special physical marks, such the Apis bull, the manifestation of the god Ptah. Aelian explains that twenty-nine marks (*semeion*) must be clearly seen on the Apis bull, and that each mark symbolises a specific star: “and they say further that the marks indicate when the Nile will rise and the shape of the universe (*schema tou kosmou*) explain the shape of the crescent moon.”⁶⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arecchi, A. (ed. et transl.) 1994 *Girolamo Cardano, Manuale per la lettura della fronte. Metoposcopia*. Milano.

Baroin, C. 2002 “Les cicatrices ou la mémoire du corps.” In *Corps romains*, edited by Ph. Moreau, 27–44. Grenoble.

Böck, B. 2000 *Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie*. Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 27. Wien.

Böck, B. 2010 “Physiognomy in Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond: from Practice to Handbook.” In *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, edited by A. Annus, 199–224. Chicago.

Borg, B. 1998 “Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt ...” *Ägyptische Porträtmumien*. Mainz.

Boschung, D. 2005 “Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen des Nicolaas Rockox in Antwerpen.” *MüJb* 56: 7–39.

Bottéro, J. 1974 “Symptômes, signes, écritures.” In *Divination et rationalité*, edited by J.-P. Vernant, 70–197. Paris.

Bouché-Leclercq, A. 1879 *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*. Vol. 1. Paris (Reedition 2003, Grenoble).

Boudon-Millot, V. 2003 “Médecine et esthétique: nature de la beauté et beauté de la nature chez Galien.” *BAssBudé*: 77–91.

⁶⁸ Dasen 2008, 230, fig. 1.

⁶⁹ Aelian, *History of Animals* 11.10. See also Herodotus 3.28.

Boys-Stones, G. 2007 “Physiognomy and Ancient Psychological Theory.” In *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul, Polemon’s Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, edited by S. Swain, 19–124. Oxford.

Cardan, J. 1990 *Jérôme Cardan (1501–1576). La métoposcopie*, Paris.

Carmichael Calum, M. 1977 “A Ceremonial Crux: Removing a Man’s Sandal as a Female Gesture of Contempt.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96: 321–36.

Cordier, P. 2004 “Remarques sur les inscriptions corporelles dans le monde romain.” *Pallas* 65: 189–98.

Costanza, S. 2009 *Corpus palmomanticum Graecum*. Papyrologica Florentina 39. Firenze.

Courtine, J.-J. and C. Haroche 1988 *Histoire du visage. Exprimer et taire ses émotions* (XVIe – début XIXe siècle). Paris.

Dasen, V. 2007 “Autour du portrait romain: marques identitaires et anomalies physiques.” In: *Le portrait. La représentation de l’individu*, edited by A. Paravicini Bagliani, J.-M. Spieser, J. Wirth, 17–33. *Micrologus* 17. Firenze.

Dasen, V. 2008 “Le langage divinatoire du corps.” In *Langages et métaphores du corps*, edited by V. Dasen and J. Wilgaux, 223–42. *Cahiers d’histoire du corps antique* 3. Rennes.

Dasen, V. 2009 “Empreintes maternelles.” In *La madre / The Mother*, 35–54. *Micrologus* XVII. Firenze.

Dasen, V. 2015 *Le sourire d’Omphale. Maternité et petite enfance dans l’Antiquité*, Rennes.

Dasen, V. and J. Wilgaux 2013 “De la palmomantique à l’éternuement, lectures divinatoires des mouvements du corps.” In *Manteia. Pratiques et imaginaire de la divination grecque antique. XIIIe Colloque international du C.I.E.R.G.A., Paris 2011, Kernos*. 26, 111–122.

Delatte, A. 1924 *Codices Atheniensenses*. *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* X. Bruxelles.

Delatte, A. 1927 *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l’histoire des religions*. Liège, Paris.

Diels, H. 1908 “Beiträge zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients, I, Die griechischen Zuckungsbücher (Melampus περί παλμών).” *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften aus dem Jahre 1907, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abh. 4*: 1–42. Berlin.

Doxiadis, E. 1995 *Portraits du Fayoum: visages de l’Égypte ancienne*. Paris.

Fahd, T. 1966 *La divination arabe. Etudes religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l’Islam*. Leiden.

Franz, J.G.F. 1780 *Scriptores Physiognomoniae Veteres*, Altenburg.

Giuliani, L. 1986 *Bildnis und Botschaft. Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*. Frankfurt am Main.

Gourevitch, D. 1977 "Stomachus et l'humeur," *RPhil* 51: 56–74.

Hart, G.D. 1966 "Trichoepithelioma and the Kings of Ancient Parthia," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 94: 547–9.

Hübsch, G. 1968 *Die Personalangaben als Identifizierungsvermerke im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri*. Berlin.

Irby-Massie, G.L. and P.T. Keyser 2002 *Greek Science of the Hellenistic Era: a Sourcebook*. London, New York.

Kockel, V. 1993 *Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und zum Verständnis des spätrepublikanisch-frühkaiserzeitlichen Privatporträts*. Mainz am Rhein.

Kriaras, E. 1977 *Lexicon of Medieval Greek Demotic Literature 1100–1669*, vol. 5. Thessaloniki.

Langholf, V. 1990 *Medical Theories in Hippocrates. Early Texts and the 'Epidemics'*. Berlin, New York.

Maul, S. 2003 *RLA* 10: 66–8, s.v. "Physiognomische omina und Verhaltens-omina".

Montero, S. 1993 "Plauto, *Mil.* 694 y los primeros metoposcopi latinos." *Dioniso* 63: 77–82.

Oberhelman, S.M. 2008 *Dreambooks in Byzantium. Six Oneirocritica in Translation, with Commentary and Introduction*. Aldershot.

Peruscius, C. 1545 *Aeliani uariae Historiae libri XIII: Ex Heraclide de rebus publicis Commentarium. Polemonis Physionomia. Adamantii Physionomia. Melampodis ex Palpitationibus diuinatio. De Neuis*, Rome.

Popovic, M. 2007 *Reading the Human body. Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 67. Leiden, Boston.

Rivière, Y. 2002 "Recherche et identification des esclaves fugitifs dans l'empire romain." In *L'information et la mer dans le monde antique*, edited by J. Andreau and C. Virlouvet, 115–96. Rome.

Rizzardini, M. 2005 "La 'Lettura della pelle'. Introduzione alla metoposcopia di Girolamo Cardano." In *La pelle umana / The Human Skin*, 605–636. Micrologus 13. Firenze.

Skoda, F. 1988 *Médecine ancienne et métaphore. Le vocabulaire de l'anatomie et de la pathologie en grec ancien*. Paris.

Stamm, J.J. 1939 *Die akkadische Namengebung*. Leipzig.

Sylburg, F. 1587 *Aristotelis Opera Quae Extant*. Francfort.

Todman, D. 2008 “Warts and the Kings of Parthia: an Ancient Representation of Hereditary Neurofibromatosis Depicted in Coins.” *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 17: 141–6.

Trail, A. 2004 “A Haruspicy Joke in Plautus.” *CIQ* 54: 117–27.

Versnel, H.S. 1998 “Καὶ εἴ τι λ[οιπὸν] τῶν μερ[ῶ]ν [ἔσ]ται τοῦ σώματος ὅλ[ο]υ [... ‘and any other part of the entire body there may be ...’]. An essay on anatomical curses.” In *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert*, edited by F. Graf, 216–67. Stuttgart, Leipzig.

Zubler, Chr. (forthcoming) “Traduction d’un fragment de chiromancie grecque”.

CREDITS

- 1 Photo DAI Rome 43.438.
- 2 After Boschung 2005, fig. 8.
- 3 Berlin, Staatliche Museen SK 840. Photo museum.
- 4 Trustees of the British Museum.
- 5 After Cardan 1990, fig. on p. 182.
- 6 After Cardan 1990, no. 145.
- 7 Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 22. Photo museum.

PLATES

- 4 After Borg 1998, 8, fig. 7.

MARCELLO BARBANERA

THE LAME GOD: AMBIGUITIES OF HEPHAISTOS IN THE GREEK MYTHICAL REALM

In the “time of the gods”,¹ the conquest of technical knowledge is constantly placed in a sphere of ambiguity. Admiration for the awe-inspiring creations of τέκνη can easily be transformed into fear when faced with what might seem to be the supernatural powers by which the secret forces of nature are apprehended and mastered. On Olympus technical capacity is associated with loss of bodily integrity and, consequently, with marginality, as in the case of Hephaistos.² Moreover, he who dares to reveal to mankind the means by which technical skills and fire can be mastered will, like Prometheus, be repaid by suffering the torments of torture.³ Hephaistos and Prometheus must have been two complementary figures in the oldest theogonies and were sometimes interchangeable.⁴ However,

1 I refer, of course, to the definition “temps des dieux, temps des hommes” of P. Vidal Naquet (1960, 55–80).

2 On this figure Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1895 remains fundamental, whose limitations will be discussed below. Among the most significant contributions must be reported: Malten 1912, Délcourt 1957, Brommer 1978, Caldwell 1978; Hermay and Jacquemin 1988, Shapiro 1995, 1–14, 1998 and Graf 2005; Maciadri 2008, 259–303; Natale 2008; last Bremmer 2010. Other essays dealing with specific topics will be mentioned below.

3 For a recent framing of the mythical Titan, Gisler 1994; on the origins of the myth, interesting considerations in Raaflaub 2008.

4 In the Hellenistic period the proximity between Hephaistos and Prometheus easily leads to assimilation, so that the poet Euphoriion invented a version of the myth in which Hera was raped by the giant Eurymedon during a stay with her parents. From the union Prometheus was born. After her marriage to Zeus, the king of the gods rushed Eurymedon to Tartarus and chained Prometheus for stealing the divine fire. Some examples of



1 Hephaestus riding back to the Olympus. François crater.
Florence, Archaeological Museum, 570–565 B.C.E.

there is no reason to believe that the rebellious Titan preceded the god of the forge, as proposed by Karl Kerényi,⁵ nor should we allow our opinion on Prometheus to be misled or influenced by the softened image that Plato gives us in the classical age,⁶ making him a thief, especially of good manners, who extracts technical knowledge (*σοφία ἐντεκνος*) and fire by penetrating the workshop of Athena and Hephaistos (fig. 1) placed in Athens, according to a totally atticized version.

similitudes: *Sch. ad il.* V, 205 and XIV, 295, where he is considered son of Hera; *sch. ad Apol. Rod.* II, 1249: in love with Athena; Eur. *ion.* 455; Pind. *olym.* 7, 35: assists with Hephaistos the birth of Athena; for further duplications see Hermary and Jacquemin 1988.

5 Kerényi 1963, 59; hypothesis defended by Robertson 1992, 260 and Triumph 1992, 40.

6 Plat. *prot.* 320 d–e; in Athens in classical times, Hephaistos is sometimes considered the son of Prometheus and a relief at the entrance of the Academy showed them as such, with Prometheus older. Aeschylus, in the lost tragedy *Prometheus Pyrphoros* presents the Titan as a carrier of the fire, but does not consider him a thief, according to the version presented by Plato. In the Academy an altar dedicated to Prometheus was placed at the point where the race with torches probably began at the Hephaisteia, another indication of the association of the two figures: *IG I³* 82.32; Sekunda 1990; Wilson 2000, 35–6.

Hephaistos and Prometheus—like the later alchemists—originally belong to a universe in which what is at stake is the breaking down of boundaries and the expansion of unlimited knowledge. This is achieved by challenging forces unknown to mankind that are owned by a divine authority.⁷ In the oldest theogonic layers, the fates of Hephaistos and Prometheus are intertwined, and the figure of the civilizing hero, common to many cultures, is superimposed on their profiles.⁸ Only in the Hellenistic period will the brave Titan be represented as a gifted creator.⁹

Let us dwell now upon Hephaistos, who is the *Urbild* of the Greek craftsman in the divine sphere, and who was born with a strong distinctive sign: a physical handicap. Ulrich von Wilamowitz, in his seminal article on Hephaistos in 1895,¹⁰ correctly interpreted the figure of the lame god as the archetype of the craftsman, but his idealized vision of the Hellenic world did not allow him to understand the disability, and he eschewed including a crippled deity in the pantheon of a people who had made the cult of physical strength and beauty a normative principle. So Hephaistos, like Dionysus, was then considered to be an intruder among the Greeks, a marginal god.¹¹

The authority of Wilamowitz's unwavering judgement shattered any attempt to propose a different interpretation, including the intuitive suggestion of a Hephaistos "magicien" made by Charles Picard at the beginning of the last century.¹² Picard then developed the theme with broader arguments, coming to define the god as "a magicien lieur et endormeur",¹³ noting that he derives his power from the control of primitive forces, thereby entering into the realm of magic. Whilst not making explicit

⁷ Jung 1985, 66.

⁸ On the figure of the civilizing hero, Tegnaeus 1950.

⁹ Gisler 1994.

¹⁰ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1895, 217–45.

¹¹ The fact that Hephaistos is not generated by nature, by a father and a mother, led Wilamowitz to assume a late integration of the god in the Greek pantheon, a prejudice repeated by Bremmer 2010, 198. For a discussion of the opinion of Wilamowitz on Hephaistos and Dionysus, and the influence it exercised within the framework of classical studies, Isler-Kerényi 2007, 77–95. On the birth of the god see below 000 page 7.

¹² Picard 1919, 981.

¹³ Picard 1942–43, 105; on the legend of Hephaistos myth as a reflection of the full initiation of the magician see Eliade 1956; suggestive considerations in Eisler 1910.

reference to Hephaistos, the research of George Dumézil on the power of the links in Indo-European mythologies,¹⁴ paved the way for Marie Délcourt, in the late '50s, to develop a more complex understanding of the god. She gathered around the figure of Hephaistos the different traditions, without excluding the one that refers to the physical impairment.¹⁵

Who is Hephaistos, and what role did he have in the Greek pantheon? The question of the origin of the god is destined to remain largely open because the evidence that he was present in the pantheon of the Mycenaean age is based solely on a tablet from Knossos dated to the fourteenth century B.C.E. This mentions the word *a-pa-i-ti-jo* which, it has been proposed, may correspond to *Hephaistos* or *Hephaistion*, that is "sacred to Hephaistos".¹⁶ Certainly the consolidated position of Hephaistos, which emerges from Homeric epic, where he is mentioned in connection with a Trojan priest named Dares (*Il.* V, 10), suggests the existence of a cult and does not favor the hypothesis of a recent assimilation into the Greek pantheon.¹⁷ Even the ancient iconographic tradition accepts him as an integral member in the oldest Olympic 'family portrait', i.e. the bridal procession attending the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the famous dinos of Sophilos of the British Museum, dated to about 580 B.C.E. (fig. 2).¹⁸

What is certain is the convergence of ancient traditions, from Homer until Roman times, that makes the island of Lemnos the home country of the god, as well as an association with the Cabiri of Samothrace, that is, he is always associated with islands close to Asia Minor.¹⁹ The presence of Hephaistos on Lemnos, an island inhabited from the protohistoric age until the end of the sixth century B.C.E. by a non Greek population,²⁰ is an argument used by Walter Burkert to exclude the possibility of being a Greek god.²¹ Other historians of religion also support a provenance from

¹⁴ Dumézil 1952.

¹⁵ Délcourt 1957.

¹⁶ Chadwick and Baumbach, 1963, 201; for the identification Landau 1958; Chantraine 1970, 418; *contra*, Frisk 1972, 102.

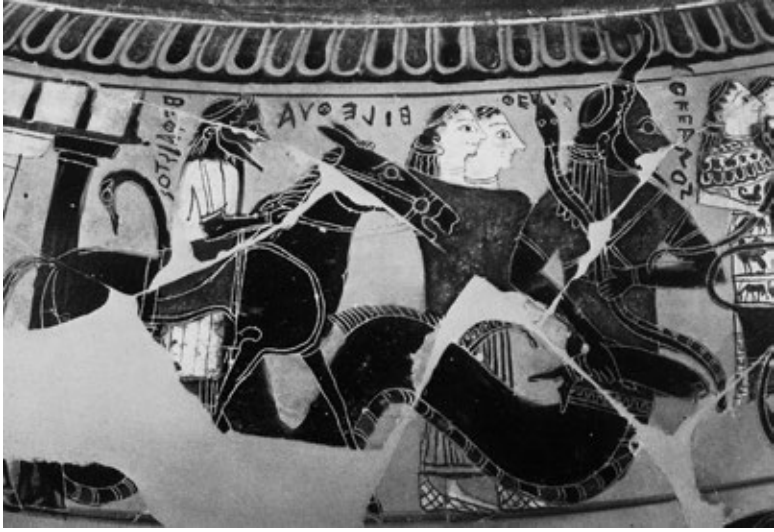
¹⁷ See note 9.

¹⁸ Inv. BM 1971.II-I.I; on the dinos of Sophilos Williams 1983; Shapiro 1989, 98 et seqq.; Hermay and Jacquemin 1988, 185–87; Isler Kerényi 1997.

¹⁹ On the Cabirians, recently Beschi 1998.

²⁰ *Il.* I, 593; *od.* VIII, 283 et seqq.; see Salomon 1997, 32–35.

²¹ Burkert 1985, 167.



2 Hephaestus attending the bridal procession for the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. Dinos of Sophilos. London, British Museum, about 580 B.C.E.

Asia Minor.²² The tradition which connects the northern regions of Asia Minor with Hephaistos is undeniable, so much so that his memory is retained in Imperial Roman coinage of the late Roman period.²³ I can see no difficulty in understanding how the imagination of the Greeks would place the origin of the god in a geographical area where the working of metal had had a prominent role since the Bronze Age.²⁴ I think that the

22 For a summary of the various hypotheses on the origin and etymology of the name of the god, Brommer 1978, 1–3; recently also Cassola 2002, 15–19, whose considerations must be taken with caution, especially due to the truncated time scale with which he considers the different mythological traditions.

23 Most of the evidence on coins, where Hephaistos appears in Asia Minor (Troy, Phrygia, Ionia, Lydia, Lampsacus, Abydos, Samos, Magnesia on the Meander), dates from the third century C.E., although it must be remembered that Roman coinage often harks back to very ancient cults: Lacroix 1949, 177.

24 The whole coast of Asia Minor was rich in metals (Hom. *Il.* 856–7, cf. Jesus also 1980). Intense metallurgical activity is present at Sardis since the Mycenaean age: Hanfmann 1983, 9. Tradition places the discovery of iron in the Pontic Phrygia: *Chronicle of Paros*, *IG XII*, 5, 144, see also Forbes 1964, 214; Healy 1978, 62.

question of the origin is a false problem. The creation of Hephaistos can be found in the most ancient theogonies before the first historical evidence of the Greek world,²⁵ but we must not forget that the oldest image we have is that from the Homeric poems, where he appears as the archetype of the divine craftsman, a creation of the eighth century perhaps. It is open to debate how much this image is the result of the projections of the poet or poets of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.²⁶

The physical impairment of Hephaistos is documented primarily in the iconographic evidence of the Archaic period and tends gradually to disappear from the fifth century B.C.E. onwards. Délcourt states that there is no evidence of the lameness of the god after the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E.,²⁷ but in fact there are manifest examples from the early fifth century B.C.E.²⁸

The crooked feet are clearly depicted on an amphoriskos of the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. in the Archaeological Museum of Athens (fig. 3),²⁹ on a cup in the Museum of Rhodes dated about 560 B.C.E.³⁰ (fig. 4), on the Caeretan hydria of the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna 525–520 B.C.E.³¹ (fig. 5) and on the François crater (one foot), dated to 570–565 B.C.E. (fig. 6). Moreover, even when the physical handicap of Hephaistos is not explicitly depicted, there are probable references to it: an Amazonian mount which indicates a physical weakness, as on a

25 It is very unlikely, as suggested by Cassola 2002,16, that the god was the first tutelary deity of blacksmiths and then lord of the fire, as we shall discuss below.

26 On the idea that Homeric society is not a simple reflection of Dark Ages, Morris 1986, 96–104. The specialists of the Homeric question now agree in considering the existence of a manuscript of the sixth century B.C.E., in which transitional texts are merged. The editors must have lived within an aristocracy or tyrannical context: Skafte Jensen 1980. More recent studies have also highlighted the influence of Athens in the Homeric poems, with the growing role attributed to Athena: Ballabriga 1990; Whatelet 1995, Cook 1995.

27 Délcourt 1957, 91–96, collects numerous examples of vase painting, to document the episodes of the myth about the handicap of the god and his connotation as a binder; see also Hermay and Jacquemin 1988.

28 Paris, Louvre, inv. G 162.

29 Inv. 664.

30 Inv. 10 711.

31 Inv. IV 3577.



3 Hephaestus represented with crooked feet. Amphoriskos. Athens, Archaeological Museum. First quarter of the sixth century B.C.E.



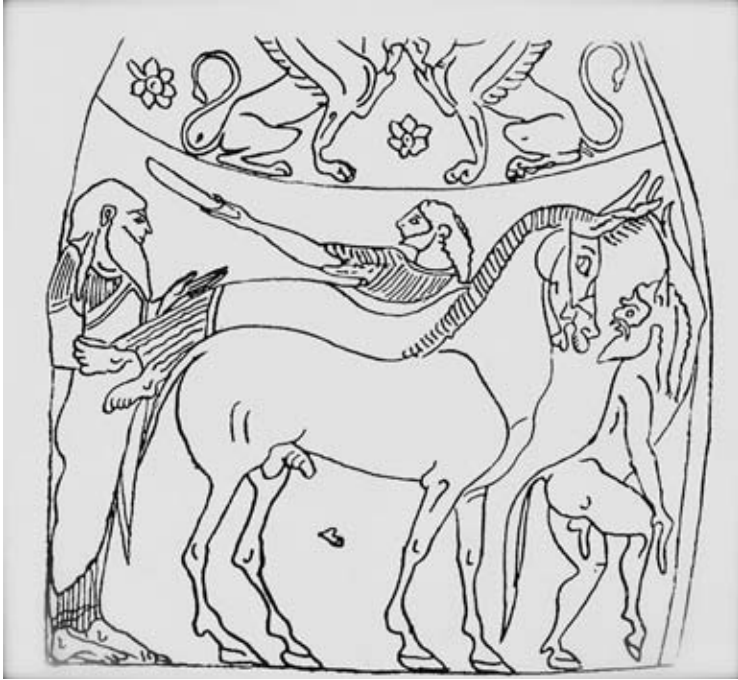
4 Hephaestus represented with crooked feet. Cup. Rhodes, Archaeological museum, about 560 B.C.E.



5 Hephaestus represented with crooked feet. Caeretan hydria.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 525–520 B.C.E.



6 Hephaestus represented with (one) crooked feet. François crater.
Florence, Archaeological Museum, 570–565 B.C.E.



7 Hephaestus riding a woman. Amphora. Lost, previously in the Castellani Collection, third quarter of the sixth century B.C.E.

lost amphora, previously in the Castellani Collection,³² dated to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C.E. (fig. 7); on the *deinos* of Sophilos in the British Museum; on the François crater; on the cup from Rhodes, on the calyx crater of the Louvre mentioned above (fig. 8),³³ and on that of the University of Mississippi, dated to 460–450 B.C.E. (fig. 9).³⁴

From this time on, there is an intensification of the images showing Hephaistos mostly working in his forge inside the volcano Etna. This is probably due to the influence of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (367–369). From now on pottery painters place him in a workshop similar to that of artisans, an image which reflects the worship of Hephaistos by that corporation in the

³² Gisler 1994, 639, n. 135.

³³ See note 28.

³⁴ Inv. 1977.3.89.



8 Hephaestus riding as a woman. Calyx crater.
Paris, Louvre, early fifth century B.C.E.



9 Hephaestus riding as a woman. Calyx crater.
University of Mississippi, 460–450 B.C.E.

industries of Athens.³⁵ Connected with this phenomenon is the assimilation, which emerges in classical Athens, of Hephaistos with Athena,³⁶ leading to the association of the two deities in the Chalkeia³⁷—sometimes also called Athenaia³⁸—the feast day of the blacksmiths who originally were dedicated only to Athena Ergane. It is impossible to say whether the god was represented on the altar of the Twelve Gods built by Pisistratus³⁹ in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.E., but he appears on the Parthenon, the most self-representative monument of the Athenian community (fig. 10).⁴⁰ The culmination of this appreciation was the erection of a temple near the Agora,⁴¹ whose cult statue was commissioned from Alkamenes.⁴²

The Hephaistos of Alkamenes, however, is the result of profound religious and social stratification from which the original image of the god has, as far as possible, to be recovered. In the *Iliad* Hephaistos already appears as χαλκεύς, blacksmith (XV, 309; XVIII, 143), or κλυτοτέχνης, a distinguished craftsman (I, 571; XVIII, 391), in the repellent appearance of a cripple (*Il.* XVIII, 371, 397; XX, 270; XXI, 311; *Od.* VIII, 308, 332), sick in both legs, ἀμφιγυῖς⁴³ (I, 607; XIV, 239; XVIII, 383, 462, 587, 590, 613),

³⁵ On the importance of the figure of Hephaistos in Athens of fifth century B.C.E., Cruciani and Fiorini 1998, 79–141.

³⁶ On the connection with Athena, Parker 2005, 171, 464 ff.

³⁷ Farnell 1909, 378; Deubner 1962, 35.

³⁸ Athen. XIII, 561; cf. Habicht 1982, 177 and 1994, 58–9.

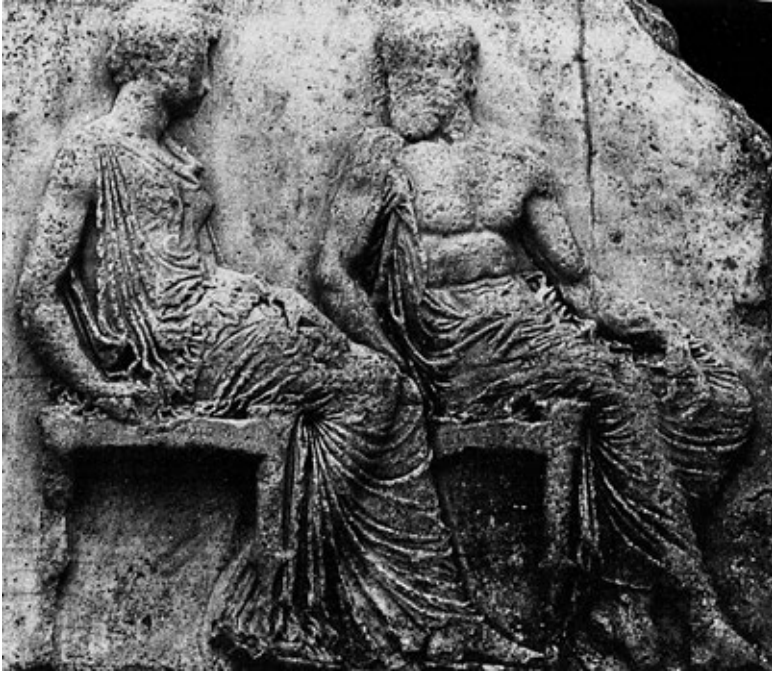
³⁹ Weinrich 1924–37, followed by Long 1987, 158–9 and Georgoudi 1996, 50–3; contra Shapiro 1989, 139–40.

⁴⁰ H.A. Shapiro thinks he did not have an Olympian status, based on the observation that the god does not appear in the divine assembly on archaic vases, (see note above). The assumption seems to be weakened by the depiction of Hephaistos on the frieze of the Parthenon shortly before 432 B.C.E., sitting, leaning with his right arm on a stick and turned to Athena. J. Dörig identifies Hephaistos, also in the frieze of the Hephaisteion, with the figure sitting on a rock, near Aphrodite and Poseidon, watching the battle of Theseus with the Pallantides: Dörig 1985, 77–83.

⁴¹ On the temple of Hephaistos in the agora, Fuchs 1998. C. Masseria suggests a link between the Athenian conquest of Lemnos and the assimilation of the cult of Hephaistos to Chalkeia in the second half of the sixth century B.C.E.: Masseria 2000, 72.

⁴² Gisler 1994, 634 ff.

⁴³ The interpretation of the term is not unique: H. Humbach believes that ἀμφιγυῖς goes back to a linguistic layer in which the term had not yet come to mean lame. This came into use later (Humbach 1969). More recently



10 Hephaestus on the East Frieze of the Parthenon. London, British Museum, third quarter of the fifth century B.C.E.

author of *δαίδαλα πολλά* (XVIII, 400), of many fine works, due to his manual dexterity and wise thought, *ιδνίησι πραπίδεσσιν* (I, 608; XVIII, 380; XXII, 12).⁴⁴ From this first presentation emerges the ambivalent formula that accompanies his various manifestations. It also occurs in the opposition between his own unpleasant physical appearance and the

S. Milanezi, based on a passage of *Trachiniae* by Sophocles, has proposed that the term had the meaning of “strong limbs” (Mylanezi 2000, 19–20). It is odd that all the alternative hypotheses to the malformation (*ibid.*) never considered (or only superficially) the evidence of images. In the depictions of Hephaistos on the Attic pottery, the god is characterized by the deformity of his feet, so I agree with the translation “with the feet turned inwards”: Deroy, 1956, 129–130; Detienne and Vernant 1974, 257–260.

44 Homer uses this formula only in reference to Hephaistos; it is also found in the Hymn to Hermes (49), in connection with the manufacture of the harp, an instrument associated with magic.

aspect of the spouse associated with him in Homer's older poem, Charis, who is the personification of grace (*Il.* XVIII, 382–3).⁴⁵ She shares with Hephaistos the bronze abode with the starry vault, which he built himself and which he populated with wonderful mechanical creatures, works of his genius⁴⁶—moving tripods and gilded automata that supported him on his unsteady legs. Elsewhere Hephaistos builds the thalamus and his mother's room (XIV, 166–67 and 338–9), the arcades of Olympus (XX, 10–12) and the abodes of the gods (I, 607–8). He is author of the armor of Diomedes (VIII, 194–5), of the scepter (VIII, 194) and Aegis (XV, 310) of Zeus, but it is mainly in the manufacture of the shield of Achilles that he exercises his prodigious artistic ability, expressed in the figurative decoration (XVIII, 468–608).

The Hephaistos that emerges from the *Odyssey*, despite some differences, basically retains the characteristics described in the oldest poem: he no longer lives with Charis in a starry abode, but with Aphrodite (*Od.* VIII, 266 ff.),⁴⁷ the goddess who embodies beauty, and who is, on a semantic level, equivalent to Charis. He is still a talented craftsman, who creates admirable works with manual dexterity and wise thought (VII, 92), such as the silver crater received by Menelaus (IV and XV 615–18, 115–18) or the golden amphora where the remains of Achilles are deposited (XXIV, 73–5). His work as a creator of automata is always emphasized: in place of mechanical maidens he builds golden and silver dogs,⁴⁸ which he gives to Alcinous as guardians of his palace (VII, 91–94) and tripods which move by themselves on wheels (XVIII, 375–377). In the *Odyssey* an episode is also narrated that gives us strong clues as to the nature of Hephaistos, when he makes and weaves magic, invisible wires around

⁴⁵ In Hesiod the Graces are now three and Hephaistos marries the youngest, Aglaia: Hes. *theog.* 946, cf. the subtle, but not persuasive, considerations in Bremmer 2010, 199.

⁴⁶ On the mechanical creatures of Hephaistos, Pugliara 2000, 43–63; 2003; Lissarrague 2005, 68–71.

⁴⁷ Some religious traditions attested in Cyprus, dating to the twelfth century may refer to the association of Aphrodite and Hephaistos. The excavation of Enkomi and Kition in fact have shown the importance in this era of a divine couple formed by a goddess of fertility and a god, both protectors of the extraction of metals, according to the fact that at the place of worship have been found numerous workshops for the forging of metals: Karageorghis 1977, 113–115.

⁴⁸ Made of gold, and then able to move quickly with νόος, ἀνδρή and σθένος: cf. Bremmer 1983, 53–63, on the components of the soul.

the bed in which Aphrodite is consummating her betrayal of him with Ares on the island of Kythira⁴⁹ (VIII, 266–366). The theme of the bond returns in another episode mentioned by Plato in the *Republic* (II, 378 d), and probably already treated by Pindar and Epicarmos.⁵⁰ Hephaistos builds a throne for his mother who, once seated, is imprisoned by a sophisticated automatic mechanism that he alone is able to unlock. The oldest evidence for this tale dates from the late seventh century, as is attested by some fragments attributed to Alcaeus.⁵¹ In both cases the story centres on wires that imprison their victims without their author being seen. Therefore, in a broad sense, Hephaistos is a binder, a charmer, or a magician rather than a “liberating god”, as others have suggested.⁵² In the case of Aphrodite and Ares he makes the victims fall into a deep sleep that renders them temporarily dead. They return to life thanks to his spells, so he controls the elements and, by all rights, belongs to the world of magic.⁵³ His ability, however, is not seen solely as a power, invisible and therefore threatening, it is also considered to be a creative ability that amazes and inspires pleasure, as evidenced by the laughter of the gods in front of “the arts of the able Hephaistos” (VIII, 327).⁵⁴ Charm and art thus have common roots, both derived from an ability to perform fine, invisible textures, and enclose a double, contradictory value: the principle of deception and, at the same time, admiration for the artifice.

In the poems of Hesiod Hephaistos retains the characteristics of a handicapped craftsman, with an extraordinary creative talent, but other factors come to define his personality: born without love, because of

49 Where one could also suggest seeing a reflection of the secondary role of craftsman compared to the ἀρετή of the warrior.

50 For references, Délcourt 1957, 87.

51 Reinach and Puech 1937, *frg.* 9–11.

52 Menichetti 2002, 268: does not consider that the god is a creator of ties in the episode of Ares and Aphrodite, in that of his mother Hera, ties of course that only he can resolve. About the intervention of Hephaistos in the birth of Athena, with the help of the pelekus (see below), more than in the sense of ‘liberation’, it is connected with the creative skills of the god, to give birth. It should be noted that in the mythology of some primitive peoples, the divinity which is connected with fire and metals masters also the obstetric art, according to the association between the extraction of metals and childbirth: Lanternari 1985, 41–55; see also Giumlia-Mair 2002, 32.

53 For the shamanic characteristics of lameness in ancient Greece see also Ruck 1986, 74.

54 On this episode, Picklesimer 1996, 265–289.

Hera's anger against, and defiance of, Zeus, guilty of having generated Athena without a spouse (*Theog.* 927–29). He is exceptionally demiurge when, by order of Zeus, he models with clay and water Pandora, the first woman, giving her the voice and strength of a human being (*Op.* 60–83; *Theog.* 571–2). This step is a consequence of the manufacture of automata: if the execution of the latter makes him a forger of metal, the creation of Pandora shows his role as a potter, an example, however, which is destined to remain isolated, because later tradition commonly gave it to Prometheus. The art of Hephaistos is wonderful and what he creates has the illusion of life. The mighty god, proud lord of fire, now seems a deity completely submissive to the orders of Zeus. An echo of the charmer and binder Hephaistos can perhaps be discerned in the manufacturing of the jewel of circular shape which Athena puts on the head of Pandora (*Theog.* 578–84): it serves to protect but also to bind.⁵⁵ In the *Opera* (78–80) Hephaistos not only shapes bodies, but also gives them life and movement.

Pindar follows the tradition of Hephaistos as a master of magic (*Paean.* XII; *Pap. Oxyr.* XV, no. 1791),⁵⁶ but it is in the prologue of Aeschylus' *Prometheus* that the god has acquired the full value of the forger (369), the worker of iron, the substance with which the tools of the craftsman are made. Ultimately, however, Hephaistos retains his prerogative to create links: certainly in the fifth century B.C.E. these have lost their symbolic meaning and the invisible strings have now been transformed into dangerous real chains, the ones that the god, at the behest of Zeus, will forge in order to bind Prometheus to the rocks of the Caucasus in Aeschylus' trilogy dedicated to the Titan.⁵⁷

The oldest evidence we have allows us to define the original sphere in which Hephaistos is acting, above all conditioned by fire: the role of the god as master of τέχναι could not exist without the control of fire (*Il.* IX, 468; XVII 88, XXIII, 33), an element so close to him, that it is sometimes identified with him (*Il.* 46). As such, he is the divine smith, who embodies the figure of the First Smith, who knows the secrets of fire and its use in

⁵⁵ On Hephaistos as maker of jewelry, i.e. talismans, which often have a magic value, see Cook 1914.

⁵⁶ Paus. X, 5,12.

⁵⁷ As is known there remains only the *Prometheus Bound*, *Prometheus Unbound* is lost and we have some fragments of *Prometheus pyrrhoros*, carrying fire (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* III, 187–208 a). On the problems of dating and the authenticity of Aeschylus' trilogy, Griffith 1977.

metal processing. In this way the god seems to emerge from the original cosmogonies in which ancient cultures construct the figure of a primeval forger, as the Ugaritic God, Kothar, in the Near East,⁵⁸ who lives in a cave in the deep ocean, the versatile master of all arts and crafts and creator of the resplendent palace of Baal; the Wieland of the Nordic heroic sagas;⁵⁹ the K'daai Maqsin among Yakuti of Siberia,⁶⁰ who lives in an iron house covered with splinters, very similar to the one where Homer imagines Hephaistos living; the biblical Thubalkain⁶¹ and many others. The Homeric tradition speaks of a god who has the ability to tie and untie, to create admirable spells that only he can resolve. In this sense, he is referable to a magical realm, where control of secret forces of nature—like fire—is the prerogative only of the initiated. The two dimensions, that is Hephaistos as the archetype of the forger and the divine craftsman, and as a magician, do not conflict, in fact they tend to integrate, to the extent that fire is a primitive force, vital to humans, whose discovery revolutionized their existence, though at great cost, as is evidenced by the punishment of Prometheus.⁶²

So far I have tried to show the traits that characterize the ambivalent figure of Hephaistos, without dwelling on his hallmark: his lameness. This is a unique phenomenon in Greek religion that a god is depicted with a physical handicap. Both in Homer and Hesiod he is defined *περικλυτός ἀμφιγυῆεις* (illustrious lame?),⁶³ *κυλλοποδίων* (*Il.* XVIII, 371; XX, 270; XXI, 311: *κυλλοπόδιον*), a term made up of the adjective *κυλλός*, bent, deformed, and then *πούς*, foot, or *χῶλος* (*Il.* XVIII, 397; *Od.* VIII, 308, 332) lame.

58 In some fragments of Ugaritic poems the god Kothar/Khasis is called builder of the palaces of Yam and Baal, but also the author, like Hephaistos, of works of art and weapons equipped with magical power; also the period in which Hephaistos lives in a cave in the Ocean finds a parallel in the Ugaritic tradition that places the seat of Khotar in a country beyond the sea: Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner 1974, 97–99; more recently Faraone 1987, 257–280; moreover West 1997, 57, 86, 384, 388–9.

59 For the similarities between Hephaistos and Wieland, Sas 1964, 34–41.

60 Eliade 1956, 81–82; it is interesting that a proverb of this ethnic group linked the first blacksmith, the first shaman and the first potter, making them blood brothers and suggesting, in another context, the close link between magic and craft: Popov 1933, 257.

61 Sas 1964, 42–43.

62 The release of Prometheus by Herakles is not due to an act of clemency on the part of Zeus, but only to his desire to see enhanced the glory of his son.

63 Cf. note 43.

Why should a divinity who creates admirable works, he who presides over artistic creation in the broadest sense of the word, be depicted as a weak figure with deformed feet, forced to walk unsteadily with the aid of mechanical creatures and be the object of ridicule from the Olympians? Wilamowitz solved the problem by refusing to include this 'freak' amongst the other gods who resemble, in his view, a spoilt and arrogant aristocratic society. He saw, in the contrast between Hephaistos and Aphrodite, the effect of simple opposition between beauty and deformity.⁶⁴ This antithesis, however, can perhaps be interpreted more deeply than merely according to the novelistic point of view proposed by the great German philologist. First, the malformation of the feet of Hephaistos is not a consequence of his fall to earth after his expulsion from Olympus,⁶⁵ but it is congenital (*Il.* XVIII, 395 ff.),⁶⁶ so that his children will also inherit it: Palaemon and Periphetes are both lame.⁶⁷

At this point we can recall briefly the salient features of the mythological narrative, of which there are two main versions narrated in the *Iliad*, to which can be added a third, handed down by a *scholion* (*Scholia il.* XIV, 296), which does not change the meaning of the myth. In the first of them, Hephaistos, after birth, is expelled from Olympus by his mother Hera, who throws him into the depths of the ocean, with a cruel act of rejection because of his deformed appearance (*Il.* XVIII, 394–409). In a second version of the myth, Hephaistos, now an adult, is hurled by Zeus onto the island of Lemnos as a punishment for having defended his mother Hera against him (*Il.* I, 586–594). Homer's poem does not refer to fracture of the feet as a result of this. In the late variant of the tale, the queen of the gods takes her son to the dwarf Kedalion, the demon forgemaster on the island of Naxos,⁶⁸ so that he can teach Hephaistos

⁶⁴ Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1912, 524–526; an argument that is revived from time to time in the same terms (e.g. Cassola 2002, 16).

⁶⁵ This excludes to seeing in the fall of Hephaistos on the Earth or in the Ocean a reflection of the myth of the delivery of fire to humanity, making it a double of Prometheus, as proposed by Frazer 1930, 198–199.

⁶⁶ Cf. Detienne and Vernant 1974, 255–60.

⁶⁷ *Apoll. Rod.* I, 204–6; cf. *RE* 19,1: 838 s.v. *Periphetes* 1.

⁶⁸ The association of Hephaistos with the Cyclops is rather late compared to the oldest part of the myth; Callimachus (*Artemis*, 46) first makes them the workers of the god of the forge, an image taken up by Horace (*Odes* I, 4.7); this deformation of the myth is rather due to an Orphic tradition,

the art.⁶⁹ All versions of the expulsion from Olympus, however, agree on the subsequent learning of the art of forging metal by the young god: at the forge of the dwarf Kedalion on Naxos,⁷⁰ by Eurynome and Thetis in the depths of the ocean and by the Sintians in Lemnos.⁷¹ Hephaistos remains nine years in the ocean, hidden in a cave, where he learned the art of working bronze, tin, silver and gold and creates all sorts of jewelry (II. XVIII, 394–405). Back on Olympus he carries out the work in metallurgy and goldsmith cited above.

In the latter case his original spouse is constantly beside him: *χαρις* can be seen as a mysterious emanation of being or as an artificial creation of the craftsman: she represents the power of a person or an object to seduce, or deceive with falsehood.⁷² She also is presented with a dual aspect: she captures the admiration of those who observe her using a ruse for effect, she thereby, remains inaccessible and disturbing.⁷³

The handicap⁷⁴ of the god thus is set up as an original hallmark, probably due to his activities, whose explanation has to be sought at the mythological level, although some have wanted to see an origin linked to the activity of metallurgy in the Bronze Age.⁷⁵ This can be traced in the

according to which, among other things, as well as Athena also Hephaistos learned the *τεχνη* from Cyclops (Délcourt 1957, 48); so the arguments of G. Camassa on the analogy between the monofthalmy of Cyclops and the lameness of Hephaistos appear quite weak: Camassa 1980–81, 155–160.

69 For further consideration of this version, Délcourt 1957, 33–34.

70 Even Kedalion is characterized by weakness of the legs, and his name was connected by ancient commentators with the action of melting iron, Gunning 1921.

71 On the Sintians, Délcourt 1957, 175–176.

72 Detienne 1967, 64–68.

73 Derived from the Indo-European root **ger* (desire, pleasure), the word *χαρις* has originally an active sense, it does not designate the joy produced—*χαρα*—but what is able to create it: Loew 1908, 2, 17, 19; on linguistic value of the word in Homer, Latacz 1966, 78–98; MacLahan 1993.

74 I find irrelevant the arguments of those who believe it is inaccurate to say that Hephaistos is lame, arguing instead that the god has the curved ends of the feet (Detienne and Vernant 1974, 255–256), as these features appear in the ceramic representations, in which the impairment of the god is represented conventionally; in this I agree with Cassola 2002, 16.

75 Rosner 1955, 362–363: explains the distortion of the god in medical terms, arguing that until the middle of the third millennium bronze contained a strong presence of arsenic, metal which prolonged contact causes a neuritis which causes progressive paralysis, mainly of the lower limbs.

area in which Hephaistos did his apprenticeship as a smith god: he is constantly associated with the Cabirians of Lemnos and the dwarf Kedalion, beings living in an underground world, in the bowels of the earth, which, in the thought of the Greeks, not unlike that of other cultures, was inhabited by dwarf-like creatures.⁷⁶ This probably arose from the projection of the wonder that primitive men felt in front of their peers, when faced with the marvelous power to use fire, melt metals and create admirable objects. All these many genies, elves, ghosts, demons and spirits are nothing more than the multiple epiphanies of 'sacred presence' that deals with penetrating geological levels of life. Whether they are the homunculi in the mythology of Dogons of Mali,⁷⁷ the miner Yu in Chinese legends,⁷⁸ the Rhodian Telchines,⁷⁹ the Cabirians,⁸⁰ the dwarves of the Germanic world or those of Japanese mythology,⁸¹ it always refers to the fact that they reside in the bowels of land—or sometimes in the deep ocean.⁸² The art of digging the ground to extract ore and mine metals has always amazed poor farmers, who compared the miners and smelters of metal to genies, enchanters, magicians. This also depends on the belief found in the tradition of many archaic societies, that, entering the belly of the earth, one ventures into

As we suggested at the beginning, this theory however, although difficult to prove, does not contradict the formation of the mythopoetic god, so that even Erika Simon had accepted as likely (Simon 1980, 334, footnote 5); against, Camassa 1980–81, 156, who does not seem to know directly Rosner's article, however, which is based on the strong presence of arsenic in alloys of the Bronze Age, evidence archaeologically attested.

76 On representations of dwarfs in the ancient world and their significance, Dasen 1993.

77 Where there is the tradition of a people of small size, entirely devoted to the work of metallurgy, who lives in the depths of the earth. For Dogons of Mali, the first mythical inhabitants of the region had the appearance of dwarfs that, it was believed, had gone underground and were considered tireless blacksmiths, whose pounding of hammers was still detectable on the surface: Tegnaeus 1950, 16.

78 Id., *ibid.*

79 Herter 1934, 197–224; Welcker 1857, 185–186; Délcourt, 1957, 168–170.

80 Always valid Hemberg 1950; more recently Daumas 1998.

81 In Japanese mythology some gods are characterized by physical disability: they are related to fire and regarded as lords of thunderbolt, foreigners because quirky, surrounded by mystery, sometimes imagined as dwarf-like beings, active in a forge located in the belly of a mountain, while working the metal: Eliade 1956, 109.

82 Forbes 1950.

a domain beyond the control of man, the underworld, with its mysteries, the great womb of Mother Earth, an area considered sacred, inviolable, penetrable only by following specific rituals.⁸³ There is an awareness of interfering in a natural order governed by higher laws, of intervening in a process secret and sacred, but of vital importance for mankind.

The link between these figures and Hephaistos is not limited to a morphological similarity: dwarves are also impaired in the torso and have weak legs. The fact that they were associated with Hephaistos as his teachers has also penetrated the linguistic level. The Greek word *καρκινος* crab, is a term which, by extension, indicates the blacksmith's tongs, one of the tools of the smith god.⁸⁴ This association between Hephaistos and the crab is received by the ancient lexicographers who considered the Cabirians—honored at Lemnos as crabs—as children of the god. The image of the crab also metaphorically evokes the figure of Hephaistos: crooked legs, oblique ambulation, movement according to a double orientation, as often is seen in ceramic depictions, reminiscent of the real deformity of the divine forger, but also his ambiguity, the ambivalent character inherent in his nature of divinity *πολυμέτιος* (*Il.* XXI, 355).

This duality can also be found in the instrument often associated with the god, the *πέλεκυς*, the double axe, which, as noted by George Dumézil, in the Caucasus, in the basin of the Aegean and Asia Minor takes on the double value of being a striking weapon and a talisman, a bearer of a civilizing value,⁸⁵ as pointed out by Michel Casevitz.⁸⁶

This ambivalent character is also reflected in the terminology used in archaic poetry to define the activity of Hephaistos. Raymond Descat, analyzing the semantic sphere of work in Greece, distinguished between *ἔργον* and *πόνος*.⁸⁷ In the plural, *ἔργα* refers to the sphere of creativity, wonder and magic, *πόνος* is more suitable to express activities that require an effort. Similarly *πράξις* differs from *ποιεσις* because the aim of the first is not to produce a real object, but is an activity in itself. The *ποίησις* rather

⁸³ Eliade 1956, 61; on the subject recently Blakely 2006.

⁸⁴ Hesych., s.v. *Kabeiroi*; Cook 1914, 665–667; Délcourt 1957, 182; Detienne and Vernant 1974, 255–256.

⁸⁵ Dumézil 1929, 237–239.

⁸⁶ Casevitz 1985, 475–6; for the meaning, not yet fully clarified, of the double axe in Minoan religion, Pertoka 1974; Mavriyannaki 1983; Hodge 1985.

⁸⁷ Descat 1986, 1999.

implies the use of physical force, material tools and can lead to servitude.⁸⁸ In Homer the term τέχνη⁸⁹ is used for the ability of the demiurgoi working metal and wood, or for feminine work which needs experience and skills such as weaving. The word τέχνη refers to a specialized knowledge, to an apprenticeship which allows the pupil to learn the secrets of the trade, and is considered a right granted by the gods. The word most used to indicate the activity of Hephaistos is τεύχω (*Il.* II, 102; VIII, 194–5; XIV 166–8, 238–9; XVIII, 174; *Od.* VII, 92–3; VIII 270), which means to build. It belongs to the same semantic field of ποιεῖν, signifying manufacturing, construction (*Il.* I, 608–9; XX, 10–12) and drudgery (*Il.* XVIII, 380). The verb κάμνω (*Il.* II, 101; VII, 220; VIII, 195; XIX, 368) emphasizes the difficulty of πόνος. Thus, in general, the terms used to characterize the action of Hephaistos have rather a disparaging value, and this value is never associated with πράξις, as happens with other gods. When epithets appear that refer to value, they emphasize the technical quality of his works (*Hes. scut.* 244, 297, 313). The distinction that puts the god on a different level from the human is the fact that, for all his accomplishments, he does not receive μισθός.⁹⁰ The ποίησις of Hephaistos is not paid for, but admired for the preciousness of the materials and the perfect execution. He does not create out of necessity, the concept of κέρδος, profit, is alien to him. His works are donated or used for his private needs.

Based on the foregoing considerations, on the mythological level, it seems to me we can see some clues for the interpretation of the physical impairment of Hephaistos. The original deficiencies of Hephaistos are offset by higher grades at the end of a long process. We observed that the god was originally rejected by his mother, a condition that, at a psychological level, could be defined as a disorder of the original relationship. In fact, his relationship with his mother is ambivalent: rather than being a natural object of love, she arouses the resentment of her son because of her rejection. In his debased condition of unworthiness, Hephaistos is removed from the community and spent nine years in the ocean: there are all the elements of a rite of passage. The dive into the ocean is consequential and can be conceived as a return to the unconscious as a

⁸⁸ On the difference between πράξις and ποίησις, *Plat. charm.* 163 b–d; on the relationship of servitude, Vernant 1985, 293.

⁸⁹ Descat 1986, 127–9; Vernant 1985, 280–92.

⁹⁰ Descat 1986, 297–304.

prelude to rebirth.⁹¹ Leo Frobenius had already pointed out how water is linked to creativity and a victorious future: in many myths after the virgin has given birth to the child—Hephaistos was born by parthenogenesis in Hesiod—she must put him in water in a basket or in a barrel in the dark, until the sun returns to rise on his victorious life.⁹² The immersion in the unconscious is the decisive step for the formation of personality, in which the death of former life occurs—we must not forget that Hephaistos is greeted by Eurynome, death—a prelude to a new life. The god spent nine years in the deep ocean, not a random length of time. It alludes to other instances of rebirth, like Deucalion, who sails for nine days and nine nights until, at the end of the flood, he landed on Mount Parnassus, where the rebirth of humanity begins. Heracles and Apollo had to serve nine years in order to be cleansed of their blood crime; Philoctetes spent nine years on the island of Lemnos, before Troy could be conquered.⁹³ Philoctetes presents another analogy with Hephaistos, a foot impairment, although in his case not congenital.⁹⁴ This physical impediment pushes him back to a wild dimension, which is easily adapted to the Lemnian environment because, even in Sophocles' imagery of the late fifth century, the island is considered to be a land "without ports or human beings", an intermediary world between that of men and beasts.⁹⁵ So also the condition of Philoctetes, suspended between life and death, humanity and bestiality, has been interpreted as an initiation rite.⁹⁶ The connection between mythological figures characterized by difficulty in walking, abnormalities in the feet or legs, with the world of the deads and the initiation rites in Greece is part of a wide mythological series in which we find Oedipus, Jason, Perseus, Telephus, Achilles and others whose similarities have been brilliantly highlighted.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Jung 1952, 126.

⁹² Frobenius 1904, 264–266.

⁹³ On the meanings of the nine-year cycle in relation to the initiation practices of magic and the relationship between Hephaistos and Philoctetes, Marx 1904, 673–685; Délcourt 1957, 135, 176–177, 182–183; other examples in Sas 1964, 84–87; for similar meanings, also Bremmer and Horsfall 1987, 56; Bremmer 2007, 55–79.

⁹⁴ For a study of other mythological figures with abnormalities of the foot, especially Talos and Achilles, Grmek and Gourevitch 1998, 287–8.

⁹⁵ Soph. *phil.* 220–1; on the theme see also Gilis 1992.

⁹⁶ Vidal-Naquet 1976, 145–169; cf. also Massenzio 1976.

⁹⁷ Ginzburg 1998, 206–240.

At the end of his stay in the ocean, rejected, crippled, and therefore maimed, Hephaistos is able to hold in check his mother, trapped on the throne, and the other gods. Certainly it will not be the force of his half brother Ares that will convince him, but only the cunning of Dionysus who makes him drunk, i.e. alters his personality before bringing him back to the realm of the gods. Once returned to Olympus, Hephaistos now knows the secrets of nature, has mastered the power of fire, created wonderful works in the company of Charis or Aphrodite, knows how to bind and loose, in other words, he has learned magical arts. In addition, similar to what is found in the mythologies of historical peoples, in Egypt, the Near East and in an Indo-European context where the divine blacksmith delivers weapons to the god of the storm, he gives Zeus a scepter.⁹⁸ With these new powers Hephaistos compensates for his initial deficiencies, as if the more powerful skills he has acquired and the extent of his powers compensate for his original handicap, symbolized by the mutilation.⁹⁹

The ambivalence that characterizes the figure of Hephaistos is derived from the overlay of his image in the historical age upon a substrate where his prerogatives are different, and this is also due to a change in the status of artisans in Greek society. The craftsman of the Homeric age shares with his divine model a dual condition of marginality and admiration: itinerant and lonely, keeper of the secrets of the trade, creator of wonderful works that arouse admiration. His *μέτις* allows him to transcend the limits of his craft. The role as the maker of weapons and precious gifts grants him respect in a warrior society which has need of his work.

At the end of the Archaic period, the *χαλκεύς* is no longer the author of valuable works, the acquisition of which gave prestige. His job is vulgarized and has lost the aura of magic that characterized the early days. The semantic evolution proves it: manual dexterity—*χειροτέχνη*—is no longer a sign of extraordinary skill, the prerogative of the initiated, but indicates a subordinate and despicable work at the same level as the *βανανσικός*, where force it is necessary. Hephaistos is still nobly represented in the Berlin Foundry Cup (fig. 11), while forging arms for Achilles, but nothing distinguishes him from the simple artisan on the amphora in

⁹⁸ Eliade 1956, 104 on these aspects see the general considerations of M. West about the divine artisan in other Indo-European mythologies: West 2007, 154–7.

⁹⁹ Jung 1950, 32.



11 Hephaestus forging the armor of Achilles. Cup, attributed to the Berlin Foundry Painter. Berlin, Antikensammlung

the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, attributed to the Dutuit Painter, who, stripped to the waist, is intent on finishing a shield (fig. 12).

Originally, however, the oldest literary evidence seems to presuppose a time when the god enjoyed great respect in the Greek pantheon, linked to the fire he is always associated with. Contrary to those who want to see a marginal god, foreign,¹⁰⁰ introduced recently in the Greek pantheon, Hephaistos seems rather to belong to an original theogonic elaboration: this is confirmed by his association with the founding myths of Athens involving Athena and Erichthonios, his privileged relationship with

100 Wilamowitz 1895; Robertson 1992; Bremmer 2010.



12 Hephaistos polishing the shield of Achilles. Amphora, attributed to the Dutuit Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 13.188, about 480 B.C.E.

Hera, the earth-mother in whose womb metals are kept, and generating Aphrodite. His expulsion, if anything, could highlight the loss of an important status with prerogatives. It is no coincidence perhaps that one version of his exodus from Olympus presupposes a clash with Zeus. In the Homeric epics Hephaistos dares to fight him, however, in Hesiod's poetry, he meekly obeys. We cannot exclude the possibility that the Greeks of the Archaic age associated the throwing out of Hephaistos with the exposure of malformed newborns, a practice apparently common in Greece, that no historian before Plutarch, not even Xenophon, in the *Constitution of Sparta*, considers purely a Lacaedemonian peculiarity.¹⁰¹

101 Schmidt 1983–84, 145–50.

Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet have analyzed the characteristics of lameness in the Greek world, showing its ambiguity: on the one hand it expresses negativity towards a disability, on the other, it confers on whoever is marked by it, an exceptional status, an annointment to an extraordinary destiny.¹⁰² Plato considers the crippled soul as suited to philosophy and compares intellectual lameness to a bastardized soul, establishing an association between filiation and lameness, such as that concerning the succession of the Spartan king, Agis. Of the two suitors, Leotychides is a bastard, while Agesilaus is lame, and the latter will prevail. The ties that seem to exist between the mythical story of Labdacides of the fate of Cipselides, generated from the lame Labda and the fallen aristocratic Eeneos,¹⁰³ suggest relationships between lameness, tyranny, won and lost power, direct or indirect descendants in the dynasty, regular or deviant sexual relations, generational incomprehension and the challenge of children to their fathers, all ingredients that are also found in the myth-making of Hephaistos.¹⁰⁴

In conclusion, the figure of Hephaistos emerges from the primordial experiences of Indo-European, Oriental and Pelasgic mythical-ritual complexes, focused on the discovery of fire and metalworking. As such, the god was part of the oldest Greek pantheon, with a prominent role challenging Zeus, but he is then defeated. In the Archaic period he is an integral part of the Olympian family (deinos of Sophilos) and his role grows exponentially in Attica in the fifth century B.C.E. Denigrated in the Greek religious imagination, he becomes the divine blacksmith, the *Urbild* of *homo faber*, the one who creates, the craftsman, the architect, the maker of weapons and jewelry, the creator of automata. The original sphere in which the craftsman in the Greek world moves is marked by magic whose secrets it is necessary to know for the effectiveness of the inventions. It is possible that later, the image of the craftsman was projected on him, as well as evolving from the society reflected in the Homeric epos. The morphology is not constant, but has characteristics of ambiguity in which appreciation and scorn, admiration and denigration, wonder and fear are inextricably joined. One might also consider

102 Vernant and Vidal Naquet 1988, 54–78.

103 On the myths of the origin of Kypselides, now Dubbini 2011, 59–60.

104 Bremmer considers the topic, but does not seem to grasp the relationship between lameness and generational succession that is common to figures like Oedipus, Labda, Batto, Agesilao etc.: Bremmer 2007, 199–200.

whether the ambivalent nature of the divine craftsman is not the reflection of an original social and economic opposition: the contrast between an agricultural economy, which expresses its regard for manual work, i.e., for blacksmith and agricultural work, that ultimately are the derivative of instruments forged by this artisan, and contempt for those manual tasks that may have arisen in a pastoral-based economic community, in which the use of hands is held in low esteem.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ballabriga, D. 1990** "Le dernier adversaire de Zeus. Le mythe de Typhon dans l'épopée grecque archaïque," *RHR* 207: 1990, 3–30.
- Beschi, L. 1998** "Immagini dei cabiri di Lemno." In *In memoria di Enrico Paribeni*, edited by G. Capecchi *et al.*, 45–59. Roma.
- Blakely, S. 2006** *Myth, Ritual, and Metallurgy in Ancient Greece and Recent Africa*. Cambridge.
- Bremmer, J.N. 1983** *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul*. Princeton.
- Bremmer, J.N. 2007** "Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the case of the Rhodian criminal." In *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, edited by J.N. Bremmer, 55–79. Leuven.
- Bremmer, J.N. 2010** "Hephaistos Sweats or how to Construct an Ambivalent God." In *The gods of ancient Greece: identities and transformations*, edited by J.N. Bremmer and A. Erskine, 193–208. Edinburgh.
- Bremmer, J.N. and N.M. Horsfall 1987** *Roman myth and mythology*. London.
- Brommer, F. 1978** *Hephaistos. Der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst*. Mainz.
- Burkert, W. 1985** *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz.
- Caldwell, R. 1978** "Hephaestus: A Psychological Study," *Helios* 7: 43–59.
- Camassa, G. 1980–81** "I 'segni' del fabbro," *AnnPerugia* 18: 155–160.
- Caquot, A., M. Sznycer and A. Herdner 1974** *Textes ougaritiques I. Mythes et légendes*. Paris.
- Cassola, F. 2002** "Efesto e le sue opere." In *Le Arti di Efesto. Capolavori in metallo dalla Magna Grecia*, edited by A. Giumlia-Mair and M. Rubinich, 15–19. Milano.
- Chadwick, J. and L. Baumbach 1963** *The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary*. Göttingen.

- Chantraine, P. 1968** *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, I. Paris.
- Chantraine, P. 1970** *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*, II. Paris.
- Cook, A.B. 1914** *Zeus: a study in ancient religion*. Cambridge.
- Cook, E.F. 1995** *The Odyssey in Athens. Myths of cultural origins*. Ithaca and London.
- Cruciani, C. and L. Fiorini 1998** *I modelli del moderato. La Stoà Poikile e l'Hephaisteion di Atene nel programma edilizio cimoniano*. Napoli.
- Dasen, V. 1993** *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*. Oxford.
- Daumas, M. 1998** *Cabiriaca. Recherches sur l'iconographie du culte des Cabires*. Paris.
- De Jesus, P.S. 1980** *The development of prehistoric mining and metallurgy in Anatolia*. Oxford.
- Délcourt, M. 1957** *Héphaïstos ou la légende du magicien*. Paris.
- Deroy, L. 1956** "À propos de l'épithète homérique d'Héphaïstos ἀμφιγυνης," *RHR* 150: 129–135.
- Descat, R. 1986** *L'acte et l'effort: une idéologie du travail en Grèce ancienne (8ème–5ème siècle av. J.-C.)*. Besançon.
- Detienne, M. 1967** *Les maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*. Paris.
- Detienne, M. and J.-P. Vernant 1974** *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La mètis des Grecs*. Paris.
- Deubner, L. 1962** *Attische Feste*. Hildesheim.
- Dörig, J. 1985** *La frise Est de l'Héphaisteion*, Mainz.
- Dubbini, R. 2011** *Dei nello spazio degli uomini. I culti dell'agora e la costruzione di Corinto arcaica*. Roma.
- Dumézil, G. 1929** "Labrus," *Journal Asiatique* 214: 237–239.
- Dumézil, G. 1952** *Les Dieux des Indo-européens*. Paris.
- Eisler, R. 1910** *Weltenmantel und Himmelszeit: religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes*. I–II. München.
- Eliade, M. 1956** *Forgerons et alchimistes*. Paris.
- Faraone, C.A. 1987** "Hephaestus the Magician and Near Eastern Parallels for Alcinous' Watchdogs," *GRBS* 28: 257–280.
- Farnell, L.R. 1909** *The cults of the Greek states*. V. Oxford.
- Forbes, R.J. 1950** *Metallurgy in Antiquity. A Notebook for Archaeologists and Technologists*. Leiden.

- Frazer, J.G. 1930 *Myths of the Origin of Fire*. London.
- Frisk, H. 1972 *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. III. Heidelberg.
- Frobenius, L. 1904 *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*. Bd. I. Berlin.
- Fuchs, M. 1998 "Das Hephaesteion in Athen: ein Monument für die Demokratie," *JdI* 113: 30–48.
- Georgoudi, S. 1996 "Les Douze Dieux des Grecs. Variations sur un thème." In *Mythes grecs au figuré. De l'antique au baroque*, edited by S. Georgoudi and J.-P. Vernant, 43–80. Paris.
- Gillis, E. 1992 "Le destin d'Heracles et de Philoctète dans les Trachiniennes et le Philoctète de Sophocle, une mise en parallèle," *StMatStorRel* 58: 41–57.
- Ginzburg, C. 1998 *Storia notturna. Una decifrazione del sabba*. Turin.
- Gisler, J.-R. 1994 *LIMC* VII. 1: s.v. "Prometheus". Zürich.
- Giumlia-Mair, A. 2002 "Kabeiroi, Telchines, Palikoi: i Signori del Fuoco e dei Metalli." In *Le Arti di Efesto. Capolavori in metallo dalla Magna Grecia*, edited by A. Giumlia-Mair and M. Rubinich. Milano.
- Graf, F. 1998 *Neue Pauly*, V: 352–6, s.v. "Hephaistos". Stuttgart.
- Graf, F. 2005 *New Pauly*, VI: 140–3, s.v. "Hephaestus". Leiden.
- Griffith, M. 1977 *The Authenticity of "Prometheus Bound"*. Cambridge.
- Grmek, M.D. and D. Gourevitch 1998 *Les maladies dans l'art antique (Penser la médecine)*. Paris.
- Gunning, J. 1921 *RE* 11, 1: 107–9, s.v. "Kedalion".
- Habicht, C. 1982 "Eine Liste von Hieropoioi aus dem Jahre des Archons Andreas," *AM* 97: 171–184.
- Habicht, C. 1994 *Athen in Hellenistischer Zeit: Gesammelte Aufsätze*. München.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1983 *Sardis from prehistoric to Roman times: results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958–1975*. Cambridge.
- Healy, J.F. 1978 *Mining and metallurgy in the Greek and Roman world*. London.
- Hemberg, B. 1950 *Die Kabiren*. Uppsala.
- Hermay, A. and A. Jacquemin 1988 *LIMC* IV.1: 627–54, s.v. "Hephaistos". Zürich.
- Herter, H. 1934 *RE* V. 1: 197–224, s.v. "Telchinen".
- Hodge, A.T. 1985 "The Labrys: Why Was the Double Axe Double?" *AJA* 53: 51–54.
- Humbach, H. 1969 "ἀμφίγυος und ἀμφιγυήεις." In *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisoni*. Vol. II., 569–78. Brescia.
- Isler-Kerényi, C. 1997 *Dionysos im Götterzug bei Sophilos und bei Kleitias. Dionysische Ikonographie*, 6. *Antike Kunst* 40: 67–81.

Isler-Kerényi, C. 2007 "Komasts, Mythic Imaginary and Ritual." In *The origin of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond*, edited by E. Csapo and M. Miller, 77–95. Cambridge.

Jung, C.G. 1950 *Gestaltungen des Unbewußten*. Zürich.

Jung, C.G. 1952 *Psychologie und Alchemie*. Zürich.

Jung, C.G. 1985 *Erlösungsvorstellungen in der Alchemie*, edited by H. Barz, U. Baumgardt, R. Blomeyer, H. Dieckmann, H. Remmler and T. Seifert. Freiburg i. Breisgau.

Karageorghis, J. 1977 *La Grande Déesse de Chypre et son culte: A travers l'icographie, de l'époque néolithique au VIe s. a. C.* Lyon.

Kasevitz, M. 1985 *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien: étude lexicologique: les familles de [ktizō] et de [oikeō-oikizō]*. Paris.

Kerényi, K. 1963 *Prometheus. Archetypal image of human existence*. New York. [first ed. *Die menschliche Existenz in griechischer Deutung*, Zürich 1946].

Lacroix, L. 1949 *Les reproductions des statues sur les monnaies grecques: la statuaire archaïque et classique*. Liège.

Landau, O. 1958 *Mykenisch-griechische Namen*. Göteborg.

Lanternari, V. 1985 "Il fabbro africano fra tecnica e mitologia." In *Studi di Paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi*, edited by M. Liverani, A. Palmieri and R. Peroni, 41–55. Roma.

Latacz, J. 1966 *Zum Wortfeld 'Freude' in der Sprache Homers*. Heidelberg.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1958 *Anthropologie structurale*, I. Paris.

LIMC: *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* Zürich and Munich 1981–1999.

Lissarrague, F. 2005 "Efesto meccanico, la fucina e il banchetto." In *Eureka. Il genio degli antichi*, edited by E. Lo Sardo, 68–71. Napoli.

Loew, O. 1908 *Charis*. Marburg.

Long, C.R. 1987 *The twelve gods of Greece and Rome*. Leiden, New York, København, Köln.

Maciadri, V. 2008 *Eine Insel im Meer der Geschichten: Untersuchungen zu Mythen aus Lemnos*. Stuttgart.

MacLahan, B. 1993 *The Age of Grace. Charis in Early Greek Poetry*, Princeton.

Malten, L. 1912 "Hephaistos," *JdI* 27: 232–264.

Malten, L. 1913 *RE* 8: 311–366, s.v. "Hephaestus".

Marg, W. 1971 *Homer über die Dichtung. Der Schild des Achilleus*. Münster.

Marx, F. 1904 "Philoktet-Hephaistos." *NJbb* 13: 673–685.

Massenzio, M. 1976 "Anomalie della persona, segregazione e attitudini magiche. Appunti per una lettura del 'Filottete' di Sofocle." In *Magia. Studi di storia delle religioni in memoria di Raffaella Garosi*, 177-195. Rome.

Masseria, C. 2000 "L'aristeia del banausos: l'athlon di uno scudo per Athena." *Ostraka* 9: 65-73.

Mavriyannaki, C. 1983 "La double hache dans le monde hellénistique à l'âge du bronze," *RA* 1983: 195-228.

Melazzo, L. 1991 "Ο Ἡφαίστος ἀμφιγυῖς." In *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco*, 55-66. Palermo.

Menichetti, M. 2002 "L'ascesa di Efesto all'Olimpo: il caso del Comizio di Roma." In *Iconografia 2001. Studi sull'immagine*. Atti del Convegno, Padova 2001, edited by I. Colpo, I. Favaretto and F. Ghedini. Roma.

Milanezi, S. 2000 "La forge d'Hephaistos ou le malheur d'être dieu." In *Biographie des hommes, biographie des dieux*. Conférence de Grénoble 1997-98. *Recherche sur la philosophie et le langage* 21: 13-39.

Morris, I. 1984 *Burial and the ancient society: the rise of the Greek city-state*. Cambridge.

Natale, A. 2008 *Il riso di Hephaistos. All'origine del comico nella poesia e nell'arte dei Greci*. Roma.

Neumann, E. 1955 "Narzissmus, Anthropomorphismus und Urbeziehung." In *Studien zur analytischen Psychologie C.G. Jungs*, edited by F. Riklin, E. Jung and K.W. Bash, 106-107. Zürich.

Pertoka, A. 1974 *Recherche sur le symbolisme de la hache, de la double-hache et de l'exagramme dans le contexte de la Gnose sacrée antique*. Zurich.

Picard, C. 1919 *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, 981, s.v. "Vulcanus".

Picard, C. 1942-43 "Une peinture de vase lemnienne, archaïque d'après l'hymne de Démodocos," *RA* 20: 97-124.

Picklesimer, M.L. 1996 "La risa de los dioses y el trono trucado de Hefesto," *Florentia Iliberritana* 7: 265-289.

Popov, A. 1933 "Consecration ritual for a blacksmith novice among the Yakuts," *Journal of American Folklore* 46: 257-271.

Pugliara, M. 2000 "Le creature animate della fucina di Efesto," *Ostraka* 9: 43-63.

Pugliara, M. 2003 *Il mirabile e l'artificio: creature animate e semoventi nel mito e nella tecnica degli antichi*. Roma.

Raaflaub, K.A. 2008 *Zeus und Prometheus: zur griechischen Interpretation vorderasiatischer Mythen*. Stuttgart.

Reinach, T. and A. Puech (eds.) 1937 *Alcée*. Paris.

- Robertson, N. 1992** *Festivals and legends: the formation of Greek cities in the light of public ritual*. Toronto, Buffalo.
- Rosner, E. 1955** "Die Lahmheit des Hephaistos," *FuF* 29: 362–363.
- Ruck, C.A.P. 1986** "Mushrooms and Philosophers." In *Persephone's Quest: Entheogens and the Origins of Religion*, edited by R.G. Wasson, S. Kramrisch, C. Ruck and J. Ott, 151–177. New Haven, London.
- Salomon, S. 1997** *Le cleruchie di Atene: caratteri e funzioni*. Pisa.
- Sas, S. 1964** *Der Hinkende als Symbol*. Zürich.
- Schmidt, M. 1983–84** "Hephaistos lebt. Untersuchungen zur Frage der Behandlung behinderter Kinder in der Antike," *Hephaistos* 1983–84: 5–6.
- Schrade, H. 1950** "Der homerische Hephaestus," *Gymnasium* 57: 38–55, 94–112.
- Sekunda, N.V. 1990** "IG II² 1250: A Decree concerning the Lampadephoroi of the Tribe Aiantis," *ZPE* 83: 142–182.
- Shapiro, A.H. 1995** *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens: Supplement*. Mainz.
- Simon, E. 1980** *Die Götter der Griechen*. München.
- Skaife Jensen, M. 1980** *The Homeric question and the oral-formulaic theory*. Copenhagen.
- Tegnaeus, H. 1950** *Le héros civilisateur. Contribution à l'étude Ethnologique de la religion et de la sociologie africaines*. Stockholm.
- Triomphe, R. 1992** *Prométhée et Dionysos ou la Grèce à la lueur des torches*. Strasbourg.
- Vernant, J.-P. 1985** *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs: étude de psychologie historique*. Paris.
- Vernant, J.-P. and P. Vidal-Naquet 1988** *Oedipe et ses mythes*. Paris.
- Vidal-Naquet, P. 1960** "Temps des dieux et Temps des hommes," *RHR* 157.1: 55–80.
- Vidal-Naquet, P. 1976** "Il 'Filottete' di Sofocle e l'efebia." In *Mito e tragedia nell'antica Grecia*, edited by J.P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, 145–169 (it. transl.). Turin.
- Wathelet, P. 1995** "Athéna chez Homère ou le triomphe de la déesse," *Kernos* 8: 167–185.
- Weinrich, O. 1924–37** In *Roscher* VI: 764–848, s.v. "Zwölfgötter".
- Welcker, F.G. 1857** *Griechische Götterlehre*. Bd. I. Göttingen.
- West, M. 2007** *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.
- von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. 1895** "Hephaistos." In *Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 217–245. Göttingen.

von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. 1912 In *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1912: 524–526. Berlin.

Williams, D. 1983 “Sophilos in the British Museum”. *Greek Vases in the J.P. Getty Museum*, 9–34. Malibu.

Wilson, P. 2000 *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia*. Cambridge.

CREDITS

1-12 Foto Dipartimento di Scienze dell’Antichità, Roma.

LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES

“THAT MY BODY IS STRONG”: THE PHYSIQUE AND APPEARANCE OF ACHAEMENID MONARCHY

ABSTRACT

The body of the Persian Great King was carefully and skilfully constructed through text and image as a series of signs to be decoded and read. Placing the Persian royal body within the context of general Near Eastern ideologies of the monarchic body, this chapter explores the codified meanings of, firstly, the royal head because the Great King's eyes, nose, beard, and hair are rich in cultural and symbolic meaning. But more than anything it is the clothed body of the king that speaks in a uniquely 'Persian voice'. The chapter explores how the monarch's clothed body is a site of representation, an emblem of his power, potency, legitimacy, and strength.

Look at any conventional Persian-made image of an Achaemenid Great King, such as that of Darius I carved into the rock face of the mountain at Bisitun (pl. 1), or the enthroned image of Darius (or Xerxes) from Persepolis (pl. 2), and the heroic figures of kings slaying a mythic beast on the doorjamb of the same palace.¹ Notice how perfect the monarch

1 See Llewellyn-Jones 2013b, 214 fig. F7. In these door-jam images, the Great King, in his role as 'Persian Hero', kills an Asiatic lion, a symbol of chaos and disorder, by stabbing it in the belly. The Great King wears a voluminous Court robe, but turns it into a practical garment for slaughter by girding the skirt and hitching it into his belt, and freeing his arms from the sleeve-like overhang.

is.² His body emanates strength and vitality, his posture encodes military prowess and sportsmanship; his hair and his beard are thick and luxuriant and radiate health and vitality; his face, with its well-defined profile, large eye and thick eyebrow, is as powerful as it is handsome.

These images are state pronouncements. We must read them as codes through which the king's body takes on cultural meaning: it is the manliness, wholeness, beauty, and physical fitness of the monarch's body which guarantees his right to rule. The Bisitun image in particular might be regarded as a 'site of representation' where Darius' maleness is defined in opposition and in contrast to the men in front of him: theirs are the subjugated, bound bodies of defeated enemies, while his is the body of a victorious and virtuous warrior-king who, for the sake of the deity who hovers above the scene, has destroyed those whose bodies and actions did not accord with the Truth (*Arta*).

But how did the Persian King's body function as a site of representation? In this chapter I will explore a diverse corpus of evidence in order to articulate something tangible about the body of the Persian Great King. By placing the Achaemenid materials within the context of an ancient Near Eastern cultural *koine*, as Margaret Cool Root successfully did in her seminal 1979 work *King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, we might be better equipped to engage with the cultural ideology of the Persians who created the texts and images which make up our deposit of study materials. Rulers before (and after) the Achaemenid kings developed artistic programmes as a response to their perceptions of the particular political/historical demands of their reign, and Cool Root utilized the art and ideology of Egypt and Mesopotamia to throw light on the creation and utilization of a visual language of monarchy in the Persian Empire, realizing that the Achaemenids readily (and enthusiastically) embraced many of the artistic and ideological constructions of Near Eastern kingship. I will employ the same methodology here for the study of the Great King's body, but in addition introduce to my work the literature of the Hebrew bible, which, as Mark Hamilton has recently shown, is a rich starting point for any analysis of the ancient Near Eastern monarchic body.³

For their part the Greeks too were aware of something of the royal ideology surrounding the body of the Persian king, and even if they had

² The Achaemenid body is mathematically perfect too, as noted by Azarpay 1994 in his study of the grid pattern adopted by Achaemenid artists for the schematised depiction of the human body.

³ Hamilton 2005.

their own cultural agenda in representing the Persians in specific (often deleterious) ways, the Greek-made texts still manage to embody some *bone fide* Achaemenid thought-processes and cultural norms and therefore can still offer up valuable information. As James Davidson notes, "the Greeks did not invent things, but were quite happy to misunderstand, modify, or simply decontextualize some salient Persian facts, images, and representations, for, of course, it was the grains of truth that gave negative constructions their cogency".⁴ This chapter will therefore also utilize Greek texts for the reflections they make on the Persian physique.

THE ROYAL BODY AS DIVINE BODY

At the royal coronation (or initiation), the Persian king took on a new body. Since the lack of basic laws of primogeniture, succession struggles, and other forms of harem politics played a role in determining who the heir to the Achaemenid throne might be, it was the coronation rather than the physical birth (or even the death of the previous king) that marked the moment when the king became a different person. Accordingly, it was at the coronation that he was given a different anatomy (and perhaps a different throne name too). Plutarch (in all probability deriving his information from Ctesias who was resident at the Achaemenid court) records some details of the coronation/initiation rites:

"Shortly after the death of Darius [II], the king [Artaxerxes II] went to Parsagade to be initiated into the royal rites [teletē i.e., 'mystery rite'] by the Persian priests. It takes place at the shrine of a goddess of war [Anahita], whom one might liken to Athene. The initiate must enter the shrine, remove his own dress, and put on the clothes once worn by Cyrus the Elder before he had become king, eat a cake of figs, swallow terebinth and drink a bowl of sour milk. If there are other rituals, then they are not known to outsiders. When Artaxerxes was about to perform these rites, Tissaphernes came up to him bringing one of the priests who—because he had been in charge of Cyrus' traditional education during his childhood and had taught him to be a Magus—was, it seemed, more upset than any other Persian when Cyrus had not been made king. Because of this he was trusted when

⁴ Davidson 2006, 35.

he started making accusations against Cyrus. He accused him of planning to lie in wait in the sanctuary so as to attack and kill the King when he was removing his clothes.”⁵

Here, the new king, having conducted his father’s funerary ceremonies, is transformed into the new ruler having undergone a series of classic rite of passage rituals: the donning of symbolic garments and the eating of specific foods and the imbibing of ritual liquor, followed by his dressing in new garments to symbolize an altered state of being. The drinking of the sour milk and the acts of ingesting humble foods and hallucinogenics confirmed the initiate’s liminal status, as did the new king’s dressing in the pre-monarchic clothing of Cyrus: humility and humbleness were stressed in this *teletē* and only afterwards, when the king donned a robe of state, was his new brilliance, strength, and vitality confirmed and announced.⁶ This ritual simultaneously imbued the Achaemenid monarch with sacredness and legitimacy.⁷

Gressmann’s influential work on the concept of ancient sacred-kingship has suggested that in the religious and political thought of the Near East the royal body was generally perceived to have taken on a new form of being at the investiture or coronation, so much so in fact that Gressmann thinks royal body-transformation was part of a region-wide *Hofstil*.⁸ If this is correct then it is logical to see the ancient Persian investiture ritual as part of the same Near Eastern-wide theological system. In Achaemenid iconography, the Great King shares his appearance with that of Ahuramazda, echoing, I suggest, a *Hofstil* which was already identifiable in the Neo-Assyrian period: “Man is a shadow of god”, runs one Assyrian proverb; “the king is the perfect likeness of God”, it concludes.⁹ The proverb compares the king to other humans, and contrasts them too, and such a double-layered creed might be corroborated in the teachings of Ahiqar too: “Beautiful to behold is the king [...] and noble is his majesty to them that walk the earth”.¹⁰ Similarly a Neo-Assyrian composition

5 Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 3.1–4 = Ctesias F17. For an introduction to Ctesias and his life in Persia see Llewellyn-Jones and Robson 2010.

6 For a discussion see Binder 2008, 111–22 and 2010. On terebinth and *homa* see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995 and McGovern 2009, 110–120.

7 As noted by Chaumont 1961, 298. See further Roux 1995, 83–118 and Hani 2011.

8 Gressmann 1929.

9 Parpola 1970, 112–13, Letter 145.

10 *Teachings of Ahiqar* 7. 95 ff. See Lindenberger 1983 and 1985.

about the creation of mankind stresses that the king's physical being was made distinct from, and superior to, ordinary men:

"Ea (god of wisdom) opened his mouth to speak, saying to Belet-ili (goddess of creation): 'You are Belet-ili, the sister of the great gods; it was you who created man, the human. Fashion now the king, the counsellor man! Gird the whole figure so pleasingly, make perfect his countenance and well-formed his body!' And Belet-ili fashioned the king, the councillor man."¹¹

In Near Eastern belief, the gods carefully and lovingly created the monarch's body, and that royal body was specifically crafted to be in a relationship with the gods. In the Hebrew bible the special relationship between the Davidic king and Yahweh is stressed when the monarch acknowledges his creation at the hands of the deity:

"For you created my innermost being; / you knit me together in my mother's womb. / I praise you because I am ... wonderfully made."¹²
 "My frame was not hidden from you / when I was made in the secret places. / When I was woven together in the depths of the earth / your eyes saw my body."¹³

And with a play on the theme of "king as Yahweh and Yahweh as king", the prophet Isaiah was able to foretell his people that, "*Your eyes will see the king in his beauty*".¹⁴

Unfortunately, surviving Achaemenid texts are silent about the physical creation of the king's body, but it is clear from the iconography that just as the king and the god share close intimacy of space, so, like the Israelite monarch and his god, they too share a physical form; the Great King encodes in his appearance the best physical attributes of the anthropomorphic divinity, Ahuramazda. In the Achaemenid artworks, such as the Bisitun image (pl. 1) or the Persepolis Treasury relief (pl. 2), the Great King and the supreme deity adopt the same hair-style and beard-shape, the same crown, and the same garment; they are, in effect, one another's doppelgänger. Reciprocity between

¹¹ Mayer 1987 (= VS 24 n. 92) fig. 31–36; cf. Radner 2010, 10.

¹² *Psalm* 139.13–16.

¹³ *Eccles.* 11.5.

¹⁴ *Is.* 33.17.

king and god is guaranteed and thus in an inscription from Susa Darius I can state with confidence that, “Ahuramazda is mine; I am Ahuramazda’s; I worshipped Ahuramazda; may Ahuramazda bear me aid”.¹⁵

The origin and significance of the tradition of the handsome king sharing in the physically perfect attributes of the gods is unclear, although it is probably connected to the connotation that the ruler is superlative in all respects. It was certainly part of a royal ideology promoted across the Near East, from Egypt to Iran.¹⁶ The Greeks too were aware of the belief, although they failed to understand the subtleties of the system. Thus, in the Pseudo-Aristotelian tractate *De Mundo*, the Persian Great King is presented as the antitype of God: “invisible to all” he resides deep within the inner chambers of his tightly guarded palace at Susa or Ecbatana; in his seclusion he nevertheless “sees all and hears all”.¹⁷ He acts only through his courtiers and, like a god, he inhabits, as Ernst Kantorowicz puts it, a “celestial Versailles”.¹⁸ This is a king whose foot never touches the ground, whom, like a god, is perpetually suspended in mid-air: he alighted from his chariot onto a golden footstool, which a stool-bearer was specially detailed to carry, and he was not touched by anybody’s helping hand. According to several fourth-century Greek *Persica*, this king never went on foot outside his palace, and even within its walls wherever he walked, he trod upon fine Sardis carpets, which everyone else was forbidden to use.¹⁹ Even when he banqueted with his court, the Great King was concealed behind a curtain, yet able to see all who flocked to his table to enjoy his beneficence.²⁰ When suppliants approached him they prostrated themselves on the ground and kept their eyes lowered.²¹

The Great King held, by virtue of his office, a position supernatural. He was, if less than a god, still more than a man. In his *Persae*, Aeschylus calls the dead Darius, the father of Xerxes, *isotheos* “equal to the gods”, *theion* “divine”, and *akakos*, “knowing no wrong”, and while the Athenian tragedian must not be taken literally on these points, he was capable,

¹⁵ DSk.

¹⁶ See Bertelli 2001; Hamilton 2005; Sommer 2009; Llewellyn-Jones 2013b.

¹⁷ Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mund.* 348a.

¹⁸ Kantorowicz 1957, 187.

¹⁹ Dinon F25a = Athenaeus 12.514a; Heracleides F1 = Athenaeus 12.514b–c.

²⁰ Heracleides F2 = Athenaeus 4.145a–146a.

²¹ Fry 1972.

nonetheless, of thinking of the Achaemenid dynasty in this way.²² Even if Persian kings were not gods, they could be represented in that way, and understood in that light too.

THE BODY ROYAL AND THE IMAGE OF "THE OFFICE OF KINGSHIP"

Created under imperial auspices for predominately Persian spectators at the heart of the Empire, the Bisitun relief (dated to just before 519 B.C.E.) is a vivid depiction, although not necessarily a 'portrait' as we might use the term, of Darius the Great, the Achaemenid monarch (pl. 1). Physical likeness was not necessarily the intention behind portrayals of ancient Near Eastern monarchs; it is the institution of monarchy which is being portrayed and, as we will explore, the coded references the king's beard and coiffure, his stance and body-language, and to his clothing make the Bisitun relief, and other images of its type, a "portrait of a Persian ruler."²³ This is why, on the Treasury relief, the Crown Prince, standing behind (that is to say, beside) the royal throne is identical in every way to his seated father; this is a portrait of the longevity of the institution of royalty.

²² Aes. *Per.* 651, 654–5, 671, 711, 857; see further Garvie 2009, 73–80. It is little wonder that the Greeks mistook the Great King's intimate relationship with Ahuramazda to mean that the king himself was divine. See Plut. *Them.* 27.4–5: "Amongst our many excellent customs, this we account the best, to honour the king and to worship him, as the image of the preserver of all things. If then you approve of our practices, fall down before the king and revere him, you may both see him and speak to him; but if you think otherwise, you will need to use messengers to intercede for you, for it is not our national custom for the king to grant audience to any man who does not pay him obeisance". Other Greeks described the Great King as having a divine *daimon*, or spirit. Plutarch (*Art.* 15.5), dependent for information upon Ctesias, says that courtiers revered the *daimon* of the king, while Theopompus (*Histories* F 17 = Athenaeus 6.252B) went so far as to say that the Persians piled tables high with food for the pleasure of the king's *daimon*. This Greek belief in the king's *daimon* is a reasonable interpretation of the Persian belief in the *fravashi*, or 'soul' of the monarch. I do not mean to imply that there was a formal cult of the living king, but there was veneration paid to the august *fravashi* of the human Great King. After death, the veneration of the king continued: Ctesias (F 13 §9.15) records cult practices for the dead kings at Naqsh-e Rostam and recent Elamite texts from Persepolis have confirmed such Greek reports; see Henkelman 2008.

²³ Following Winter 2009, 268.

Did the Achaemenid rulers direct artistic policy and did they have a hand in creating the royal image which was clearly so important to them? Occasional references suggest this and show kings and nobles commissioning works of art, like an equine statue custom-made for Aršama the satrap of Egypt, or a bespoke statuette of beaten-gold representing Artystone (Elamite, Irtaštuna) which was commissioned by her husband, Darius I (Herodotus 7, 69).²⁴ In Assyria monarchs were certainly active in promoting and commissioning royal art and a letter sent by a craftsman asks king Sargon to review some preparatory sketches for a new statue which had been ordered:

“We have caused to bring an image of the king; in outline I have drawn [it]. An image of the king of another sort they have prepared. May the king see (them) and whatever is pleasing before the king, we shall make instead. May the king give attention to the hands, the elbows, and the dress.”²⁵

There is no reason to doubt that the Achaemenid kings did not have a similar hold on the manufacture of the royal image as they had over the ideological texts created for them and in the Persepolis archives we do occasionally hear of specialist craftsmen serving the monarch’s needs at the heart of Empire (PF 872–4, 1049)—one is even mentioned by name: “Addarnuriš the Assyrian who [carves] cedar (?) (wood) (at) Persepolis” (PF 1799). Frustratingly, we do not have the Old Persian vocabulary for what they might have referred to as “the royal image”, but Akkadian terminology might be of help (for the link between Achaemenid and Neo-Assyrian art, see below). The expression used is *šalam-šarrūtia*—“the image of my office of kingship”, a clear demonstration that ancient Near Eastern kings promoted the official image of the institution of rulership, “a portrait of the ideal and able king, in royal garments and with royal insignia, fashioned by the gods and in the likeness of the gods.”²⁶

In the high-relief sculpture at Bisitun Darius wears a large bag-tunic, the so-called ‘court robe’ belted at the waist so as to form voluminous ‘sleeves’ (see further below). His beard is thick and curly and well-coiffured, as is his hair, upon which is set a low dentate crown. Darius wears trousers beneath his robe and his feet are placed in shoes without visible fastenings.

²⁴ Llewellyn-Jones 2013b, 125.

²⁵ Waterman 1930 (II), 233.

²⁶ Ziffer 2013, 51. See also Winter 2009, 266.

One cannot fail to notice that Darius places his booted foot on the belly of a recumbent man—the usurper Gaumata—whom he dominates and humiliates. In a trilingual text which accompanies the relief, Darius sets out his lineage and titles and describes his defeat of Gaumata, his rise to the throne, and his successful crushing of a series of rebellions which broke out across the Empire in his first regnal year. The relief compresses the essence of these events into one tableau. Darius, accompanied by two Persian weapon-bearers, treads upon the prostrate Gaumata as nine rebel leaders, securely bound in fetters, approach king; they wear regional dress and are identified by name. Darius, bow in one hand, lifts his other hand in a gesture of salutation to the god Ahuramazda who hovers over the scene and offers a ring (perhaps representing the kingship itself) to Darius.

At Bisitun, the depiction of the Great King, his Persian weapon-bearers, and even of the defeated prisoners are part of the overall layout of the relief and operate through a code of signs that circulate around the body. By 'code' I refer to the language of semiotics, a sign system in which we read, among other things, symbolism, metaphor, analogy, signification, and communication.²⁷ In the ancient Near East, language and art followed a semiotic display, and therefore, in the case of the hand, foot, nose, eyes, and other body-parts, ancient Near Eastern peoples did not necessarily think just of their external form, but of their activity: the power exercised by a strong hand, or the foot on the belly of an enemy, as a gesture of subjugation. In Mesopotamia and Egypt the arm signalled the underlying Sumerian logogram and Egyptian hieroglyph for 'strength,' a central attribute of the successful ruler; a king represented with powerful arms was therefore endowed with strength from the god. Large ears, as are frequently depicted in Egyptian and Mesopotamian royal images, thus indicated the judicial attributes of the monarch who was "wide of ear"—just, wise and focussed; a broad chest signified a ruler endowed with strength and energy. As Irene Winter explains, "In short, the stylistic traits were to be read as part of the *iconography* of the image."²⁸

²⁷ Consider, for example, a metaphoric image employed in the Hebrew *Song of Songs* (4.1): when the lovers say to one another, "*Your eyes are doves*", this is not about the shape of the eyes, nor their colour or even their movement. The doves, as vehicles of the metaphor, say nothing about the appearance of the eyes but express the message of the glance, because in Near Eastern (and Greek) mythology, doves were known to be companions and messengers of the great goddesses of desire and sex. So the eyes emanate sex appeal.

²⁸ See further Berman 1996.

With that in mind, we might ask what are the resonances of Darius' body-parts? What about his ear, what does it signify? His fingers? His foot? I will limit myself here to making some limited observations about the depiction of the king's head: the royal hair and beard, as well as Darius' eyes and nose. I will then offer a few observations on the king's stance and the over-all visualization of his body.

EMOTION, BEAUTY AND THE KING'S HEAD

The head held the highest place in the Near Eastern body's hierarchy and was the most honourable part of the body. To be anointed and crowned in the case of the king, it was the seat of life and consequently Near Eastern texts often refer to the head as the "life force" of the individual.²⁹ Since the head represented the whole person, beheading an enemy gave a dramatic emphasis to the destruction of the opponent's whole being.³⁰ Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs frequently show mounds of severed heads of enemies near battlefields, and the head as a war trophy has a long history in western Asia.³¹ Perhaps stimulated by reflecting on the function of the physical head in relationship to the body, ancient Near Eastern peoples used the term 'head' as a symbol of leadership and authority; the king is thus the head of the body of the state.

All images of the Achaemenid Great King depict him with thick and luxuriant hair: abundant curls cover his head and a full, bushy, beard falls to his chest (pl. 1); the monarch is represented with fullest head of hair and the longest and thickest beard—the length of the monarch's hair must have signalled larger issues such as strength, wisdom, vitality, and potency (perhaps the beard even encoded a certain sacrosanct quality). The Bisitun relief shows Darius with a bigger and better beard than anyone else and even the audience relief at Persepolis (pl. 2) shows the king sporting a beard far superior to any courtier's (although, standing at his side, his son and heir, the Crown Prince, is granted the privilege of long beard too).

In the ancient world hair and beards were highly significant, and both were surrounded by rituals and had symbolic undertones; Persian elite men clearly grew theirs long, full, and luxuriant as a supreme mark

²⁹ *I Sam.* 10.1.

³⁰ *Gen.* 3.15; *I Sam.* 17.46.

³¹ Reade 2004, 80–91.



1 Bisitun, Detail of the head of Darius I from the Bisitun relief. The King's beard and well-set hair is abundant and elegantly coiffured. The king's profile is striking, his eye large and outlined with kohl.

of high social status.³² At the most mundane level, hair signalled a person's state of health or lack of it (poor-quality hair could signal disease or uncleanness; the tearing out of the hair was a symbol of grief or emotional distress), therefore men of the warrior-elite carefully grew and cared for their hair to represent their strength and virility (after all the greatest heroes of Near Eastern antiquity were long-haired: consider Gilgamesh and Samson), but they were careful to dress it and arrange it too, thereby symbolically 'taming' and 'civilizing' it. Excessive hair-growth had overtones of the barbaric, so that when the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar's state of mind finally collapsed, his courtiers read the external sign when then observed that, "his hair grew as long as eagle's feathers, and his nails were like birds claws".³³

Neo-Assyrian monarchs also took extreme care with the plaiting, braiding, and twisting of their hair and beards into elaborate coiffures of ringlets and curls, and it was this fashion which was wholeheartedly

³² Llewellyn-Jones 2011; Niditch 2008. On the anthropology of hair and beards see Biddle-Perry and Cheang 2008 and Peterkin 2001.

³³ Daniel 4.33.

adopted by Achaemenid rulers who carefully had themselves depicted in the artworks with every curl and wave of hair clearly delineated.³⁴ In reality, the hair and the beard were carefully dressed by skilled hairdressers who twisted the curls into shape and fixed them in position by the careful use of perfumed oil which helped control the hair, in addition to keeping it shiny and fragrant. Anointing the hair and beard with oil was probably a ritual practice for the Achaemenid monarchs as it was for other Near Eastern kings, but it was also a beauty rite for its own sake, and one associated too with festivity and hospitality. Great Kings lavished their wealth on costly perfumed hair-oil, and one particular sort, *labyzos*, was even more expensive than myrrh.³⁵ One Mesopotamian hymn entitled *Lettuce Is My Hair*, lauds the beauty of well-dressed and perfumed tresses, likening a beloved's locks to the leaves of a lettuce, which was thought of as an aphrodisiac in Near Eastern thought:

“Piled up [are] its small locks, / My attendant arranges (my hair), /
The attendant (arranges) my hair which is lettuce, the / most favoured
of plants[...]. / For him who is the honey of my eye, who is the lettuce
of my heart.”³⁶

34 See images in Bahrani 2003 and Dayagi-Mendels 1989, 66–67 and discussion by Madhloom 1970, 84–87.

35 Dinon F25a = Athenaeus 12.514a. On top of the Great King's coiffured and oiled locks sat a crown, weighty with symbolic authority. In antiquity, as in later eras, the crown signified some kind of state of honour or dignity for those who wore it; a kind of divine aura emanated from a monarch's crown and raised the wearer up to the most exalted position. The Old Persian word for “crown” is not known, although various contemporary Greek terms like *kidaris* or *kitaris*, *tiara*, and *kurbasia*—were possibly derived from Old Persian words. In the Achaemenid period there is evidence to suggest that rulers might wear two very different kinds of crown. Most common (and more in keeping with the standard image of a crown) was a rigid metal cylinder with or without crenelated decoration (it is not known whether the king's crown was of a special colour or metal, like gold). While it is possible that Achaemenid kings adopted different forms of crown (crenelated crowns certainly changed shape over the decades), they cannot be considered ‘personal crowns’ in the way that Sasanian crowns are understood. See Berghe 1993, 74; see also Henkelman 1995–1996 and Root 1979, 92–93.

36 *Lettuce is my Hair: a love song for Shi-Sin-art* in Pritchard 1969, 644.

Egyptian pharaohs had an age-old tradition of wearing carefully dressed wigs and there can be little doubt that Achaemenid kings and courtiers likewise wore wigs and false hair pieces; their images at Persepolis and other palace sites certainly suggest that false tresses could be plaited into natural hair and beards. This fashionable caprice must have made hair expensive, and Strabo notes that hair was therefore a taxable item, while pseudo-Aristotle suggests that the Great King demanded a 'tribute' of hair from provinces of the Empire specifically for the creation of wigs.³⁷

For Persian men a full, well-set, fragranced beard was clearly a potent sign of manhood and a source of personal pride. It was the ornament of their machismo. In Near Eastern cultures generally the beard was symbolically loaded: it was the object of salutation and the focus of oaths and blessings, although, conversely, the beard could also be a locus of shame, since an attack on the beard was an attack on the individual who sported it, and because the beard was the superlative symbol of manhood, it was a great insult to degrade it: prisoners of war might have half their beards shaved off in order to humiliate them, and Israelite prophets threatened the populace with the promise that the king of Assyria will, "shave your head and the hair of your legs and ... take off your beards also".³⁸ It seems to have been a practice at the early Achaemenid court to shave the heads and pluck off the beards of courtiers, aristocrats, and grandees who had offended the Great King (although Plutarch says that under Artaxerxes I a more symbolic practice was put into operation whereby a courtier's humiliation was enacted upon his headgear, which was torn and shredded; see further below).³⁹

Interestingly, Ctesias tells a story (which probably has at its core a genuine Iranian version) of the time a powerful court eunuch, Artoxares, attempted to overthrow the throne of Darius II and establish himself as Great King; to do this, Ctesias says, he asked a woman (who goes unnamed in the text) to procure for him a beard and moustache of false hair, "so that he could look like a man".⁴⁰ At a time when beards were *de rigueur* for all elite men, eunuchs (who, if castrated before puberty, could never sprout facial hair) must have appeared very incongruous—at best 'half-men', at worse, sub-human and Ctesias' point is to confirm

³⁷ Strabo 15.3.21; pseudo-Aristotle 2.14d.

³⁸ *Isaiah* 7.20; see also *II Samuel* 10.4–5.

³⁹ Plut. *Mor.* 173D; 565A.

⁴⁰ Ctesias F15 §54. On eunuchs and beards see Tougher 2008, 23.

that to rule as a king, one must look the part; the vital accoutrement for the job was the luxuriant royal beard. Since Artoxares was incapable of growing his own, he would seize on the fashion for false hair and wear a counterfeit one.⁴¹ Preserved here, I think, is a genuine Persian belief that the monarch was the first amongst men and that his ability to rule and to preserve cosmic order was signified through his appearance. Not surprisingly then, given the close association between the beard and physical power and martial ability, the Great King was depicted with the most impressive beard of all; it far outstripped those of his courtiers in terms of length, fullness, and elaboration and it clearly demarcated him as the Empire's alpha-male.

In Near Eastern thought the face was regarded as the most obvious aspect of the true-self; to honour the face was thus to honour the person and since the face was the essence of the person, abuse was directed directly at it.⁴² The metaphor of light emerging from the face was a common Near eastern motif: faces are said to beam and glow, while benevolence and happiness dawns and flashes over the face; conversely, a darkened expression is troublesome. The light and darkness read onto a monarch's face was considered the gauge of his mood—and this was important to understand given that life and death depended on the king's expression:

“A King's wrath is a messenger of death, / and whoever is wise will appease it. / In the light of a king's face there is life, / and his favour is like the clouds that bring the spring rain.”⁴³

Perhaps because the spirit of the body (the breath) comes from the nose, it was considered to be the seat of one's spirit. The nose was regarded a seat of the emotions, and was thought to be heated in anger, reminiscent of the snorting of a war-horse: a Hebrew text has an enraged Yahweh pronouncing that, “*I myself will fight against you [...] in anger, in fury, and with a nose snorting with rage*” (Jeremiah 21.5), while Sehep-ib-re, Chief Treasurer to the pharaoh Amenemhet III, noted that his mater's nostrils “*are chilled when he inclines toward rage*.”⁴⁴ Hauteur, and distain

⁴¹ See Llewellyn-Jones 2002, 39.

⁴² *Lev.* 19.32.

⁴³ *Prov.* 16.14–15; *Deut.* 25.9.

⁴⁴ Stele of Sehep-ib-re = Pritchard 1969, 431.

were expressed through the nose, especially through the flaring of the nostrils: "*his nose became enflamed*", is Bible-speak for "*he was angry*", while a man's fierce rage could be expressed with the words "*the burning anger of your nose*".⁴⁵

The quality of the nose commands respect and honour, so that when in the Hebrew Song of Songs the male-lover's nose is compared to a tower built in Lebanon, it is the strength inherent in the nose, and not the size of it that is referred to.⁴⁶ Likewise, in the Achaemenid relief sculptures, Darius' nose in no small way defines his looks. It is a haughty, proud nose. But it is also a sexily hooked nose. Darius has a matinee-idol handsomeness—at least if we follow Plutarch on this: "*because Cyrus [the Great] was hooked-nosed, the Persians—even to this day—love hooked-nosed men and consider them the most handsome*".⁴⁷ Of course, every Persian prince and monarch aspired to match the standard of masculine beauty set by Cyrus whose aquiline nose set the benchmark of beauty for generations of Persians. Indeed, one cannot help but notice this distinctive physiognomy repeated time and again in Achaemenid art. Of course, there are as many conceptions of beauty as there are cultures and every society defines beauty according to a set of commonly held criteria operating around the construction of gender, class, and aesthetics which are specific to a time and a locale, but in Achaemenid Persia the male nose seemed to have been erotically charged. Needless to say, the Great King's nose was the finest and fairest of all.

In the Bisitun relief, Darius' artists, while conforming closely to conventions of Near Eastern art, nevertheless manage to give Darius a look that resonates with a particular Persian beauty.⁴⁸ In Greek texts Great Kings are noted for their valour, handsome demeanour, and their impressive stature; they are all "*the most valiant of men*", or "*the best-looking of men*" (their wives and daughters are equally beautiful—a 'torment' for Greek eyes no less)—and together Persian kings and queens are habitually tagged as being "*the best looking in all of Asia*".⁴⁹ Even Plato could not

⁴⁵ *Job* 32.2–3.

⁴⁶ Song of Songs 7.4.

⁴⁷ Plut. *Mor.* 281e.

⁴⁸ On other conceptions of beauty unique to the Achaemenids see Llewellyn-Jones 2009 and 2010a.

⁴⁹ Strabo 15.3.2.1; Hdt. 7.187; Plut. *Art.* 1.1; Plut. *Alex.* 21.6.11; see further Llewellyn-Jones, 2013a.

resist commenting on the striking beauty of the royal Persian physique, which he explained by suggesting that infant princes underwent a strict regimen of massage therapy in which their young oiled limbs were twisted into perfection by their doting eunuch slaves.⁵⁰ Accordingly, Pierre Briant has noted that, “*a man did not become king because he was handsome [...]; it was because of his position as king that he was automatically designated as handsome*”.⁵¹

In the Bisitun relief’s accompanying inscription, the tall, regal, and handsome Darius boasts of his triumph over the ambitions of the Median pretender Fravartish: “[He] was captured and brought to me. I cut off his nose, his ears, and his tongue, and I tore out one eye, and he was kept in fetters at my palace entrance, and all the people beheld him”.⁵² Eventually his head was hacked off and displayed on the palace walls. The same fate is reserved for the traitor Cicantakhma the Sagartian.⁵³ In his mutilation of the heads of prisoners, and in particular the hacking off of the nose and the gouging out of the eyes, Darius is consistent with a general Near Eastern practice which regarded mutilation as the lowest type of degradation that could be inflicted upon an individual’s body. A text by Ashurnasirpal II recounts how, “*I captured many troops alive: I cut off some of their arms and hands; I cut off of others their noses, ears and extremities. I gouged out the eyes of many troops*”.⁵⁴ Even Xenophon recalls that, as he marched through the Persian Empire, he often saw along the roads people who had lost eyes because of some crime against the Great King’s law.⁵⁵

As perhaps the most expressive single element of the face, eyes are essential for non-verbal communication, but they also served as a symbol for the physical and spiritual wholeness of an individual. People believed that the eyes emitted power and had a life-force of their own; this in a Nineteenth-Dynasty hymn, the Egyptian god Re notes that, “*I am he who opened his eyes, so that light might come into being, who closed his eyes, so that darkness might come into being*”.⁵⁶ But the power of the eye is also

⁵⁰ Plat. *Alc.* 121d; see also Pliny 24. 165.

⁵¹ Briant 2002, 225–26.

⁵² DB Column II §32.

⁵³ DB Column II §33.

⁵⁴ *Annals of Ashurnasirpal III* = Luckenbill 1989, Vol. II, 380.

⁵⁵ Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.11–12.

⁵⁶ *The God and his Unknown Name of Power* = Pritchard 1969, 13.

enshrined in the effectiveness of the gaze: "*You have ravished my heart with a glance of your eyes*" sings the beloved in Song of Songs; "*Alluring was his figure, sparkling the lift of his eyes*" lauds the Babylonian creation epic of the god Marduk.⁵⁷

In the conventions of Near Eastern two-dimensional art, prominence is laid on the power of the eye because only one is ever depicted; it is often over-large and highlighted with carefully delineated eyelids and make-up lines and set beneath an impressive eyebrow.⁵⁸ The Achaemenid artists follow the same conventions for the representations of Darius and his heirs; in the relief images, the eye of the Persian Great King dominates his face and serves the double-purpose of making the eye both a powerful force and a beautiful entity in its own right. Since the eye was the focus of beauty in Near Eastern thought, and artificial enhancement of the eye with make-up (especially kohl) was meant to define its power and attractiveness (and, indeed, the attractiveness of power). Thus, the Persian vogue for using kohl is well-attested in Achaemenid iconography, where make-up lines are clearly delineated.⁵⁹ Persian courtiers shared a love of cosmetics with many courts of the Near East, and like Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian rulers, the Achaemenid kings employed a stratum of specialist slaves who were trained as beauticians, some of whom could become influential at court—no doubt because of their close proximity to the Great King or his family.⁶⁰ The biblical text of Esther records that new recruits into the royal harem at Susa underwent six months intensive beauty therapy as they were massaged with oil of myrrh in what B.W. Jones has called, "*conspicuous consumption in the extreme*".⁶¹ Xenophon's Cyrus understands the benefit of a good make-over too: he saw the beauty of 'Median' dress and he comprehended the effectiveness of cosmetics in enhancing the appearance (the story goes

57 Song of Songs 4.9; Babylonian Creation Epic, Tablet I, 86 = Pritchard 1969, 62.

58 Conventional Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian painting and relief represents the face in profile although the eye is shown 'face-on'; sculpture in the round depicts two eyes, but even then the size of the eye is often exaggerated and the cosmetic lines are obvious.

59 Achaemenid-period archaeological finds from northwest Iran, have yielded delicate coloured glass kohl tubes. See Dayagi-Mendels 1989, 46.

60 Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.8.20.

61 Es. 2.12. See Jones 1977, 175; on cosmetics in *Esther* see further Albright 1982; Baldwin 1984, 68–69; De Troyer 1995.

that Cyrus especially admired his grandfather Astyages' use of eye-liner, rouge, and wigs).⁶²

It is clear that the various components of the head created a rich symbiosis of significant codes through which emotions and status were expressed. Darius' head and face could be read as a signifier of his creativity and procreative power, his emotions, and even his potent sexuality. The king's head crowned the body royal.

"THAT MY BODY IS STRONG": ROYAL MUSCLE

In an Old Persian inscription on the façade of his tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam, near Persepolis, Darius I confirms that his Empire was won by military prowess: "*the spear of a Persian man has gone far; then shall it become known to you: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.*"⁶³ This is the logical conclusion to the first text of Darius' reign contained on the Bisitun monument in which his fight for Empire is inscribed. His tomb contains another statement, but this time it focuses on the strength of the king's body and is the most verbose Achaemenid text in existence in which the military achievements of the monarch are portrayed through the strength of Darius' body:

"This is my ability: that my body is strong. As a warrior, I am a good warrior. At once my intelligence holds its place, whether I see a rebel or not. Both by intelligence and by command at that time I know myself to be above panic, both when I see a rebel and I do not see one. I am furious in the strength of my revenge, with both hands and both feet. As a bowman I am a good bowman, both on foot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman, both on foot and on horseback. These are the skills which Ahuramazda has bestowed on me and I have had the strength to bear them."⁶⁴

Always measured and rational, never hasty or unconsidered, Darius' force of personality ensures sound judgment and learned leadership for the Persians; but while ethical qualities are central to the ideology of the

⁶² Xen. *Cyrop.* 1.3.2–3.

⁶³ DNa §4.

⁶⁴ DNb §2g–2i; later repeated verbatim by Xerxes: XPl.

tomb inscription, physical muscle and brute strength are stressed too. Darius' body is strong enough to endure the hardships of campaigning on horseback and on the march, and his arms have strength to draw the bow and wield the lance. His skills, he says, come from Ahuramazda, re-echoing the interdependence of the bodies of the god and the king, which he articulated in his inscription from Susa (see above).⁶⁵

It is the strong body of the king, which is eulogised too on the Bisitun monument. Here the relief sculpture depicts Darius' body in sharp contrast to the bodies of his enemies while the texts, which accompany it, tell how each rebel was pursued, captured, and killed. But notable is the fact that Darius himself is never represented as being pursued and while his grip on power is challenged, he is never shown as weakened, let alone fleeing his enemies. Instead Darius charges across his realm (or sends a proxy to do so) quelling rebellion after rebellion and enacting his just and pre-meditated revenge on the fleeing and captured traitors. Subsequently as the rebel leaders fall before Darius they offer him their necks. For it is they, not he, who are men of violence; it is they who are followers of the Lie (rebellion), so that the moral ambiguity of warfare and internal strife vanishes in the face of the legitimate Great King of Persia. The enemy bodies are therefore justifiably abased, mutilated, and killed and the king chains them by their necks, steps on their bellies, and then orders their executions; the upshot of this makes Darius the undisputed head of all lands, although it must be said that the imagery is somewhat grotesque in this context: the conqueror who decapitates his foes becomes the head of many nations.

To add strength to this image it should be noted that in the Bisitun relief the bodies of Darius' fellow-Persian arms-bearers (one holding a spear, the other a bow) are inactive. They hold the weapons, which bring about Darius' victory, but do not wield them with any degree of military vigour; in fact, to make them active in any way would only deter and weaken Darius' action. After all, Darius does not lead an army here, and the image suggests that he defeats the rebels single-handedly. While this is obviously a fiction (and the text confirms that armies mobilised by loyal commander were at the forefront of the campaigns), the relief scene does serve to place his body in the foreground.

65 DSk.



2 Possible restoration of the victory stele of Naram-Sin, with a detail of the monarch. The king wears a short kilt, but his legs, arms, and chest are bare and openly displayed. He sports a long beard, reaching to his chest, and his hair is worn long and thick. Naram-Sin's horned crown associates him with the gods.

For its part, the Bisitun relief derives much of its iconography from three principal areas: firstly the great the victory stele of Naram-Sin (c. 2254–2218 B.C.E.), taken from Sippar by the Elamite ruler Šutruk-Nahhunte (c. 1165 B.C.E.; fig. 2), who erected it on the acropolis at Susa, where it was discovered by Jacques de Morgan and analysed by Pierre Amiet, who recognized the “grandiose scene” as a formative “episode expressing the mythological and historical conceptions of kingship.”⁶⁶ Naram-Sin's

⁶⁶ Amiet 1992, 166. See further and full discussion in Westenholz 2000.

triumphant pose, bow in hand and with his foot raised onto the chest of a fallen enemy (with others dying before him), is a unchallenged figure of vigour and manliness and his position, high on a mountain top and close to the stars—the symbols of the gods—as well as his horned helmet articulate the notion that the king's body emphasizes the transient flow between the body divine and the body politic.

Second, created in the mode of the Stele of Naram-Sin, the Sar-i Pol relief of the Elamite king Anubanini from Luristan (fig. 3), some 100 kilometres east of Bisitun, depicts the victory and investiture of the Elamite warlord who similarly stands on one of his captives in his role as a military hero (he wields a battle-axe and bow). The goddess Ishtar, proffering the ring of kingship, leads nine naked and bound prisoners before the victorious sovereign. Darius' emulation and adaptation of the third millennium rock relief of Sar-i Pol is clear, and it is even probable that Darius knew too of its Old Akkadian ancestor, the Naram-Sin



3 Sar-i Pol Luristan, the Elamite king Anubanini from a rock-relief. The monarch, bow in one hand, axe in the other, stands in front of the warrior-goddess Ishtar and receives the bound and naked bodies of prisoners. He places his sandaled foot on the belly of a fallen captive.

monument, which was almost certainly on display in Susa during Darius' lifetime.⁶⁷

Finally, Darius' artists show considerable awareness of the Neo-Assyrian manner of representing kings (and, more generally, the Assyrian nobility and military). The Bisitun image is a reworking of the Mesopotamian and Elamite relief-images, reworked in a style reminiscent of Neo-Assyrian carvings and although the question of the Assyrian influence on early Achaemenid relief sculpture has been questioned, most scholars recognize the dependence on earlier models (fig. 3).⁶⁸ There can be little doubt that Achaemenid artists drew much inspiration from a mixture of Neo-Assyrian, southern Mesopotamian and Elamite royal modes of representation and that the Bisitun relief was created thanks to a conscientious "mining of earlier traditions."⁶⁹

However, the Bisitun image of Darius lacks the physical momentum of movement and the obvious force of the body which is such a common feature of the portrayals of Sumerian, Assyrian, Elamite, and, for that matter, Egyptian monarchs in warfare or sport; when Ramses II is shown shooting at Hittite enemies from his chariot for instance, the artist makes a great play on the tension (and beauty) of his musculature as he effortlessly draws his bow and fires a volley of arrows.⁷⁰ Likewise in Ahurbannipal's lion hunt scenes, the king's musculature appears to almost throb with force as he dispatches lion after lion with his spear and sword.⁷¹

Naram-Sin is defined by his physique, and Irene Winter has read his rich mane of hair, beard as a leonine image of power.⁷² His torso is naked and his well-muscled chest is displayed frontally for maximum

⁶⁷ Nylander 1979, 354; Westenholtz 2000.

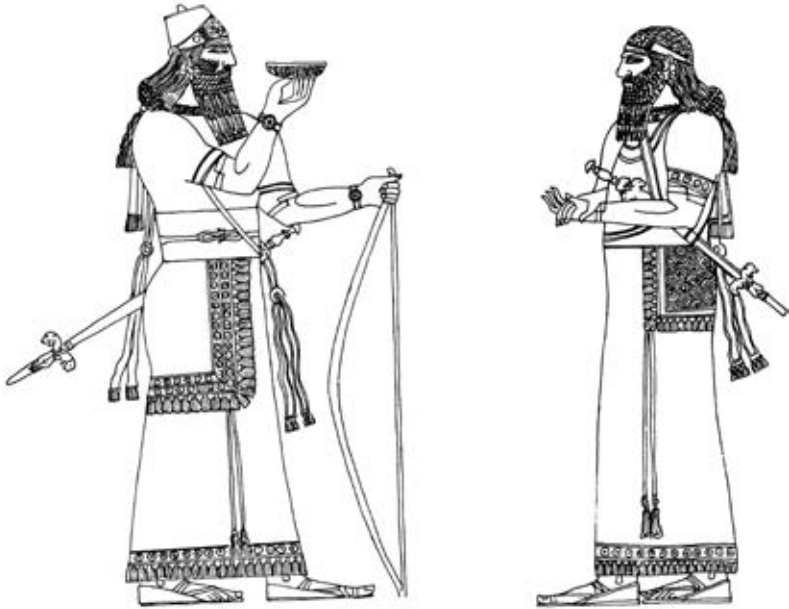
⁶⁸ Root 1979, 202 ff. The details are telling: there is even a similarity in the Bisitun depiction of Darius' hem-line and that of Ashurbanipal's on a lion-hunt relief from Nineveh; See Reade 2004, 79, fig. 94. Darius also holds a bow in a similar manner to that of his Assyrian forerunners (although the Persian artist places the bow-string close to the king's leg, an inversion of the Assyrian practice).

⁶⁹ Root 1994, 22. See further Root 1979 and 2011; Stronach 2011; Westenholtz 2000.

⁷⁰ See for instance Desroches Noblecourt 2007, 61, 66–67, 80–81, 138.

⁷¹ See Reade 2004, 79, fig. 94; Curtis and Reade 1995, 53. On representations of the Neo-Assyrian royal body see further Ataç 2010; Bahrani 2003 and 2008; Cohen and Kangas 2010.

⁷² Winter 1997, 130 ff.



4 King Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria raises a libation bowl; in front of him is his 'Turtan', a high-ranking military and administrative official, who clasps his hands in prayer. The arms of king and courtier are thickly muscled even though both are at repose.

visual impact; the king's legs are uncovered too, and sinewy, and toned. On the Sar-i Pol relief, Anubanini is portrayed with a naked torso and a well-defined physique, including powerfully muscled legs and full pectorals, in a typically southern Mesopotamian style of royal representation.⁷³ Neo-Assyrian royal bodies too are heavily muscled, so much so that in the art works their legs and biceps are artificially pumped to bursting-point; even in repose, the Assyrian monarch's developed and toned body is stressed (fig. 3): an arm lifted in a gesture of prayer still betrays the strength of the monarch's body.⁷⁴ The Mesopotamian and Elamite images, it has been suggested, pulsate with physical energy in a vision of masculine prowess "not unlike compartmentalized Charles Atlas ads for

⁷³ Bahrani 2008, 105–114.

⁷⁴ See Ataç 2010, 104–107, 109, 110; Cohen and Kangas 2010, 38, 60, 80, 190; Curtis and Reade 1995, 54, 57.

body-building common in the comic books of the 1940s and 1950s.⁷⁵ The images encode one message: *here is the body of a strong and capable monarch.*

Contrasting with the muscled Mesopotamian bodies, on the Bisitun relief Darius' body lacks definition. His arms are entirely devoid of muscles and are smoothly rounded, decorated with fine bracelets, and for the most part concealed within the robe's 'sleeves'. Darius' fingers are long and curved, and schematically rendered (it is perhaps better to look more for an Egyptian influence here than a Neo-Assyrian one). Nonetheless, we still see here a body in motion, its parts perfectly suited for activity (the most important movement is that of Darius' leg, lifted up onto the stomach of Gaumata). The text of the Bisitun inscription leave no room to doubt that the decapitation of the king's enemies are the result of Darius' own body-strength and in the relief that accompanies the inscription the display of his victorious body over the rebellious traitors is accentuated by the display of the rebels lining up in front of him awaiting their execution. The numbers of dead and mutilated soldiers are recounted in the Babylonian version of the text below the relief; thus of the Babylonian usurper we read: "in Babylon I impaled that (usurper) Nadintu-Bel and the nobles who were with him. I executed forty-nine [men]. This is what I did in Babylon".⁷⁶

So in the Bisitun inscriptions the King's body is an active body, but the *image* accompanying the text does not necessarily confirm this. There Darius' body is a curiously inactive body and his gesture of reverential greeting to Ahuramazda, coupled with his raised leg with its foot resting on Gaumata's prone figure is all that physically happens. And even then, Darius' body is at ease. Why is this? Probably because the image is fixed on showing the restoration of order brought about by Darius in the immediate aftermath of his successful play for the throne; while the texts give us plenty of dynamic action, the image represents a 'mission accomplished' scenario—the Lie has been vanquished and Truth (that is, Darius' *version* of the Truth) is once again restored. The scene shows the aftermath of war and terror, the moment when chaos is overthrown and harmony reigns supreme. Action is no longer needed.

At Bisitun the image of Darius dominates the relief. Given that the monarch was the select vessel of the god Ahuramazda, the Persian artists,

⁷⁵ Winter 2009, 261. See also Winter 1996.

⁷⁶ DB col II § 20; Babylonian text. The tallies of the dead in Parthia amount to some 6,346 bodies, and in Babylonia, after its second uprising, 2,497 corpses are listed in Darius' text.

no doubt carefully working through the throne, have tried to depict this quality simply by making Darius' body bigger than any other individual represented. Yet when compared with the visualization of monarchs in other Near Eastern societies, there are significant oddities in the iconography of the Achaemenid Great King. The body of Darius not only lacks muscle, in sharp contrast to the boast that his body "is a strong body", but is also conspicuously covered so that only his forearms and face are left exposed; the belted robe, trousers, and boots render his flesh invisible. Even his face is essentially masked behind the luxuriant growth of his beard and hair.

This masking of the king's body is surprising given the Near Eastern prototypes commonly assigned to the Bisitun relief and I find it interesting that at Bisitun, the first official depiction of an Achaemenid monarch eschews the standard Near Eastern artistic vocabulary of bodily display—chest, forearms, biceps, calves, thighs—and opts instead to concentrate upon the king's body shrouded within clothes. Is this a reflection of the Achaemenid concept of the invisible king? Perhaps. But given the absence of even a glimpse of the royal flesh, I suggest that our focus has to be drawn to the royal garments themselves.

CONCEALING THE BODY: THE ROYAL ROBE

Clothing was a crucially important element of ancient Persian court culture. Its significance could be physical, economic, social, or symbolic and the function of clothing was multiple: clothing could protect, conceal, display or represent a person's office or state of being.⁷⁷ Persian identity was defined through its clothing: members of the Achaemenid court wore two distinct types of clothing. The first sort can be called 'riding dress' or 'cavalry costume' which was made up of five items of clothing—a felt cap, a sleeved coat (Greek *kandys*, Old Persian *gaunaka*), sleeved tunic (Greek *ependytēs*), trousers (Greek *anaxyrides*), and footwear.⁷⁸ The Greeks erroneously called this 'Median dress' although there is no evidence for

⁷⁷ The fact that garments could wear out or tear is also important; after all, in the ancient world fabrics were costly and scarce and, therefore, valuable; dyes and decorations added to their worth, so their disintegration or loss was a serious blow to a household economy and personal morale. See Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 40–41, 205.

⁷⁸ See Widengren 1956 and Vogelsang 2010.

it being limited to the Medes.⁷⁹ Interestingly, Achaemenid iconography never depicts the king wearing the riding habit, although it is probable that in reality he did so. Indeed, four groups of Iranian delegates are represented at Persepolis bringing coats, tunics, and trousers to their ruler, and the message is clear: the Great King is an Iranian horseman as well as the foremost Persian courtier.

The second form of Persian clothing is known as the 'court robe' (Greek *sarapis*, *serapeis*, *kalasireis* or *aktaiai*). Constructed from a huge double-square of linen or wool (or perhaps cotton or even silk), and worn over baggy trousers, the tunic was tightly belted to form a robe with deep folds which created an overhang resembling sleeves.⁸⁰ This was the costume of the Great King *par excellence*, and he is represented wearing it repeatedly, whether sitting on his throne or actively fighting in battle or killing an animal (mythic or otherwise). In reality the court robe was a highly impractical garment for any form of active combat, so the choice to depict the monarch wearing it with such regularity can only be explained by the fact that it was symbolically important. The court robe represented Achaemenid royal power.

In the ancient Near East the clothed body was a powerful body and that is why gods as well as kings were portrayed in clothes; nudity was not ordinarily the standard form for gods and even the Hebrew god Yahweh shared in this anthropomorphic aspect of divinity, for he was regarded as "*wrapped in light as with a garment*" and "*clothed with honour and majesty*".⁸¹ Dress was viewed as the hallmark of civilization. Famously, in the *Gilgamesh* epic, therefore, at the beginning of the story the wild-man Enkidu is "[*Sha*]ggy with hair is his whole body, / He is endowed with head hair like a woman. / The locks of his hair sprout like Nisaba / He knows neither people nor land; / ... With the gazelles he feeds on grass, / With the wild beasts he jostles at the watering place, / With the teeming creatures his heart delights in water".⁸² But after his 'civilizing' encounter with the harlot, Shamhat, "*He rubbed [the shaggy growth], / The hair of his body, / Anointed himself with oil, / Became human. / He put on clothing, / He is like a groom! / He took his weapon / To chase the lions, / That shepherds might rest at night*".⁸³

⁷⁹ Stronach 2011.

⁸⁰ See Beck 1972; Goldman 1964 and 1991; Kuhrt 2007, 532.

⁸¹ *Psalm* 104.1–2.

⁸² *Gilgamesh* ii. 35 ff.

⁸³ *Gilgamesh* iii. 22–30.

If clothes make the civilized man, then they demarcate the king as a man above all men. Creation myths and hymns tell of the gods' special care in clothing the royal body in garments of power and majesty. Thus, in a Sumerian hymn cycle to Inanna, a king rejoices in the fact that,

"[Ninurta] placed the heavens on my head as a crown. / He put the earth at my feet as sandals. / He wrapped the holy ba garment around my body. / He put the holy sceptre in my hand."⁸⁴

In the earlier discussion of the royal investiture it was noted that the new Achaemenid king went through a symbolic rite of separation and reincorporation; this was especially signified through the use of ceremonial clothing as the ruler stripped off his fine garments, put on the humble garb that Cyrus II had worn before taking the throne, and was then re-clothed in a robe which signified both his illustriousness and his right to rule. The imagery of undressing and dressing is usually symbolic of bigger issues, and in the case of the Achaemenid investiture ritual, the transference of clothing harked back to Persia's humble beginning (and in a sense, by donning Cyrus' clothing every subsequent Great King became a Cyrus) while simultaneously celebrating its current glories. As the new king puts on his royal robe, so he dons the power to rule.

Like much else about Persia, the Greeks had a polarized view of Persian dress. They actively constructed a vision of the Persian outfitted in a tight-fitting, all-concealing garment (best seen in Attic vase painting of the period c. 485–460 B.C.E.). These images had only one reading: the Persian clothed body was unmanly and uncivilized. The Greeks prided themselves on the display of ('heroic') nudity (in controlled situations—at the gymnasium and sporting events, even on the battlefield), so that to conspicuously cover the body *à la perse* was categorically cowardly.⁸⁵ However, Greek texts also speak of the beauty of 'Median' dress, considering it to be stately and becoming and Margaret Miller's detailed discussion of Persian luxury goods in Classical Athens has revealed just how often Persian dress-items found their way into the wardrobes of wealthy Athenian citizens and their wives and slaves.⁸⁶

According to Ctesias, the robes of the Persian king were especially admired for "*their beauty [and were] a source of awe (thaumaston) for the*

⁸⁴ Inanna Hymn F 10–13, ETCSL No. 4.07.6.

⁸⁵ See especially Shapiro 2009.

⁸⁶ Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.1.40. Miller 1997.

Persians”.⁸⁷ Whilst the Greeks generally regarded Persian dress as luxurious and expensive,⁸⁸ Ctesias’ use of *thaumaston* suggests that the royal robes were even more than that—they were ‘other worldly’, perhaps even worthy of veneration.⁸⁹ It is probable that the royal robe donned at the climax of the coronation ritual was an Achaemenid ‘court robe’ since we know that it was richly dyed and beautifully worked with exquisite designs.⁹⁰ The court robe was richly decorated with woven designs and ornamented appliqué decorations made from gold and semi-precious stones; it was as costly as it was beautiful.⁹¹

Given that the coronation ceremony was a significant rite of passage or *teletē* (‘mystery rite’), in which the ruler underwent a metamorphosis, the royal robe worn by the king was thereafter imbued with religious symbolism. Curtius Rufus notes that it was purple, white, and gold and decorated with the “*motif of gilded hawks attacking each other with their beaks*”—no doubt his interpretation of the winged Ahuramazda symbol.⁹² It was this ensemble which, Ctesias notes, struck the Persians with almost religious awe.

The Great King’s robe was a talisman; it protected and demarcated his semi-divine body. As Plutarch’s description of Artaxerxes II’s coronation relates, when Cyrus the Younger plotted to kill his royal brother, he refused to strike the death blow while the king was wearing this sacred garment. The true significance of the robe as a manifestation of the kingship itself is also the key to understanding the story which Herodotus tells about Xerxes’s robe, behind which no doubt lies a *bone fide* Persian account of Masistes’ attempt to usurp the throne.⁹³ The very real paranoia

⁸⁷ Ctesias F45pγ = Aelian, *History of Animals* 4.46.

⁸⁸ Hdt. 1.135; 7.61–62; Cook 1983, 138 estimates that king Artaxerxes II stood up in nothing short of three million pounds worth of clothing and jewellery.

⁸⁹ LSJ sv. *thaumastos*.

⁹⁰ Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.3.13–14; Curtius Rufus 3.3.17–19.

⁹¹ Athenaeus 12.525d–e. Ctesias recalls that one very fine style of royal robe was known as a *sarapis*, and here, remarkably, he seems to preserve an authentic ancient Elamite term for a royal garment since the word *sarapi* is found in Middle Elamite texts from the acropolis at Susa, suggesting a long continuity of tradition in ceremonial dress in Iran. See Ctesias F41 = Hesychius s.v. *sarapis*. See Henkelman 2003b, 228–31; for Elamite royal robes in the Achaemenid period see Álvarez-Mon 2009.

⁹² Curtius Rufus 3.3.17–19.

⁹³ Hdt. 9.109–111. See comments by Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983, 28–29; moreover, Herodotus’ audience would probably have known that Xerxes

lying behind the idea of usurpation and its relationship to the royal robe is likewise encountered in a Persian story told by Dinon which has the ambitious and treacherous queen Semiramis trick her weakling husband into lending her his royal robe which she subsequently refuses to return, and hence keeps for herself the authority to reign.⁹⁴

Even when ripped or tattered the king's robe possessed extraordinary powers: one courtier of Artaxerxes II, Teribazos, managed to get hold of one of the king's old cast-offs and wore it openly but he escaped the death sentence which naturally accompanied such a rash act because of the king's benevolence and because Teribazos was prepared to debase himself by playing the fool so that he would be automatically exonerated of treason.⁹⁵

The king's robe was uniquely his. An aetiological legend recounted by Xenophon tells how Cyrus the Great received the prototype royal robe from the daughter of the Median king, whom he then took as a wife; the robe, it is suggested, thusly bestowed the kingship of Media on Cyrus.⁹⁶ There can be little doubt that the Persians believed the Great King's robe to have possessed the supernatural powers of monarchy: Xerxes, troubled by dreams, instructed his uncle Artabanos to put on royal clothes and to sleep in the king's bed, and, as Artabanos slept, the same apparition that had visited Xerxes came to Artabanos too, now decked out in the paraphernalia of royalty and imbued with the requisite aura of majesty.⁹⁷ Alexander of Macedon's careful employment of articles of Persian royal dress following his defeat of Darius III is best understood in this light too and suggests that he wanted to be acknowledged as a legitimate Great King.⁹⁸

Garments played an important part in the wider culture of Achaemenid court society, and in particular the act of a superior (especially the ruler) bestowing a robe to a subordinate as an indication of special favour and as a rite of investiture has a very ancient pedigree in the Near East (most famous, perhaps, is the biblical story of Joseph and his coloured coat in

himself was assassinated in a court coup, thereby adding significance and irony to the story.

⁹⁴ Dinon F7 = Claudius Aelianus, *Varia Historia* 7.1.

⁹⁵ Plut. *Art.* 5.2.

⁹⁶ Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.5.17–19

⁹⁷ Hdt. 7.17.

⁹⁸ Plut. *Alex.* 45.2; Diodorus 17.77.4–5; Fredricksmeier 1997.

Genesis 37.3).⁹⁹ The act served to sustain courtiers' loyalty as the robe-giving ceremony was held publicly at court or in the provinces.¹⁰⁰ Those honoured with the gift of a royal robe would proudly show it off.¹⁰¹

The idea that a magical sympathy operated between an individual and his clothing, of the type we have observed working between the Great King and the royal robe, appears to have existed among the Persian nobility too. James Frazer noted a primitive belief that, "*whatever is done to clothes will be felt by [a] man himself*";¹⁰² which might explain an Achaemenid ritual whereby instead of scourging the bodies of an erring courtier, his clothes were whipped as a substitute; this was a highly emblematic act that at once humiliated the victim and made an example of him to others of his rank:

"[Artaxerxes] was the first to decree a type of punishment for those nobles who insulted him: instead of whipping their bodies and shaving the hair from their heads, they took off their outer garments and these were beaten; and they took off their headdresses and these were shaved ... [In] Persia the robes and tiaras of the sufferers are shaved and whipped, as the tearful owners plead for mercy."¹⁰³

As Arthur Keaveney notes, "*the intent seems clear enough. Those punished were meant to feel pain through their clothes ... in a real sense, clothes made the man*".¹⁰⁴

99 In Iran this custom can be traced in unbroken lineage from antiquity up to the late Twentieth century where it has been known as *kheilāt*, an Islamic-period term referring to both the act of gift giving and the robe of honour itself. See Gordon 2003 and 2010; Baker 2010. The bestowing of a *kheilāt* was a chief signifier in the political process: deserving loyal followers were rewarded with clothing and even erring courtiers, who humbly repented, received a *kheilāt* to signal renewed loyalty. *Kheilāt* is certainly attested for the Achaemenid Empire (although the Old Persian expression for it is unknown).

100 Even cities could be honoured with the gift of a robe, see Hdt. 7.116.

101 Plut. *Art.* 15.2; *Es.* 6.11.

102 Frazer 1911, 207.

103 Plut. *Mor.* 173D; 565A.

104 Keaveney 1998, 240. Of equal significance was the symbolism of the belt, which on a practical level could be used to tighten the voluminous folds of the court robe; but the belt also indicated a bond of loyalty to the king, and figuratively bound the wearer to the throne. If the king grasped a noble by his belt (to pull it off) it meant that the bond between them was broken; see Nepos, *Dat.* 10.1–2; Diodorus 17.30.4; Briant 2002, 325.

CONCLUSION

It becomes clear that in their creation of a royal image, the Persians regarded dress and covering the body as playing a vital role in the articulation of the power of monarchy. It is the clothed royal body which disseminates the picture of Persian imperial supremacy. In many respects this flies in the face of other Near Eastern images of dominant kingship, such as those found in Assyria, Egypt, and Elam, where naked torsos, or muscular arms and legs figured large in the iconographic codification of power. It would seem that the Greeks were correct to regard the Persian body as a ubiquitously concealed body, although in the Persian mind-set garments articulated not effeminacy, but tangible power.

Royal governance takes place through bodies. Bodily functions—from eating to intercourse, from defecation to fighting, from mourning, to parading about—constitute the stuff of which Persian kingship is made. The successful king was the king who mastered these bodily functions and modes of physical display in ways that his society thought appropriate. Understanding kingship in ancient Persia necessitates understanding the royal body and the disparate bodies of evidence. Admittedly, much remains to be done on the construction of the Achaemenid royal body, but it is fair to say that the Persian Great King was constructed to be an impressive, overawing, figure: his head, face, hair, and beard were all codes of signs through which his status and majesty were expressed. But more than anything, it was the in dressing of the royal body that the semi-divine cogency and dignity of the throne was best expressed. In ancient Persia the powerful monarchic body was a clothed body.

 OLD PERSIAN TEXTS, INSCRIPTIONS AND OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

DB = Darius, Behistan

DNa = Darius, Naqsh-e Rostam a

DNb = Darius, Naqsh-e Rostam b

DSk = Darius, Susa k

ETCSL = Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature

XPl = Xerxes, Persepolis l

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Álvarez-Mon, J. 2009** "Notes on the Elamite Garment of Cyrus the Great," *The Antiquaries Journal* 89: 21–33.
- Amiet, P. 1992** "Victory Stele of Naram-Sin." In *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, edited by P.O. Harper, J. Aruz and F. Tallon, 166–168. New York.
- Ataç, M.-A. 2010** *The Mythology of Kingship in Assyrian Art*. Cambridge.
- Azarpay, G. 1994** "Designing the Body: human proportions in Achaemenid Art," *Iranica Antiqua* 29: 169–84.
- Bahrani, Z. 2003** *The Graven Image. Representation in Babylonia and Assyria*. Philadelphia.
- Bahrani, Z. 2008** *Rituals of War. The Body and Violence in Mesopotamia*. New York.
- Baker, P.L. 2010** "Wrought of Gold or Silver. Honorific Garments in Seventeenth Century Iran." In *Carpets and Textiles in the Iranian World 1400–1700*, edited by J. Thompson, D. Shaffer and P. Mildh, 158–67. Oxford.
- Beck, P. 1972** "A note on the reconstruction of the Achaemenid robe," *Iranica Antiqua* 9: 116–22.
- Berghe, L.V. 1993** "De Skulpture." In *Hofkunst van de Sassanieden*, edited by F. van Norten, 71–88. Brussels.
- Berman, L.M. 1996** "The Image of the King in Ancient Egypt," In *Pharaohs: Treasures of Egyptian Art from the Louvre*, edited by L. Berman and B. Letellier, 23–24. Cleveland.
- Bertelli, R. 2001** *The King's Body*. Pennsylvania.
- Biddle-Perry, G. and S. Cheang (eds.). 2008** *Hair. Styling, Culture and Fashion*. Oxford.
- Binder, C. 2008** *Plutarchs Vita des Artaxerxes. Ein historischer Kommentar*. Berlin.
- Binder, C. 2010** "Der Krönungszeremoniell der Achaimeniden." In *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court*, edited by B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger, 473–97. Stuttgart.
- Brettler, M.Z. 1989** *God is King. Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*. Sheffield.
- Briant, P. 2002** *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake.

- Brisch, N. 2008** *Religion and Power. Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*. Chicago.
- Brown, W.P. 1996** *Seeing the Psalms. A Theology of Metaphor*. Louisville and London.
- Charles-Gaffiot, J. 2011** *Trônes en majesté. L'autorité et son symbole*. Paris.
- Chaumont, M.-L. 1961** "Recherches sur les institutions de l'Iran ancien et de l'Arménie," *Journal Asiatiques* 249: 297–320.
- Cleland, L., G. Davies and L. Llewellyn-Jones 2007** *Greek and Roman Dress. From A–Z*. London.
- Cohen, A. and S.E. Kangas (eds.) 2010** *Assyrian relief from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II. A cultural Biography*. Hanover and London.
- Cook, J.M. 1983** *The Persian Empire*. London.
- Curtis, J. and J. Reade (eds.) 1995** *Art and Empire. Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum*. London.
- Curtis, J. and S. Simpson (eds.) 2010** *The World of Achaemenid Persia*. London.
- Curtis, J. and N. Tallis (eds.) 2005** *Forgotten Empire. The World of Ancient Persia*. London.
- Dandamanev, M.A. and V.G. Lukonin 1989** *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*. Cambridge.
- Davidson, J. 2006** "The Greek Courtesan and the Art of the Present." In *The Courtesan's Arts. Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, edited by M. Feldman and B. Gordon, 29–51. Oxford.
- Dayagi-Mendels, M. 1989** *Perfumes and Cosmetics in the Ancient World*. Jerusalem.
- Desroches Noblecourt, C. 2007** *Ramses II. An Illustrated Biography*. Paris.
- De Troyer, K. 1995** "An Oriental Beauty Parlour: An Analysis of *Esther* 2.2–18 in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Second Greek Text." In *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna*, edited by A. Brenner, 47–70. Sheffield.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2003** *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. Cambridge.
- Frazer, J. 1911** *The Magic Art. Volume I*. London.
- Fredricksmeyer, E.A. 1997** "The Origin of Alexander's Royal Insignia," *TAPhA* 127: 97–109.
- Frye, R.N. 1972** "Gestures of Deference to Royalty in Ancient Iran," *Iranica Antiqua* 9: 102–7.
- Garvie, A.F. 2009** *Aeschylus. Persae*. Oxford.
- Goldman, B. 1964** "Origin of the Persian Robe," *Iranica Antiqua* 4: 133–52.

Goldman, B. 1991 "Women's Robes: The Achaemenid Era," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 5: 83–103.

Gordon, S. 2003 *Robes of Honour. Khil'at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India*. Delhi.

Gordon, S. 2010 "Khil'a: Clothing to Honour a Person or Situation." In *Berg Encyclopaedia of World Dress and Fashion. Volume 5: Central and Southwest Asia*, edited by G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 462–67. Oxford.

Gressmann, H. 1929 *Der Messias*. Göttingen.

Hamilton, M.W. 2005 *The Royal Body. The Social Poetics of Kingship in Ancient Israel*. Atlanta.

Hani, J. 2011 *Sacred Royalty. From the Pharaoh to the Most Christian Kings*. London.

Henkelman, W.F.M. 1995–1996 "The Royal Achaemenid Crown," *AMIran* 28: 275–93.

Henkelman, W.F.M. 2003 "Persians, Medes and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite Period." In *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, edited by G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger, 181–231. Padova.

Henkelman, W.F.M. 2008 *The Other Gods Who Are. Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Texts*. Achaemenid History XIV. Leiden.

Hesker, O. and R. Fowler (eds.) 2005 *Imaginary Kings. Royal images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*. Munich.

Kantorowicz, E.H. 1957 *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton.

Kaptan, D. 2002 *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the western Achaemenid Empire*. II Vols. Leiden.

Keaveney, A. 1998 "Xerxes' New Suit: Aeschylus' *Persae* 845–851," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia*, 15. November: L2.

Kuhrt, A. 1995 *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 BC*. II Vols. London.

Kuhrt, A. 2007 *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. II Vols. London.

Lanfranchi, G.B. 2010 "Greek Historians and the Memory of the Assyrian Court." In *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court*, edited by B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger, 39–65. Stuttgart.

Lanfranchi, G.B. and R. Rollinger (eds.) 2010 *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity*. Padua.

Lindenberger, J.M. 1983 *The Aramaic Proverbs: Ahiqar*. Baltimore.

Lindenberger, J.M. 1985 "Ahiqar: A New Translation and Introduction." In *The Old Testament: Pseudepigrapha Vol. 2*, 479–508. New York.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2009 "Ethnic Conceptions of Beauty in Achaemenid Period Seals and Gemstones." In *Local and Global Identities: Rethinking Identity, Material and Visual Cultures in the Ancient World*, edited by S. Hales and T. Hodos, 171–200. Cambridge.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2010a "The Big and Beautiful Women of Asia: Picturing Female Sexuality in Greco-Persian Seals." In *The World of Achaemenid Persia*, edited by J. Curtis and S. Simpson, 165–176. London.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2010b "Pre-Islamic Dress Codes in the Eastern Mediterranean and Southwest Asia." In *Berg Encyclopaedia of World Dress and Fashion. Volume 5: Central and Southwest Asia*, edited by G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 24–30. Oxford.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2011 "Hair." In *The Homer Encyclopaedia. Volume II*, edited by M. Finkelberg, 327–28. Oxford.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2013a "Empire of the Gaze: seraglio fantasies à la greque in Chariton's *Callirhoe*." In *Vision and Power in the Ancient World*, edited by S. Blundell, D. Cairns and N. Rabinowitz, 167–91.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2013b *King and Court in Ancient Persia, 559–331 BCE*. Edinburgh.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. and J. Robson 2010 *Ctesias' History of Persia. Tales of the Orient*. London.

L'Orange, H.P. 1953 *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship*. Oslo.

Luckenbill, D.D. 1989 *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. II Vols. London.

Madhloom, T.A. 1970 *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art*. London.

Mayer, W.R. 1987 "Ein Mythos von der Erschaffung des Menschen und des Königs," *Orientalia* 56: 55–68.

McGovern, P.E. 2009 *Uncorking the Past. The Quest for Beer and Other Alcoholic Beverages*. Berkeley.

Mikasa, T. 1984 *Monarchies and socio-religious traditions in the ancient Near East: papers read at the 31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa*. Wiesbaden.

Miller, M. 1997 *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC. A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge.

Niditch, S. 2008 "My Brother Esau is a Hairy Man". *Hair and Identity in Ancient Israel*. Oxford.

Nylander, C. 1979 "Achaemenid Imperial Art." In *Power and Propaganda*, edited by M.T. Larsen, 345–59. Copenhagen.

Oakley, F. 2006 *Kingship*. Oxford.

Parpola, S. 1970 *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Vol. I: Texts*. Neukirchen.

Peterkin, A. 2001 *One Thousand Beards. A Cultural History of Facial Hair*. Vancouver.

Pritchard, J.B. 1969 *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton.

Radner, K. 2010 "Assyrian and Non-Assyrian Kingship in the First Millennium BC." In *Concepts of Kingship in Antiquity*, edited by G.B. Lanfranchi and R. Rollinger, 15–24. Padua.

Reade, J. 2004 *Assyrian Sculpture*. London.

Rehm, E. et. al. 2006 *Pracht und Prunk der Großkönige – Das persische Weltreich*. Stuttgart.

Rollinger, R. 2010 "Extreme Gewalt und Strafgericht. Ktesias und Herodot als Zeugnisse für den Achaemenidenhof." In *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court*, edited by B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger, 557–666. Stuttgart.

Root, M.C. 1979 *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*. Leiden.

Root, M.C. 1990 *Crowning Glories. Persian Kingship and the Power of Creative Continuity*. Ann Arbor.

Root, M.C. 1994 "Lifting the Veil: artistic transmission beyond the boundaries of historical periodization." In *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change*, edited by H. Sancisi-Weedenburg, A. Kuhert and M.C. Root. Leiden.

Root, M.C. 2003 "The Lioness of Elam: Politics and Dynastic Fecundity at Persepolis." In *A Persian Perspective. Essays in Honour of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Achaemenid History XIII*, edited by W. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt, 9–32. Leiden.

Root, M.C. 2011 "Elam in the Imperial Imagination: From Nineveh to Persepolis." In *Elam and Persia*, edited by J. Álvarez-Mon and M.B. Garrison, 419–74. Winona Lake.

Roux, J.-P. 1995 *Le Roi. Mythes et symboles*. Paris.

Rubinson, K.S. 1990 "The Textiles from Pazyryk: A Study in the Transfer and Transformation of Artistic Motifs," *Expedition* 32.1: 49–61.

Rudenko, S.I. 1970 *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-Age Horsemen*. London.

Salvesen, A. 1998 "Trappings of Royalty in Ancient Israel." In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, edited by J. Day, 119–41. Sheffield.

Sánchez, M.G. 2009 *El Gran Rey de Persia: Formas de Representación de la Alteridad Persa en el Imaginario Griego*. Barcelona.

Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1995 "Persian Food: Stereotypes and Political Identity." In *Food in Antiquity*, edited by J. Wilkins et al., 286–302. Exeter.

Schlumberger, D. 1971 "La coiffure du grand roi," *Syria* 48: 375–83.

Sekunda, N.V. 2010 "Changes in Achaemenid Royal Dress." In *The World of Achaemenid Persia*, edited by J. Curtis and S. Simpson, 256–72. London.

Sekunda, N.V. and S. Chew 1992 *The Persian Army*. Oxford.

Shapiro, H.A. 2009 "The Invention of Persia in Classical Athens." In *The Origins of Racism in the West*, edited by M. Eliav-Feldon, B. Isaac and J. Ziegler, 57–87. Cambridge.

Sommer, B.D. 2009 *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel*. Cambridge.

Stronach, D. 2011 "Court Dress and Riding Dress at Persepolis: New Approaches to Old Questions." In *Elam and Persia*, edited by J. Álvarez-Mon and M.B. Garrison, 475–87. Winona Lake.

Tuplin 2007 "Treacherous Hearts and Upright Tiaras: the Achaemenid King's Head-Dress." In *Persian Responses. Political and cultural Interaction With(in) the Persian Empire*, edited by C. Tuplin, 67–97.

Vogelsang, W. 2010 "Trousers Wearing by Horse-Riding Nomads in Central Asia." In *Berg Encyclopaedia of World Dress and Fashion. Volume 5: Central and Southwest Asia*, edited by G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 349–54. Oxford.

Waterman, J. 1930 *Royal Correspondence of Assyria*. IV Vols. Oxford.

Westenholz, J. 2000 "The King, the Emperor and the Empire: Continuity and Discontinuity in Royal Representation in Text and Image." In *The Heirs of Assyria (Melammu Symposia I)*, edited by S. Aro and R.M. Whiting, 99–125. Helsinki.

Widengren, G. 1956 "Some Remarks on Riding Costume and Articles of Dress Among Iranian Peoples in Antiquity." In *Artica (Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia XI)*, edited by A. Furumark, 228–276. Uppsala.

Winter, I.J. 1996 "Sex, rhetoric and the Public Monument: The Alluring Body of Naram-Sin of Agade." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, edited by N.B. Kampen, 11–16. Cambridge.

Winter, I.J. 1997 "Art in Empire: The Royal Image and the Visual Dimensions of Assyrian Ideology." In *Assyria 1995*, edited by S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting, 359–81. Helsinki.

Winter, I.J. 2009 "What/When is a Portrait? Royal Images of the Ancient Near East," *ProcPhilAs* 153, 3: 254–70.

Ziffer, I. 2013 "Portraits of Ancient Israelite Kings?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 39, 5: 41–51. 78.

CREDITS

- 1** Line drawing based on Madhloom 1970.
- 2** Line drawing based on Westenholz 2000, fig. 1 with additions by the author.
- 3** Line drawing after Llewellyn-Jones 2013b, 213.
- 4** Line drawing based on Madhloom 1970, pl XXXIV.

PLATES

- 5a** Author's photograph.
- 5b** Courtesy of Persepolis 3d.com.

HELEN KING

BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE IN ANCIENT MEDICINE¹

At some time in the late fifth or early fourth century BC, a case history was committed to writing that encapsulates a number of themes of this volume. It concerns a ‘borderline body’ that suffered from ‘gender trouble’ and which, for its later readers, was to raise issues about the nature of ‘hybrids and monsters’. This case was that of Phaethousa of Abdera, who grew a beard when her husband Pytheas left her. In the course of telling her story, the writer mentions another similar case, that of Nanno, wife of Gorgippos; this underlines to the reader that what happened to Phaethousa is not a one-off occurrence, but something for which every physician reading this collection should be prepared.

Here is the case history, found in the Hippocratic *Epidemics*:

“In Abdera, Phaethousa the wife of Pytheas, who kept at home (οἰκουρός),² having borne children in the preceding time, while her husband was exiled³ stopped menstruating for a long time. Afterwards pains and reddening in the joints. When that happened her body was masculinised (τό τε σῶμα ἡνδρώθη) and hairy all over, she grew a

¹ This chapter represents a preliminary survey of the material treated in more detail in my monograph, *The One-Sex Body on Trial: The Classical and Early Modern Evidence* (Ashgate, 2013). I acknowledge the support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council in project grant AH/I001506/1, ‘Following Agnodike and Phaethousa: gender and transformation in the reception of ancient medicine’.

² This is the translation of οἰκουρός proposed by Smith 1994, 289. On other possible meanings of this term, see below, pp. 259–60.

³ Or simply ‘fled’: the Greek is φυγόντος. On the translation of this phrase, in the genitive absolute, see further below, p. 253.

beard, her voice became harsh,⁴ and although we did everything we could to draw down the menses (τὰ γυναικεῖα) they did not come, but she died after surviving for not long after. The same thing happened to Nanno, Gorgippos' wife, in Thasos.⁵ All the physicians I met thought that there was one hope of feminising her, if normal menstruation (τὰ κατὰ φύσιν) occurred. But in her case too it was not possible, although we did everything, but she died, and quickly."⁶ (*Epidemics* 6.8.32)

Wesley Smith, the most recent translator of this ancient text, has characterised the *Epidemics* collections as "technical prose from the time when prose was coming into being and authors were realizing its potential; unique jottings by medical people in the process of creating the science of medicine ... Their attention is on extending their theory, not on methods of testing and refining it".⁷ Here Smith builds on the work of Iain Lonie, who examined how the compiling of lists in the earliest written texts then led to the grouping together of similar items, and thus the possibility of thinking about why they are similar, as well as on that of Volker Langholf, who showed that the observations made of specific cases in the *Epidemics* use the deductive method, starting from a theory and then making the observations, rather than the inductive method that (at least ideally) starts with 'raw' observations.⁸ *Contra* Lonie, the juxtaposition of these two cases here does not appear to encourage the writer to consider further why these symptoms happen; he adds the second one simply to underline the message of the first. He has no suggestions as to how to treat this fatal condition, other than trying to restore normal menstruation.

We can readily see here that reading the body is not a neutral activity, but occurs within a wider set of beliefs. There are "choices made by the Hippocratic author in telling his stories"⁹ and, as with any other case history, this one is based on selecting symptoms that make sense

4 In one manuscript tradition this is expanded to "hard and rough"; this reading is accepted as authentic by the edition of Manetti and Roselli 1982, 194–195.

5 In the vulgate, her name is given as Namysia.

6 Smith 1994, 289–291, modified. The final words are literally "*and not slowly*".

7 Smith 1994, 2; 6.

8 Lonie 1983; Langholf 1990.

9 Percy 1992, 605.

in terms of the dominant view of the body. This view is rarely stated explicitly in the *Epidemics*, but it can be reconstructed from what is recorded. Phaethousa's symptoms are clearly connected by the writer—and perhaps by the patient, or her family, who told the doctor her history¹⁰—to the absence of her husband; the genitive participle may have a causal sense here, meaning that we should translate as “*because her husband was exiled*” rather than the less forceful “*while her husband was exiled*”.¹¹ The cessation of menstruation in turn leads to a range of shifts in her body towards the masculine, namely body hair, facial hair, and vocal changes. The belief in the essential role of menstruation, which forms the central theory behind the selection of events and symptoms, is supported by the vocabulary used in this passage; menstruation is τὰ γυναικεῖα (the womanly things) and τὰ κατὰ φύσιν (the things according to nature), rather than the more commonly-used medical terms, τὰ καταμήνια or τὰ ἐπιμήνια, both of which suggest the regularity of ‘monthlies’.¹² In this case history, then, the focus is placed not on regularity, but on the natural womanliness of menstruation.

In ancient Greek and Roman thought, body hair is related to menstruation, because its presence in a man indicates the greater heat that also enables men to ‘concoct’ their blood into semen, something which women, being colder, cannot do.¹³ The suggestion, although it is never made explicit, is that Phaethousa's missing menstrual blood is turning into her beard and body hair. Simply because she is a mature woman, there must be an excess of blood that needs to find some way out, because women have wet and spongy flesh that absorbs more fluid from their diet than is the case for male flesh.¹⁴ It is not possible, in this economy of the body, to ‘miss’ a period.¹⁵ Although the norm is vaginal loss, other routes will suffice; for example, in the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* we are told that a nosebleed is

10 In some case histories, there is information given about earlier experiences which must come from the patient or her family, such as Agasis' wife who “*had breathing difficulties as a child*”; see *Epid.* 6.4.4 (Smith 1994, 246–247).

11 Smith 1994, 289 gives “*when her husband was exiled*”.

12 On the vocabulary of menstruation in the Hippocratic corpus, see King 1998, 29.

13 On hairiness as the “*mark of a man*”, see Gleason 1990, 400.

14 King 1998, 28–9, discussing in particular *Diseases of Women* 1.1 (Littre 1853, 10–14).

15 King 1998, 146.

beneficial if the menses stop (*Aph.* 5.33). Here, in the cases of Phaethousa and Nanno, despite the doctors' attempts to make the retained blood emerge by the normal route—to “draw down the menstrual blood”—they die.

As modern readers of Phaethousa's story, at first glance we may assume that it concerns menopause and therefore account for her 'growing a beard' in terms of hormonal change,¹⁶ but there is nothing in the Greek to push us in that direction—the lack of comment on her age suggests that it was not seen as a significant factor—and the change in her appearance goes well beyond facial hair. In terms of twenty-first century debates about the complexity of the body and of gender, I am interested in reading her story in terms of some of the questions raised by modern discussions of transsexual and intersex people.¹⁷ For example, how should one rank the invisible inside of the body, the visible outside, and the wishes of the individual, in making decisions about assigning sex? Is Phaethousa a man who has previously passed as a woman, a hermaphrodite whose complex identity is finally revealed, or a sick woman?¹⁸ Does her inside match her outside? Can insides change? It is instructive to compare her with the story of the 'first midwife', Agnodike, in which the female sex of the youthful protagonist is so easily disguised with a haircut and male clothing that she is thought to be a beardless young man and accused of seducing her patients, yet she can just as easily prove her innocence by lifting her tunic to show her apparently-indisputably 'female' genitalia (Hyginus, *Fabula* 274).¹⁹

The relationship between inside and outside, and discussions of whether it was possible to be anything other than 'a man' or 'a woman', has of course changed across history, influenced by changes in medical

16 This has been the immediate response of many audiences to whom I have spoken about Phaethousa's case history; retrospective diagnosis does not, however, help us to understand the thought processes of the ancient Greeks. What she grows is a πώγων, a beard, rather than just a few hairs.

17 I am here using transsexual to mean individuals who actively seek surgical as well as hormonal intervention to transform their bodies into the sex they identify with; and intersex to mean those individuals who from birth are not easily assigned to one sex or the other, may be perfectly content to be unclassified, but may be the objects of medical intervention, to make them 'fit'.

18 Dreger 1998, 30 uses “hermaphrodite” for “anyone whose ‘true’ sex fell into question among medical and scientific men”.

19 King 1986; see further King 2013 on the reception of the stories of Agnodike and Phaethousa.

science.²⁰ Attitudes towards those of doubtful sex have also altered. The watershed for the interpretation of their bodies is normally seen as being around 1870, when what Alice Domurat Dreger famously labelled the 'Age of Gonads' began.²¹ Whatever the external appearance, secondary sex characteristics or personal gender identification, in this period the evidence of the gonads was thought to override all else. This meant that previously difficult cases could now be classified, and not always in the way that the individual who had become the 'case' would have wanted. For example, earlier in the nineteenth century Maria Arsano of Naples lived as a woman until the age of 80, never menstruated, but nonetheless married; she was apparently entirely content with this situation, but was revealed by autopsy to be entirely male in her internal genitalia. The comment of Sir James Young Simpson on this case, that "*from being constantly employed in domestic occupation, the mental character was feminine*", would carry no significance in the Age of Gonads: Maria was seen as a man.²² Anne Fausto-Sterling, taking Dreger's work further, argued that the number of recognised hermaphrodites fell after 1870, as only people with *both* ovarian *and* testicular tissue were thought to count as 'true' hermaphrodites.²³

What happened before the Age of Gonads? Was there just one 'true' sex—a famous phrase used by Michel Foucault, picked up by Dreger—to which each individual could be reduced?²⁴ In Renaissance and early modern medicine, as in the ancient world, hermaphrodites could be admired as the 'perfect' human form or feared as 'monsters'.²⁵ In 1612 the French

²⁰ Medical science, too, can be the driving force, looking for examples to support contemporary theories of difference. I have discussed elsewhere how early twentieth-century discoveries about the lower level of calcium in women's blood—an entirely normal feature—were used to argue for female 'excitability', while lower haemoglobin was used to suggest that women should not be educated to the same level as men; King 2004, 121–122.

²¹ Dreger 1998, 29.

²² Simpson 1836–9, 703–704. The source cited is Ricco, *Cenno storico su di un Neutro-Uomo*, which I have not yet been able to trace, so I do not know the date of this case.

²³ Fausto-Sterling 2000, 37–38, following Dreger 1998, 143; Dreger dated the Age of Gonads to 1870–1915.

²⁴ Foucault 1980. Dreger 1998, 16–19 retells the story of Herculine Barbin, the account to which Foucault 1980 is an introduction.

²⁵ For a sensitive reading of early modern French material, looking at how an interest in hermaphrodites resonated with deeper 'sexual anxiety', see Daston and Park 1985 and 1995.

physician Jacques Duval published a treatise in which he argued that a hermaphrodite resulted from the perfect balance of the contributions of seed from both parents. This is a Hippocratic idea, from the treatise *Generation / Nature of the Child* in which the mixing of the seeds is described; depending on the respective contributions of the father and the mother, the resulting child may be anything from a highly feminine girl to a virile male, with masculine girls and feminine boys existing at other points on the scale (*Gen. 6*).²⁶ The same model of a spectrum of sex had also appeared in the section on the hermaphrodite in Ambroise Paré's 1573 treatise on monsters: a significant place to find such a discussion.²⁷ Paré set up four categories of hermaphrodite: the male hermaphrodite, capable of impregnating a woman; the female hermaphrodite, who produces female seed²⁸ and menses and, although she has a penis, cannot achieve erection; hermaphrodites who are 'neither one nor the other' sex, because they have no functioning sexual organs; and finally the 'male and female hermaphrodite' who has two sets of organs, both of them capable of use.²⁹ Function, rather than mere appearance, is crucial to these categories.

Early modern readers of Paré challenged his categories, moving ever closer to classifying the 'male and female' hermaphrodites out of existence; it is worth noting that this happened well before the insistence of the Age of Gonads that there should be a "*strict allotment of only one sex to each body*".³⁰

²⁶ Duval 1612; Littré 1851, 478; Föllinger 1996, 42. On Duval, and the real case of doubtful sexual identity that stimulated his work, see Harris 2003.

²⁷ Paré 1575, 811 (Pallister 1983, 26). The English is abbreviated from the 1575 French edition, the latter including a section on same-sex female behaviour. There is also a fairly loose seventeenth-century English version, translated by Thomas Johnson in 1634.

²⁸ "*Female seed*" is a concept found from the tenth book of *On the History of Animals* onwards. The author—possibly Aristotle himself, possibly not—describes the need for the man and the woman to emit seed simultaneously (*HA* 636b6–10). On the authorship of *HA*, van der Eijk 1999. In female seed theory, women's seed is seen as thinner, colder and weaker than male seed, manufactured in the ovaries as men's seed is made in the testicles. Galen believes that female seed is "*a kind of nutriment for the semen of the male*"; Galen, *On Semen* 1.7.5 (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 3.1, p. 86).

²⁹ Paré 1575, 811 (Pallister 1983, 26–27). Mann 2006 argues that, as physicians became increasingly interested in the detail of the hermaphroditic genitalia, sixteenth-century poets kept the hermaphrodite's sexuality blurred, neither one thing nor the other.

³⁰ Dreger 1998, 30.

In the eighteenth century, some writers argued that almost all so-called hermaphrodites were men with a very small penis: but others regarded almost all as women with an enlarged clitoris.³¹ The latter suggestion was also found in sixteenth-century works, for example that of Amatus Lusitanus.³² In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries some individuals claiming this dual identity made a living by offering their bodies for inspection. For example, Alexander Pope wrote of his pleasure in seeing a hermaphrodite, the child of “*a Kentish Parson and his Spouse*”, displayed for a shilling in 1714.³³ Pope writes of “*the surest method of believing, seeing and feeling*”,³⁴ but his companions come to different conclusions from their own inspection of the person; one decides this is a man, the other that it is a woman.³⁵ There was a reluctance to accept indeterminacy. In 1771, the man-midwife Thomas Young cast still more doubt on the existence of such ‘male and female’ hermaphrodites by describing the possibility of modifying the body to make one. He had seen a person who “*had been manufactured when young, in order to make more money of him by making him resemble both sexes*”; the testes had been removed, the scrotum divided to create ‘labia’, and a small ‘vagina’ formed by making a hole just large enough to admit a little finger.³⁶

In the Greco-Roman world, hermaphrodites were a feature of myth, but also of real life.³⁷ While I know of no classical Greek parallels for the display of those of doubtful sex, there was a ‘monster market’ in Rome during the period of the early Roman Empire, where slaves with a range of unusual physical traits were in great demand (e.g. Plutarch, *Moralia* 520c).³⁸ In the first century AD, Pliny listed several examples of women who changed into men (*Natural History* 7.4.36), but did not suggest that they were put on display, or traded. However, Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights*

³¹ Young 1771, 8, “*I am of opinion that such as go under this name are all male*”; Parsons 1741, 7–9, 31; discussed by King 2007, 178–179. See also Gilbert 2002, 33.

³² Amatus Lusitanus 1552, 424.

³³ Pope 1956, I, 277, cited by Gilbert 2002, 158.

³⁴ Pope 1956, I, 279.

³⁵ Pope 1956, I, 279.

³⁶ Young 1771, 8.

³⁷ On hermaphrodites in antiquity, see Delcourt 1958; Brisson 1997. Both works have been critically revisited in recent years; for example, Brisson’s merger of the hermaphrodite and the bisexual now appears very dated. See for example O’Kell 2005.

³⁸ Discussed by Barton 1995, 86–88.

9.4.15) notes that Pliny wrote earlier in the same book that *androgynoi*, regarded in earlier Roman history as prodigies, were seen in the Rome of his own day *in deliciis* (NH 7.3.34). The Loeb edition renders this as “as instruments of pleasure”, but it could simply mean ‘as pets’ or ‘as toys’, with the sense being one of delight in their company, possibly a specifically sexual delight.³⁹ Phlegon of Tralles, an older contemporary of Galen, listed a number of cases of female to male sex change from the mid-first century AD onwards (4.4–6).⁴⁰ His fourth case, from 116 AD, concerns a woman called Aitete who experienced “a change in form (τὴν μορφήν) and name” “even while she was living with her husband”. She became Aitetos. Here, Phlegon—echoing a comment made by Pliny on one item in his own list of sex change cases (NH 7.4.34)—adds “I myself have seen this person” (τοῦτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεασαμην). Unlike Phaethousa, even having her husband with her does not protect Aitete.

Even if hermaphrodites did not circulate as items of trade or display, stories about those who had experienced sex change did; perhaps the claim of *change* was crucial here, as these individuals did not hover for more than a few days ‘between male and female’, as Phaethousa does before her death. As menstruation is so central to being a woman in Hippocratic medicine, without it she cannot be entirely female. But, unlike the subjects of the sex change stories, she does not become male. It is difficult to know exactly how to translate τό τε σῶμα ἡνδρώθη, “her body became masculine”, but I would suggest that, in terms of Hippocratic models of the body, it means that her flesh becomes drier and more firmly-textured,⁴¹ rather than being a way of saying that she developed a penis. She is not becoming a man, but nor can she live in the no-man’s/no-woman’s-land of being a non-menstruating woman with a beard and body hair. The only hope of restoring her identity as a woman is to restore normal menstruation: as this fails, then death ends her liminal status. What may seem to be unique to her story is its suggestion that a woman whose husband goes away is at risk of ceasing to *be* a woman; this plays on the dual sense of γυνή, meaning both ‘wife’ and ‘woman’.

How should we understand the story of Phaethousa? I would argue that there are three features which locate her as a sick woman rather than a hermaphrodite: first, the word οἰκουρός; second, the statement that she

³⁹ Holford-Strevens 2003, 103 n. 30.

⁴⁰ Stramaglia 2011, 31–2.

⁴¹ See *Diseases of Women* 1.1 (Littré 1853, 10–14) for the characterisation of men’s flesh as hard and firm, that of women as soft and spongy.

had formerly given birth; and third, that she remains a 'she' in the eyes of the writer even after the apparent masculinisation of her body.

The very first word used by the writer for Phaethousa, partly to fix her case in his mind for future reference, but also, I believe, because it is so important to his understanding of what is happening, is οἰκουρός. This comes immediately after the label 'wife of Pytheas' (ἡ Πυθέου γυνή). If we take οἰκουρός as an adjective qualifying γυνή, then this could mean the woman who looked after the οἶκος, the household, making this not the wife of Pytheas but "*the woman Phaethousa, the housekeeper of Pytheas*" whose husband had been exiled.⁴² This would suggest a scenario in which, following her husband's departure, Phaethousa worked as Pytheas' housekeeper. The vulgate gives a further variant here, as it has ἡ κοῦρος for οἰκουρός, making her 'the maidservant of Pytheas'.

I think that Smith's translation of οἰκουρός as "*who kept at home*" is the correct one, but I would push it a little further, based on the sense of οἰκουρός in a sex change story told in the first century BC, by Diodorus Siculus. In this story, Heraïs/Diophantus experiences a spontaneous sex change, in which a penis and testicles emerge from a tumour at the base of her abdomen (32.10). Phaethousa turns out not to be unique in experiencing bodily changes when her husband leaves, because Heraïs develops her tumour when her husband is away; after only a year of marriage, he departed on a long journey. The affected area of Heraïs's body continued to swell, with high fevers, suggesting that her body was 'hotter' than normal for a woman, and assimilating her to the male; we may recall here how Phaethousa suffers from 'reddening in the joints', perhaps to be understood as a 'hot' symptom. Heraïs's physicians thought there could be an ulcer at the mouth of the womb, and applied remedies to reduce the inflammation. However, "*on the seventh day, the surface of the tumour burst, and projecting from her groin there appeared a male genital organ with testicles attached*". After the emergence of the male genitalia, Heraïs "*continued to conduct herself as οἰκουρός and as one subject to a husband*".⁴³

Gender is a matter of performance; Francis Walton's 1933 Loeb translation, "*conduct herself as a homebody*", captures the sense of being a devoted housewife, and also the attempt to keep up appearances even when the body has changed. To me this recalls Maria Arsano, "*constantly*

42 E.g. Manetti and Roselli 1982, 194–5 give "*la massaia di Pitea*".

43 For a more detailed discussion see my "Sex and gender: the Hippocratic case of Phaethousa and her beard," *EuGeStA* 3: 124–42, http://eugesta.recherche.univ-lille3.fr/revue/pdf/2013/King-3_2013.pdf.

employed in domestic occupation".⁴⁴ Heraïs's devotion to housework comes across as an attempt to fool everyone else, maybe even her/him-self. As for Phaethousa, perhaps *οικουρὸς* is being used to indicate that her true sex is shown to an observant doctor by her 'mental character'; she is naturally a 'homebody', an ideally feminine woman. Furthermore, her homeliness makes what happens to her even more shocking; this is not an Amazon, but a housewife. To me, her status as *οικουρὸς* recalls the nineteenth-century freak shows and cartes-de-visite of bearded ladies, their demure clothing and domestic employment acting as a counterpoint to their facial hair. They would be seen doing needlework or at other feminine occupations, in a wedding dress, or even with their children.⁴⁵ In this tradition, the bearded lady Delina Rossa could be shown seated next to a flower arrangement, her lace neckline and necklace drawing attention to her bust (fig. 1). In Hippocratic terms, Phaethousa's identification with the *οἶκος* would also suggest menstruation. According to the writer of *Diseases of Women* (1.1), men do not menstruate because they are active outside the *οἶκος*, working hard and thus using up any excess fluid in their flesh.⁴⁶



1 Delina Rossa

⁴⁴ See above and note 22. Simpson 1836–9, 703–704.

⁴⁵ Durbach 2010, 105; “Madame Clofullia” was shown with her child. See also Smit 2008, 298. Smit’s Fig. 12.3, who poses in her wedding dress, holds the viewer’s gaze.

⁴⁶ Littré 1853, 14; their flesh is in any case less spongy than that of women.

The writer of this section of *Epidemics* next foregrounds Phaethousa's previous fecundity, also associated with menstruation, because without the blood, a baby cannot be made. She has previously had children, but it is not clear who the father was (if she is married to Pytheas, are they his, or from a previous relationship?). In the most commonly available English translation of this case history, that of Wesley Smith, the description of Phaethousa as ἐπίτοκος ἐοῦσα τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνου is rendered as "having borne children in the preceding time". This echoes the French translation of Emile Littré, "avait eu des enfants auparavant".⁴⁷ Modern readers who want this to be a story about menopause could use this statement as a veiled indicator of her age.

But I would argue that the Greek ἐπίτοκος is stronger than simply 'having children'. Galen's commentary on this section of *Epidemics* is lost in Greek, but survives in Arabic, translated in full by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d.c. 873). The German translator, Pfaff, rendered the Arabic here as "oft schwanger gewesen" (author's italics). Rebecca Flemming used this translation to argue that here "Galen generalizes from a case in which a husband's exile following prolific child production has lethal consequences".⁴⁸ The Arabic word used for ἐπίτοκος, *walūd*, could be understood as "bearing many children", and Galen's comment on this is: "Hippocrates means by 'bearing-many-children [*walūd*]' the woman who is pregnant and gives birth continually [*mutawātiran*]. [Such a woman] is called 'having-many-children [*an-nātiq*]' and 'having-many-children' [*al-muntiq*]'".⁴⁹ Ḥunayn's text thus suggests that Galen read the Greek ἐπίτοκος as more than a statement of having given birth; instead, it denotes "the woman who is pregnant and gives birth continually". His interpretation of Phaethousa is that this is a woman whose body was formerly used to being pregnant virtually all the time, and it is because of this that she suffers so much when her husband is not there. The sense of the prefix 'epi-' can be one of accumulation, so that ἐπιτοκία and ἐπίτοκος can also mean 'compound interest'.

⁴⁷ Littré 1846, 357.

⁴⁸ Flemming 2000, 334 on Galen, *Hipp. Epid.* 6.8 (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 10.2.2, p. 506.21–38).

⁴⁹ I owe this translation to Peter Pormann, who notes that "basically, Ḥunayn is giving two Arabic synonyms for *walūd*". For an extended discussion of this passage and of Phaethousa's status as ἐπίτοκος, see my "Motherhood and health in the Hippocratic corpus: does maternity protect against disease?" *Métis. Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens* 11, 2013, 51–70.

Phaethousa, then, is not just any woman. She is particularly ‘domesticated’, and also particularly fecund. Women of this kind, hyper-feminine, are unable to cope with the absence of regular sex and its consequence, regular childbearing. Because she has given birth, Phaethousa cannot be a male who looks feminine; she must have a womb, so she is a woman, and the ending of the story confirms this, using the feminine form *ταύτη*, in *her* case. Internally, not only is she a woman: she is a very womanly woman. One message of the case history may thus be that changes in her external appearance would mislead a less observant doctor. Truth here *does* reside on the ‘outside’, but the outside needs to be properly read, along with her history of prolific reproduction. Her condition is an illness, ending in death, rather than the emergence of a previously-hidden ‘true sex’.

As a coda to this story, I would like to end by noting that later readers in the West, not having Galen’s commentary to emphasise Phaethousa’s fecundity, read her story rather differently, changing the meaning of her lack of menstruation. In his 1636 work, *The Sick Woman’s Private Looking-Glass*, the Norwich physician John Sadler wrote about ‘Phaetusa’ in his section on menstrual suppression. He describes external causes of this condition—too much heat using up the surplus blood, or too much cold thickening it so that it is unable to flow out—and then moved to internal causes.⁵⁰ These originate either in the womb or in the blood, and Phaethousa’s condition, he believes, comes from the blood. Rather than the suppression causing her masculinisation, he suggests that she was *already* masculine and this is why she did not menstruate; he describes “*Viragoes and virill women, who through their heat and strength of nature, digest and consume all their last nourishment, as Hippocrates writes of Phaetusa, who being exiled by her husband Pythea, her terms were suppressed, her voice changed, and had a beard, with a countenance like a man*”. Such women, Sadler says, are ‘women-eaters’ not “*women-breeders, because they consume one of the principles of generation, which gives a being to the world, viz. the menstrual blood*”.⁵¹ For Sadler, then, the remedies to draw down the menstrual blood would fail, because all Phaethousa’s blood was being used up in her production of masculine secondary sex characteristics. For him, it is Phaethousa who is exiled, not her husband; he is suggesting that Pytheas wants to be rid of his masculine wife. Such readings

⁵⁰ Sadler 1636, 17.

⁵¹ Sadler 1636, 17.

take us far from the highly fertile Phaethousa of the Hippocratic text, but illustrate the continuing power of the case history for those thinking about sexual identity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amatus Lusitanus (João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco) 1552 *Centuria secunda*. Venice.

Barton, C.A. 1995 *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: the gladiator and the monster*. Princeton.

Brisson, L. 1997 *Le sexe incertain: androgynie et hermaphroditisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*. Paris. (English translation, 2002. *Sexual Ambivalence: androgyny and hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman antiquity*. Berkeley, London).

Daston, L.J. 1995 "The hermaphrodite and the orders of nature: sexual ambiguity in early modern France," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1: 419–38.

Daston, L.J. and K. Park 1985 "Hermaphrodites in Renaissance France," *Critical Matrix* 1: 1–19.

Delcourt, M. 1958 *Hermaphrodite: myths et rites de la bisexualité dans l'Antiquité classique*. Paris. (English translation, 1961. *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity*, transl. Jennifer Nicholson. London).

Dreger, A.D. 1998 *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex*. Cambridge.

Durbach, N. 2010 *Spectacle of Deformity. Freak Shows and Modern British Culture*. Berkeley, London.

Duval, J. 1612 *Traité des hermaphrodits, parties génitales, accouchemens des femmes, etc.* Paris.

Fausto-Sterling, A. 2000 *Sexing the Body: gender politics and the construction of sexuality*. New York.

Flemming, R. 2000 *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women*. Oxford.

Föllinger, S. 1996 *Differenz und Gleichheit. Das Geschlechterverhältnis in der Sicht griechischer Philosophen des 4. bis 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Hermes Einzelschriften, Heft 74). Stuttgart.

Foucault, M. 1980 Introduction to *Herculine Barbin: being the recently discovered memoirs of a nineteenth-century French hermaphrodite* (translation Richard McDougall). New York.

Gilbert, R. 2002 *Early Modern Hermaphrodites*. Basingstoke.

- Gleason, M. 1990** "The semiotics of gender." In *Before Sexuality: the construction of erotic experience in the ancient Greek world*, edited by D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler and F.I. Zeitlin. Princeton.
- Harris, J. 2003** "'La force du tact' representing the taboo body in Jacques Duval's *Traité des hermaphrodites* (1612)," *French Studies* 57: 311–322.
- Holford-Strevens, L. 2003 (revised edition)** *Aulus Gellius. An Antonine scholar and his achievement*. Oxford.
- King, H. 1986** "Agnodike and the profession of medicine," *PCPS* 32: 53–77.
- King, H. 1998** *Hippocrates' Woman: Reading the Female Body in Ancient Greece*. London.
- King, H. 2004** *The Disease of Virgins: green Sickness, chlorosis and the problems of puberty*. London.
- King, H. 2013** *The One-Sex Body on Trial: The classical and early modern evidence*. Aldershot.
- Langholf, V. 1990** *Medical Theories in Hippocrates: early texts and the Epidemics* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, vol. 34). Berlin, New York.
- Littré, E. 1846** *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. 5. Paris.
- Littré, E. 1851** *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. 7. Paris.
- Littré, E. 1853** *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, vol. 8. Paris.
- Lonie, I.M. 1983** "Literacy and the development of Hippocratic medicine." In *Formes de pensée dans la collection hippocratique. Actes du Colloque hippocratique de Lausanne 1981*, edited by F. Lasserre and P. Mudry, 145–161. Geneva.
- Manetti, D. and A. Roselli 1982** *Ippocrate. Epidemie, Libro Sesto* (Biblioteca di studi superiori, 66). Florence.
- Mann, J.C. 2006** "How to look at a hermaphrodite in early modern England," *Studies in English Literature* 46: 67–91.
- O'Kell, E. 2005** Review of L. Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence: androgyny and hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman antiquity*. *Electronic Antiquity* 8.2, <http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/ElAnt/V8N2/Brisson.pdf> (accessed 30 December 2011)
- Paré, A. 1575** *Les œuvres d'Ambroise Paré, conseiller et premier chirurgien du Roy*. Paris (English, 1983. *On Monsters and Marvels*, translation J.L. Pallister. Chicago, London).
- Paré, A. 1634** *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey translated out of Latine and compared with the French*, translation T. Johnson. London.
- Parsons, J. 1741** *A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites*. London.

- Pearcy, L.T. 1992** "Diagnosis as narrative in ancient literature," *AJP* 113: 595–616.
- Pope, A. 1956** "To a Lady in the Name of her Brother." In *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, edited by G. Sherburn, vol. 1. Oxford.
- Sadler, J. 1636** *The Sick Woman's Private Looking-Glass*. London.
- Simpson, J.Y. 1836–9** "Hermaphroditism." In *The Cyclopaedia of Anatomy and Physiology*, edited by R.B. Todd, vol. 2. London.
- Smit, C.R. 2008** "A collaborative aesthetic: Levinas's idea of responsibility and the photographs of Charles Eisenmann and the late nineteenth-century freak-performer." In *Victorian Freaks. The social context of freakery in Britain*, edited by M. Tromp, 283–311. Columbus.
- Smith, W.D. 1994** Introduction to *Hippocrates, Volume VII* (Loeb Classical Library). Cambridge.
- Stramaglia, A. (ed.) 2011** *Phlegon Trallianus, Opuscula de rebus mirabilibus et de longaevis. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Berlin, New York.
- Van der Eijk, P.J. 1999** "On Sterility ('HA X'), a medical work by Aristotle?" *CQ* 49: 490–502.
- Young, T. 1771** *Manuscript notes on 'Midwifery' from the lectures of Dr. Young*. Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, vol. 2.

CREDIT

- 1** <http://www.sideshowworld.com81-SSPAlbumcoverBeardBL-35.jpg>.

JAN N. BREMMER

A TRANSSEXUAL IN ARCHAIC GREECE: THE CASE OF KAINEUS

When searching for bodies in transition in Archaic Greece, there can hardly be a better example than Kaineus, who both underwent a sex-change and became invulnerable.¹ A fortunate papyrus find has given us a fairly complete version of the myth in late Archaic Greece, as reported by the Argive mythographer Acusilaus, who lived around 500 BC, and excerpted by Theophrastus (F 600 Fortenbaugh):

“Poseidon had intercourse with Kaine, the daughter of Elatos. Subsequently, as divine law did not permit her to bear children either from him or from anyone else, Poseidon made him into an invulnerable man with the greatest strength of all people then living. And whoever tried to hit him with iron or bronze was absolutely sure to lose. And he became king of the Lapiths and made war against the Centaurs. Subsequently, he set up his spear (in the agora and ordered sacrifice to be made to it. But the gods did not allow that)² and when Zeus saw

¹ Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 22 = F 22 Fowler; Pindar F 128 f Maehler; Palaephatus 10; Apoll. Rhod. 1.57–64; Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo* 7; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.4; Apollod. *Ep.* 1.22 with Frazer *ad loc.*; *POxy.* 3.418, re-edited by van Rossum-Steenbeek 1997, 279–80; Luppe 1997, 233–37 (who thinks that the mythological text contains a reference to Kaineus); most recently Forbes-Irving 1990, 155–62; Laufer 1990, 884–91 (with older bibliography); Decourt 1998, 1–42 (with useful *Forschungsgeschichte* and list of all Greek and Roman sources, with translations); Waldner 2000, 51–81; Gärtner 2007, 891–99; Muth 2008, 427–57; d’Angour 2011, 64–84 (whose derivation of the name Kaineus from Semitic *qāyin*, “spear”, is unpersuasive); Emberger 2011, 44–96; De Martino 2011, 63–72; Pämias 2012, 49–68; Fowler 2013, 159–62.

² The papyrus has a lacuna here, but the sense of the passage is fairly certain, as parallel passages show.

him doing this he threatened him and incited the Centaurs against him. And they beat him straight down under the ground and put a rock on top of him as a grave monument, and he died.³⁹

With other scattered references we can build up a more detailed version of the myth, which clearly started with the seduction by Poseidon of Kaine, the daughter of Elatos, king of the Lapiths,⁴ a Thessalian tribe. Elatos' name means 'Pine Man' and may well have been a more popular archaic name, because one of the Centaurs wounded by Heracles is also called Elatos (Apollod. 2.5.4) and another one Elatios.⁵ The older tradition does not mention Elatos' territory in any detail, which fits the fact that the Lapiths are a somewhat obscure tribe who were not given a place in any of the great early genealogies.⁶ However, later mythography placed Kaineus alternatively in Thessalian Gyrton or Atrax,⁷ and the latter town was clearly proud of its famous, even notorious, son, as we know of several Atraxians who were named after him (below).⁸

Elatos' daughter was Kaine, a highly unusual name for a girl.⁹ Waldner has suggested that she was connected to a temple or sanctuary.¹⁰ In fact, this suggestion can be supported and elaborated if we look more closely

3 Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 22 = F 22 Fowler, whose text I follow. Note that the translation by Waldner 2000, 53 is based on an older edition of the text.

4 Hes. F 87 Merkelbach/West; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.4, 173, 242; Ovid, *Met.* 12.189, 497; Lucian, *Gallus* 19; *Orph. Arg.* 170; Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 6.448; schol. *Il.* 1.264.

5 See Wachter 2001, 188 (=CHA 23), 290 note 1024, where the suggested translation "charioteer" is hardly persuasive. Note also Thessalians called Elatos in Sophocles F 380 Radt and Socrates *FGrH* 310 F *18 as well as the town Elateia on the slopes of Ossa, of which the uncertain location is discussed by Decourt 1998, 39 note 63.

6 West 1985, 85 f.

7 Gyrton: *Il.* 2.746; Apoll. Rhod. 1.57 with scholion *ad loc.*; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.4. Atrax: Ovid, *Met.* 12.209; Antoninus Liberalis 17.4 (Atrax father of Kainis); schol. Plato, *Leg.* 12.944d.

8 Sekunda 2010, 344–54.

9 For this reason Maas 1973, 65 unpersuasively wanted to emend Kaine into Kaineus because her female name Kainis is not attested before Ovid, *Met.* 12.189. He even suggested that the Greek authors who mention Kainis—Phlegon and Antoninus Liberalis—depended on Ovid, but this is less likely, as Kainis as a woman's name can also be found in Lydia: *SEG* 35.1267.

10 Waldner 2000, 64.

at maidens in sanctuaries. It is striking that our text stresses that divine law did not permit her (Greek: οὐχ ἱερὸν) to produce children, not even from the god. This points not so much to the general prohibition against giving birth in sanctuaries,¹¹ but to a clear rule to preserve her virginity. We can connect this rule with other kings' daughters who worked in a sanctuary, of whom mythology knows several. When Aleus, king of Tegea, heard that his daughter's son was destined to kill his maternal uncles, he appointed his daughter Auge as priestess of Athena.¹² According to one strand of the tradition, Io was the daughter of Iasos,¹³ a leader (king?) of Argos; in fact, Iason was another name of Argos, and its inhabitants were also called Iasians.¹⁴ Io was a priestess of Hera in Argos until Zeus seduced her, as is told already by Acusilaus.¹⁵ Similarly, Ilia was a priestess of Vesta in Rome until Mars raped her.¹⁶ This seclusion of the girls in a sanctuary connects them with other myths in which maidens are locked up or separated from home before being raped or seduced; in all these cases, "*the maiden's tragedy*", as Burkert has called these myths, results in the birth of an important figure in the local history.¹⁷

We need not think only of myth. In historical times there was a maiden priestess of Poseidon in Calauria, and other maiden priestesses are also well attested. In cases where we have more information, it is also clear that the office was connected with maturation rituals: after completing the maiden priesthood, the girl would normally get married.¹⁸ A similar scenario may also be assumed in the case of Kaine, who was likewise a daughter of a king. For reasons no longer clear, she was locked up in a sanctuary, where Poseidon approached her. It is not difficult to see the reason for Kaine's isolation from a narrative point of view. Normally, girls

11 *Contra* Waldner 2000, 64 f.

12 Robert 1920, 1139–44; Koenen 1969, 7–188; Bauchhenss-Thüriedl 1986, 44–51; Gantz 1993, 428–31; Boardman 2009, 125.

13 Propertius 1.1.10; Val. Flacc. 4.5.3; Apollod. 2.1.3.

14 Steph. Byz. α 400, ι 16 Billerbeck; see also Verg. *A.* 3.168 (perhaps); Statius, *Theb.* 1.541, 2.219.

15 Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 26 = F 26 Fowler; Burkert 1983, 164–67; Dowden 1989, 117–46; Yalouris 1990, 661–76.

16 Fabius Pictor F 5 Peter; *SEG* 26.1123; Hauer-Prost 1994, 615–20; Neira Jiménez 2009, 445.

17 For the type of myth see Burkert 1979, 6–7; Bremmer and Horsfall 1987, 27–30 (by Bremmer).

18 Paus. 2.33.2; Dowden 1989, 129–33; Bremmer 1999, 189 f.

were not easily available for seduction, but their residence in a sanctuary gave free opportunities to divine lust. Yet at this very point the myth takes a surprising turn. According to a version perhaps authored by Hesiod, instead of becoming a mother Kaine asked a favour from Poseidon after they had made love.¹⁹

Giving herself was evidently a favour that had to be returned in some way. That is why we hear of Poseidon giving winged horses to Pelops after the latter gave his love to the god.²⁰ That is also why we regularly hear in Greek mythology of gifts from the male to the female at their wedding. During his stay in Sparta, Helen gives Telemachos a garment to present to his bride at their wedding (*Od.* 15.123–27); Zeus gives a robe to Chthonie in Pherekydes' *Theogony* (F 68 Schibli), but also gives Thebes and Sicily to Persephone;²¹ Kadmos gives Harmonia a garment and a necklace made by Hephaistos, which, apparently, had earlier been given by Zeus to Europa,²² and Hecuba gives her murdered grandson Astyanax a peplos that had been meant for his wedding (*Eur. Tr.* 1218–20). On a ritual level, we know that the groom gave the bride presents after she had unveiled herself for him. The element of looking was so important that the ceremony and its gifts were not only called 'gifts of the unveiling' but also 'gifts of the seeing', and even 'gifts of first calling one another by name'. These designations are important reminders of the fact that bride and groom were still virtually strangers to one another. In ancient Germanic societies too, the men gave presents to their wives on the morning after the wedding (the *Morgengabe*), which suggests that the custom went back to very ancient times.²³

Whereas normally Kaine should have become pregnant and ended up, one way or another, as a mother, the myth now takes a surprising turn.

19 Hes. F 87 M/W; Apollod. *Ep.* 1.22.

20 Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 350; Tzetzes on Lyc. *Alex.* 157.

21 Euphorion F 53 Lightfoot; Plut. *Tim.* 8; Apollod. 3.4.2; schol. Pind. *O.* 2.15c; schol. Pind. *N.* 1.17.

22 Hellanicus F 51 Fowler; Pherecydes F 89 Fowler.

23 Unveiling and presents: Aesch. *Ag.* 1178–9; Soph. *Trach.* 1078–9, cf. Seaford 1986, 56–7; Lysias F 14a Carey; Evangelus F 1 Kassel-Austin; Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 122, F 164 (~ Diod. Sic. 5.2.3); Harp. α 115 Keany; Pollux 2.59, 3.36; Moeris s.v. *optêria*; Hsch. α 1621 (= Sappho fr. 169A Voigt), 4345; Suda α 1888 Adler; Photius α 1502 Theod.; *Anecdota Graeca*, 201.6 = 390.26 Bekker. *Morgengabe*: Grimm 1899, 610–2; Courtney on Juv. *Sat.* 6.203; Waldner 2000, 60–64; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 237–48.

As mentioned by Apollodorus (*Ep.* 1.22), whose account may ultimately go back to Hesiod and Acusilaus,²⁴ Kaine asked to become a man and to be invulnerable. The reversal could not have been more striking: from a highly vulnerable maiden she was turned into a totally invulnerable man! It is hardly surprising that such a change was considered attractive material by several Athenian comic authors. Unfortunately, their comedies have disappeared almost completely, but in their meagre fragments we still find references to someone who looks like a girl and is the daughter (of the king) as well as to the spear (see below).²⁵

An intriguing parallel for such a request is the myth of Mestra, already told by Hesiod (F 43b.c) and the early mythographer Hellanicus (F 7.122 Fowler) but also mentioned in Hellenistic times by Palaephatus (23) and Nicander (*apud Antoninus Liberalis* 17.5) before being elaborated by Ovid (*Met.* 8.739–879). In this myth Mestra asked Poseidon to help her, because he once took away her virginity. In return, the god turned her into a man and gave her the power of shape-shifting. In this case, though, the sex-change enabled Mestra to help her father Erysichthon, who was struck by insatiable hunger.²⁶ It seems that an early poet made use of the connection of Poseidon with sex-change, but this part of the myth itself does not seem to be connected to any ritual background.

It is different in the case of Kaineus, where we clearly see the sequence of girl²⁷—young man²⁸—warrior. This sequence can also be found elsewhere in Greek myth. A striking parallel is the myth of Leukippos as told by Nicander,²⁹ which thus goes back at least to early Hellenistic times and probably reflects earlier Cretan institutions, which were remarkably conservative.³⁰ In the city of Phaistos, Lampros ordered his pregnant wife, Galateia, to expose her child if it was a daughter. However, when

²⁴ In his commentary on the passage, Frazer suggests that Apollodorus probably derived his material about Kaineus from Acusilaus, but Cameron 2004, 93–104 has now shown that Apollodorus mainly used excerpts, if not excerpts of excerpts, but rarely the original texts.

²⁵ Araros F 4 (girl), F 5 (daughter) Kassel-Austin; Antiphanes F 110 Kassel-Austin (spear).

²⁶ Gantz 1993, 68–9; Luppe 1996, 127–30; Waldner 2000, 65 f.

²⁷ Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo* 7 also locates the sex-change at the moment that Kaineus ἡβήσεντα, “had attained puberty”.

²⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 6.448: *iuvenis quondam nunc femina Caeneus*.

²⁹ I summarise and update here the discussion of Leukippos: Bremmer 2005, 33–36.

³⁰ Link 2008, 469–79.

she gave birth to a daughter, she pitied the baby, raised him as a boy and called him Leukippos. When the 'boy' matured, his mother feared discovery of her deceit and went to the temple of Leto, where she begged the goddess to transform the girl into a real boy. The goddess gave in and, as our source concludes, the people of Phaistos still "sacrifice to Leto Phytia, who caused male genitals to sprout on the girl. And they call the festival Ekdysia (literally 'Undressing'), as 'the girl' put off the *peplos*. And it is customary at the wedding to lie next to the statue of Leukippos".³¹

There can be little doubt that the myth reflects an initiatory theme. In Crete, Leto was strongly connected with the community as a whole, and she had even given her name to an island, a city, a quarter of Gortyn and a phyle.³² Her epithet Phytia, which closely resembles that of Poseidon Phytalmios, who was connected to boys' maturation, suggests that she was connected with youths' growing-up.³³ Moreover, the myth is connected with a festival, namely the Ekdysia. When and why did this festival take place? As it happens, we are quite well informed about Cretan education. At the age of seventeen, boys left their parental home to join an *agela*, after which they could wear only one garment, in summer and winter alike.³⁴ Apparently, they took this garment off in the last year of their initiation, because in Dreros and other cities boys were called *ekdyomenoi* before they were declared adult.³⁵ As *ekdyô* is often associated with stripping off clothes, and the 'graduation' festival in Lyttus was called Periblêmaia or 'feast of putting on clothes',³⁶ the Ekdysia must have referred to the festival where the novices stripped off their single garment before entering into their final stage of initiation. As the boys collectively married after leaving the *agela*,³⁷ the wedding ritual naturally followed upon the transition into male adulthood. Although our reports do not mention this,

³¹ Nicander F 45 Gow-Schofield (from Antoninus Liberalis 17); see also Ovid, *Met.* 9.666–797, cf. Dowden 1989, 62–68; Leitao 1995, 130–63; Waldner 2008, 169–84. For Nicander's date see Cameron 1995, 300; Fantuzzi 2000, 898–900.

³² Sporn 2002, 330 f.

³³ For the connection of Poseidon Phytalmios and Leto to initiation, see Graf 1985, 105, 208.

³⁴ Seventeen: Hsch. α 5702. One garment: Aristotle F 374.14 Rose.

³⁵ *Ins. Cret.* I.ix (Dreros).1.99–100; I.xix (Malla).1.17–8; II.v (Axos).24.7, 9; IV (Gortyn).16.2, cf. Chaniotis 1996, 132, 199.

³⁶ *Ins. Cret.* I.xix (Malla).1.21; for Cretan "graduation" festivals, see Brelich 1969, 199–201; Chaniotis 1996, 124–6.

³⁷ Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 149 (= Strabo 10.4.20).

we may assume that the same happened in the case of Kaineus after his sex-change, as in the *Iliad* we already hear of a son of his, Koronos.³⁸

As happens often in myth, the story does not reflect Crete's historical initiation in every detail. It focuses on Leukippos but neglects the fellow members of his *agela*. Moreover, the 'girl' was already raised as a boy and thus cannot have taken off a *peplos*, a woman's piece of cloth. In fact, not a single Cretan source mentions initiatory transvestism, although this occurs in the myth of Leukippos and Daphne and is attested as part of Greek male initiation.³⁹ Apparently Nicander was already presenting a version of the myth that was quite far removed from Cretan initiatory ritual and was probably influenced by Greek myths about other Leukippoi. Without further information, it is impossible to reconstruct the associated festival in a more satisfactory manner, but there can be no doubt that the myth was connected to a ritual that was part of the final stage of Cretan initiation.

This case illustrates the fact that myth presented as realistic what in ritual can only have been symbolic. Closer to ritual is the story of Achilles on Skyros, where we find the same order of events. The myth must be old, as it was already found in poets of the Trojan Cycle, was translated into a painting by Polygnotus and put on the stage by Euripides.⁴⁰ In Roman times, the myth enjoyed an enormous popularity and was often represented in all kinds of media: bowls, poems, reliefs, sarcophagi and mythological handbooks.⁴¹ In essence, the myth related that Achilles was disguised in a girl's dress and brought up among the girls in the palace of king Lykomedes of Skyros, an island off the Greek coast, until he showed his manliness and became the Greeks' greatest hero during the Trojan War. An even weaker version of transvestism is found in the case

³⁸ *Il.* 2.746 with Eustathius *ad loc.*; Hdt. 5.92 (Êtiôn, a descendant of Kaineus); Ap. Rhod. 1.57–58; Diod. Sic. 4.37.3; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.3; *Orph. Arg.* 170.

³⁹ Paus. 8.20.2–4; Parthenius 15 (with Lightfoot *ad loc.*); Dowden 1989, 66. For the other Leukippoi, see Lamprinouidakis *et al.* 1997, 775–7.

⁴⁰ *Cypria* F 19 Bernabé; Polygnotus *apud* Pausanias 1.22.6; Eur. F 585–6 Kannicht; Bio 2; Schol. *Il.* 19.326 (Cyclic poets). For its early character, see most recently Grossardt 2009, 76–88.

⁴¹ Ovid, *Met.* 13.162; Hyginus, *Fab.* 96; Pliny, *NH* 10.78; Statius, *Ach.* 1.198–282; Suetonius, *Tib.* 70; Apollodorus 3.13.8; Philostr. *Imag.* 1a; *P. Berol.* inv. 13930, re-edited by van Rossum-Steenbeek 1997, 299; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, no. 94–185 and 1990, 4 f.; Silveira Cyrino 1998, 207–41; Heslin 2005, 228–31; Cameron 2009, 1–22.

of Theseus. When he was about sixteen, the age at which an Athenian youth was received into the phratry, he left his grandfather in Troezen and returned to Athens. On arrival, he happened to pass the Delphinion, which was then under construction, and the labourers mocked his girlish outfit. To give the lie to their suggestion of effeminacy, Theseus threw the oxen of a cart over the roof of the sanctuary. The location of the episode is highly significant, as Apollo Delphinios is often connected with the ephebic age and its rituals.⁴²

In all these cases, if in different variations and refractions, we can see the same message. Before becoming a real man, the warrior is just like a girl.⁴³ By dressing up as a woman, the distance between his present and future state is dramatised. Myth can imagine this transition in a 'soft' manner by representing the future warrior in a girlish or effeminate outfit (Theseus, Achilles), but it can also represent the symbolic as real, by changing the boy into a real girl (Kaineus, Leukippos). Evidently, myth had various narrative possibilities, whereas in ritual itself the only possibility was plain transvestism.⁴⁴ At the same time, we have to note that there is a difference between the way Kaine grows up compared to the other girls we have mentioned. Io, Ilia and their contemporaries were destined to become mothers and first suffered for giving up their virginity. Kaine, on the other hand, was not going to be a woman and, in that respect, (s)he was closer to Leukippos than the girls who had to undergo 'the maiden's tragedy'.

Kaineus' being a 'girl' and not a real man is also translated into narrative in another manner: the Hellenistic mythographer Heraclitus tells us that Kaineus was the *erômenos* of Poseidon. As is well known, pederasty was an important phase in the education of Greek upper-class boys in which they had to act the passive, 'feminine' role.⁴⁵ In this case the 'original' version of the myth has clearly been adapted to a more rationalist, believable version that reflects the historical practice, which had an initiatory function in Crete and Sparta.⁴⁶

42 Pausanias 1.19.1, cf. Graf 1979, 2–21; Calame 1996, 229–30, 319–22; Parker 2005, 436; Graf 2009, 109 f.

43 This was already seen by Delcourt 1953, 136 f.

44 For the ritual examples see Bremmer 1999, 188–91; see also Gherchanoc 2003, 739–90.

45 Heraclitus, *Incr.* 3; schol. Plato, *Leg.* 12.944d.

46 Bremmer 1980, 279–98; Davidson 2007.

In the myth of Kaineus, the sex-change was effected by Poseidon, whereas other myths feature Leto (Leukippos), Apollo (Theseus) or no god at all (Achilles). Kaineus' presence in the *Iliad* (1.264) proves that his myth is comparatively old. The role of Poseidon fits this archaic character, as many epithets, such as *Genesios*, *Genethlios*, *Patêr*, *Patrigeneios* and *Phratrios* connect him with male associations as an ancestor, although few details are available. Moreover, in Attica, for example, he had sired many important offspring.⁴⁷ As Poseidon was connected with the origin of important social groups, this may also explain his connection with reproduction and maturation within those groups. His relationship with a king, like Kaineus, fits this picture. In addition, his connection with the power of horses, earthquakes and the brute force of the sea suggest that Kaineus' invulnerability and corresponding arrogance (see below) can hardly be separated from Poseidon's own character.⁴⁸

As Acusilaus states, Kaineus used his physical power to make war against the Centaurs. These wars are already mentioned in the first book of the *Iliad*, which lists a number of Lapiths and adds that "*they used to fight with the strongest, the mountain-inhabiting animals*" (1.267–68), that is, the Centaurs. The iterative form of the imperfect used here points to a series of fights,⁴⁹ and the fact that Nestor was called up from Pylos in order to help the Lapiths (1.270) presupposes a series of previous incidents. Moreover, the resemblances between the Homeric list of Lapiths and that of pseudo-Hesiod's *Shield* (179–82) strongly suggest that both Homer and 'Hesiod' drew upon a current tradition of oral poetry, even though those poems have been irretrievably lost.⁵⁰

Battling was, so to speak, a generic feature of the Centaurs, and representations of their fights with the Lapiths on vases, the so-called Centauromachy, are already found in the later seventh century (see below). On one of the oldest certain representations, the famous François Vase of about 570 BC, the Lapiths are depicted as hoplites, that is, normal soldiers of that time, but the Centaurs battle with branches of trees and, from the sixth century, with rocks;⁵¹ the same opposition is found in the more or less contemporary pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield* (178–90). The opposition of

⁴⁷ Graf 1985, 417–8 (epithets); Parker 2005, 417 (Attica).

⁴⁸ Bremmer 1987, 35–41; Parker 2011, 90.

⁴⁹ Latacz *ad loc.*

⁵⁰ Wachter 1991, 106.

⁵¹ More recently Leventopoulou *et al.* 1997, 671–721, no. 154–69 at 154 (François Vase); Tomei 2008, 111–80 at 122–23; Muth 2008, 437–518.

the warriors with civilised weapons (spears and swords) against those with uncivilised ones (trees, rocks) reflects the fact that the Lapiths are fully human whereas the Centaurs are half equine.

In Homer, the Lapiths are already called “*spear wielding*”,⁵² just as Archilochus (F 3 West²) mentions the “*spear-famed lords of Euboea*”, and so it will have been Kaineus’ spear that initially gave him the upper hand against the Centaurs. From archaeological finds we know that in the Dark Ages warriors usually used a pair of throwing spears, but the last quarter of the eighth century started to witness the birth of the hoplite, with a concentration on the thrusting spear, which over the course of the next century became the main hoplite weapon, along with the sword.⁵³ The importance of spears in the early Archaic Age is illustrated by the fact that Cheiron presented a proper ash-wood spear to Peleus, Achilles’ father, on the occasion of his wedding, of which Homer tells us that it was so heavy that only Achilles could throw it. It was clearly highly valuable, as it had a gold ring to bind the socket to the shaft, and the fact that Hephaistos had assembled it implies that it was equipped with a heavy iron point. Is this the kind of spear that we should imagine in the hands of Kaineus?⁵⁴

Clearly considering himself to be outside human bounds, Kaineus’ *hybris* made him set up his spear in the *agora* and to order sacrifice to be made to it, a motif adopted by Vergil and Flavian poets with their own *divum contemptores*.⁵⁵ His overvaluation of the spear was apparently not unique in the Archaic Age as Aeschylus (*Septem* 529–31) lets Parthenopaios swear by his spear, which he trusts and reveres more than a god;⁵⁶ his example is followed by Idas in Apollonius Rhodius (1.466–70) who considers his spear, and not Zeus, to be the source of his glory. In fact, in a fully historical period, the fourth-century tyrant Alexander of Pherae sacrificed to the spear with which he had murdered his uncle Polyphron and named it Tychon.⁵⁷ One perhaps does not need to be a

⁵² *Il.* 12.128; Hes. *Sc.* 178.

⁵³ van Wees 2000, 125–66; Buchholz 2010, 113–22.

⁵⁴ *Cypria* F 3 Bernabé = Davies (a present); *Ilias Parva* F 5 Bernabé = Davies (gold ring); Janko on *Il.* 16.130–54, 141–44 (heavy, Hephaistos). For the struggles over, and circulation of, arms, see also Lissarrague 2008, 15–27.

⁵⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 10.773, 12.95–100; Stat. *Theb.* 3.615, 9.549.

⁵⁶ For interesting parallels, see West 2007, 463 f. Note that Parthenopaios also has “*girlish*” features: Bremmer 1999, 192.

⁵⁷ Plut. *Pel.* 29. If Polyphron was his maternal uncle, the crime would be even more heinous, cf. Bremmer 1983, 173–86.

Freudian to see here also an unambiguous assertion by real alpha males in these cases.

The 'spear of Kaineus' was evidently well known and even became proverbial in the course of time.⁵⁸ But the gods naturally disapproved of this rival, and when Zeus saw him doing this he incited the Centaurs against him. We owe the passage of Acusilaus to Theophrastus (F 600 Fortenbaugh), who in his treatise *On Kingship* contrasts rule by the spear with rule by the sceptre and then quotes Acusilaus to elucidate this point. Theophrastus interprets the case in a secular, contemporary key and does not mention the gods in this connection, but it is different with Acusilaus.

The *hybris* of a king is a recurring motif in the Archaic Age, and Hesiod mentions the *hybristês* kings Salmoneus (F 30.12–19 M/W) and Pelias (*Th.* 996). Salmoneus is destroyed by Zeus, as it is Zeus who is responsible for restraining the *hybris* not only of kings and men but even of animals (Archilochus F 177 West²).⁵⁹ Yet in this particular case, the challenge to Zeus is even more pronounced, as the *agora* is the area *par excellence* of Zeus Agoraios, the protector of justice.⁶⁰ The myth, then, is not only about a hybrid body: it must also have carried a clear warning against *hybris* for the Archaic audience.

How to overcome invulnerability was a problem that was solved in different ways in Archaic myths, as Kaineus was not unique in this respect. In fact, there are several stories of other invulnerable heroes in the Archaic Age. Let us look at the most important ones to see to what extent they shed light on Kaineus. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 2.22.12) mentions that the Greek army was prevented from landing in Troy because of Kyknos' invulnerability. We know a little more about this Trojan from Sophocles' tragedy *Shepherds* where he is depicted as an arrogant character (F 501 Radt), the more so as one line of the play says: "*neither bronze nor iron takes hold of the skin*" (F 500), words that are remarkably similar to those said of Kaineus by Acusilaus (above)! Not surprisingly, Kyknos was a son of Poseidon and a spearman.⁶¹ There was also something feminine about him, as Hesiod (F 237, cf. Sen. *Tro.* 183) noted the white hair of his head and Hellanicus (F 148 Fowler) his white skin, which was a typical

⁵⁸ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.57–64a.

⁵⁹ Simon 1994, 653–55; Fisher 1992, index s.v. gods, kings; Dowden 2006, 72–76.

⁶⁰ Graf 1985, 297–99.

⁶¹ Poseidon: Ovid, *Met.* 12.72; Hyg. *Fab.* 157, 273; Libanius, *Prog.* 8.3.10; schol. Theocr. 16.49. Spearman: Palaephatus 10.

feature of women; naturally, later mythographers related that he had been abandoned on a beach where swans gathered around him or even that swans had raised him.⁶² Did he perhaps resemble a girl in his youth? In any case, unable to wound him, Achilles finally throttled Kyknos with his helmet strap,⁶³ although the older tradition had him killed by Achilles throwing a stone at his head.⁶⁴

Our second example is the Cretan Talos, about whose invulnerability Apollodorus (1.9.26) records several variations. According to one, Talos was a 'bronze man', who had a single vein running from neck to ankle, secured at the bottom by a bronze nail, whereas Apollonius Rhodius recounted that, although Talos' body was of unbreakable bronze, "*below the tendon in his ankle there was a vein of blood, and the thin membrane covering it held the boundary of his life and death*" (4.1646–48, tr. Buxton). In either case, there was a weakness near his foot: whether it was cultural or natural made no difference in this case. Given the connection of Kaineus with pederasty, it is perhaps relevant that Talos was reputed to have been the lover of Rhadamanthys and had even gained the reputation of having invented pederasty.⁶⁵ Like his ankle, Talos' death was also debated: Medea was said to have caused him to graze his ankle on a rock so that all his *ichôr* gushed out (Apoll. Rhod. 4.1679–80), whereas according to another version he was shot dead in the ankle (Apollod. 1.9.26).⁶⁶

The ankle also figures prominently in stories about Achilles. We have already seen his transvestism at the court of Lykomedes of Skyros, but his maturation apparently also involved invulnerability. Admittedly, Homer likes to suppress such magical features, but the *Aethiopsis* may well have mentioned Apollo's fatal shot to his vulnerable heel. If this was indeed the case, we should probably think of impenetrable armour rather than an impenetrable skin. We know that his father Peleus had such armour, and the struggles over Achilles' armour after Patroklos' death are also easiest to understand against such a background.⁶⁷ From, probably, Stesichorus in the sixth century to the late second-century mythological handbook of Apollodorus and later, it is Achilles' ankle that is consistently mentioned

62 Schol. Lyc. 237b; Hegesianax *FGrH* 45 F 1.

63 Pind. *O.* 2.82, 1. 5.39; Ovid, *Met.* 12.140–43.

64 Palaephatus 11; Apollod. *Ep.* 3.31; Fowler 2013, 534.

65 Ibycus F 309 Page/Davies; Suda θ 41.

66 For Talos, see especially Federico 1989, 95–120; Papadopoulos 1994, 834–37; Simon 2009, 466; Buxton 2013, 73–97.

67 Peleus: *Il.* 17.194, 202. Achilles: Janko 1992, 310–11, 334.

in connection with his death;⁶⁸ in fact, he is already shown dead with an arrow in his heel on a lost mid-sixth-century Chalcidian amphora,⁶⁹ and a famous mid-fifth-century pelike from Bochum shows the arrow flying to his ankle while Paris and Apollo are standing close to him;⁷⁰ some Hellenistic gems even depict Ajax carrying the body of Achilles with an arrow stuck in his heel, ankle or foot.⁷¹ Unfortunately, we do not hear of Achilles' 'mortal tendon' before Hyginus (*Fab.* 107), although the passage still suggests a Hellenistic source, but the way Paris shoots Diomedes in his heel (*Il.* 11.369 ff.) already seems to presuppose the later famous legend.

We come closer to Kaineus with our last example. Ajax, one of the greatest Homeric heroes, was invulnerable except for one weak spot: he could be pierced in his ribs, neck, armpit or shoulder blade—the fact of the invulnerability was clearly more important than its exact location. And, indeed, in the *Iliad* Ajax is never wounded, even though he is not called invulnerable. His special status was the result of a prayer by Heracles that young Ajax might be just as invulnerable as the skin of the Nemean lion.⁷² In the end the Trojans had to bury him in mud to get rid of him.⁷³

When we now look at these different parallels, which have not exhausted the theme of invulnerability,⁷⁴ we can see that myth exploits the theme in different ways. It can represent it as natural (an invulnerable real skin) or cultural (impenetrable armour, bronze body), but the effect remains the same. In the cases of Kaineus, Achilles and, probably, Talos, we also note a connection with initiation. Evidently, the invulnerability was closely connected with a stage of life that followed upon or was part of maturation rituals. As I argued before in the case of Kaineus, "the myth (...)

68 Stesichorus: Garner 1993, 159 (on fr. 43.ii.8); Apollod. *Ep.* 5.3 with Frazer *ad loc.*; Quint. Smyrn. 3.62; Janko on *Il.* 16.777–867, who unpersuasively adduces 'Hes.' F 300; Burgess 2009, 9–15.

69 Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 37–200 at no. 850; Wachter 2001, 177 f.

70 Kunisch 1996, 180–84.

71 Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 200–14 at nos. 128–33; Balensiefen 1996, 75–103.

72 Hes. F 250 M-W; Pind. *I.* 6.47; Aesch. F 83 with Radt *ad loc.*; Plato, *Symp.* 219e; Lykophron 455–61 and scholion *ad loc.*; schol. *Il.* 23.821; Eustathius on *Il.* 1.264.

73 Hypoth. Soph. *Ajax*, where this particular death is mentioned as an *alternative* to the version in Sophocles, which features the suicide and no mud; Sophron F 31 K-A; schol. *Il.* 14.405b with Erbse *ad loc.*

74 Another interesting case has come to light only in recent decades. In a local Coan epic Athena kills the invulnerable Giant Asteros and flays him: *Meropis* Bernabé. In general, see Berthold 2011; Hansen 2010, 1239–48.

probably goes back to times when ecstatic warriors, whose insensitivity to wounds was represented in myth as invulnerability, were still operating in Greece".⁷⁵

There is plenty of comparative Indo-European evidence for the battle fury of young warriors, perhaps best exemplified in the Nordic *berserker*, who went 'berserk'.⁷⁶ In Greece, this fury was called *lyssa*, a word connected with Greek *lykos*, 'wolf', and the rage of warriors is often described in Homer.⁷⁷ Both werwolfism and lycanthropy survived in Greece into historical times, even though in the first case only in Arcadian myth.⁷⁸ Another animal to be taken into account here would certainly be the boar: the boar's tusk helmet (*Il.* 10.260–65), which is already attested in the early centuries of the second millennium BC,⁷⁹ cannot be separated from the rage of the attacking boar to which the Homeric warrior can be compared.⁸⁰ This fury presupposes a manner of war in which there was plenty of space for individual performance. With the arrival of the phalanx in the course of the seventh and sixth century, there was no longer room for such behaviour. Invulnerability now became a theme of myth rather than a living reality.

Yet life must have taught the Archaic warriors that real invulnerability does not exist. That may well have been the reason that myths arose about their localised vulnerability, be it the ankle, arm-pit or a soft place on the back, as in the case of Siegfried in the *Nibelungenlied* (899, 905, 980–2). However, the problem of apparent invulnerability was not limited to ancient Greece as this Germanic example demonstrates. Its occurrence in a wide array of Indo-European traditions suggests that it was an ancient motif that the Greek poets had adapted to their own stories and contexts.⁸¹

⁷⁵ Bremmer 1999, 192.

⁷⁶ West 2007, 449–51 with the most recent bibliography; add Liberman 2005, 401–11. For the problem of the Indo-European men's societies and their connection with initiation, see the balanced surveys in Das and Meiser 2002.

⁷⁷ *Il.* 5.185, 6.101, 8.111, 299 and 355, 9.238–9 and 305, 12.462–6, 13.53, 15.605–9, 16.245, 21.5 and 542; most recently Lincoln 1975, 98–105; Sauzeau 2003, 95–108; Cebrián 2010, 343–57. For the reflection of this type of fighting on eighth-century Athenian vases, see Kistler 2001, 159–85.

⁷⁸ Bremmer 2007, 67–78.

⁷⁹ Most recently Buchholz 2010, 192–209.

⁸⁰ Janko on *Il.* 13.417–75, 15.605–09. I hope to come back elsewhere to the "theriomorphic" warrior.

⁸¹ West 2007, 444–46.



1 Bronze relief with Kaineus and Centaurs, 7th century BC, Olympia, Archaeological Museum

Of all the invulnerable heroes we have briefly discussed, Kaineus' death appealed to the artists of the Archaic Age the most. There is no interest whatsoever on their part in the sex-change: all known early representations focus on his final moments. In our surviving evidence, Kaineus first appears on a hammered bronze relief of the third quarter of the seventh century at Olympia (fig. 1), where he is represented as an armoured hoplite between two centaurs who batter him with trees. He has already sunk into the earth to mid-calf, just as he will appear in many later representations. Next, Kaineus is the centrepiece of the François Vase mentioned above, where he has sunk into the earth to the bottom of his cuirass, but still fights on against three Centaurs, of whom one wields a tree and the other two are at the point of throwing rocks at him.⁸² We see a brave warrior who never gives up, just as we would imagine Kaineus. At the end of the sixth century, though, the images seem to concentrate much more on the process of Kaineus' dying (rather than the fact of his death). These changing perceptions demonstrate that we should not try to fix the meaning of his eventual demise. Different periods could stress different aspects: the iconographic representations are in this respect more nuanced and

⁸² I closely follow the descriptions by Padgett 2003, 15–16 (= Laufer 1990, nos. 61 and 67, respectively), the first overlooked by Muth 2008, 429, who states that “*Die Bilder vom Tod des Kaineus beginnen im 6. Jh.*”

interesting than the often rather skeletal literary descriptions, even though they focus on only one aspect of the myth.⁸³

Whereas vases and reliefs focused on Kaineus' last moments as a warrior, the texts are much more concise in this respect. Acusilaus tells us that he was beaten straight down under the ground with a rock on top of him. Unable to kill him in a real fight, the Centaurs used their own natural, not cultural, weapons of trees and rocks to finish off this hybrid warrior. Yet Kaineus never gave in, and our texts agree that he went straight into the earth, "*unbroken and unbending*".⁸⁴ Whereas warriors killed in a normal way were carried to their grave in a horizontal position, as many Geometric and Archaic vases illustrate, Kaineus went into the ground alive, in a vertical position. Only after he was driven into the ground and covered with a rock would he give up the ghost.

Kaineus' definitive resting place was marked by a rock as a grave marker (*sêma*), as Acusilaus concludes his story. In Homer, *sêma* is a term for a tomb of an important person like Ilos (*Il.* 10.414–15). In epic it functions as a poetical commemoration by the living and is represented by the burial mound.⁸⁵ There is a closely similar description of such a tomb in Homer (*Il.* 23.327–32), and we may even wonder if this style of tomb did not contribute to the myth about Kaineus' death by trees and stones. The graves in Homer already look forward to the hero-cult, but that cult itself was not fully developed until the end of the sixth century.⁸⁶ Perhaps Kaineus' grave was the location of a later hero cult, as the fact that Atrageians regularly called their sons 'Kaineus' (above) suggests a living memory of the great hero, the more so as names ending in *-eus* were fairly rare in ancient Greece, as were names derived from individual heroes.⁸⁷ Yet we must be honest about the fact that we simply do not know.⁸⁸ In the end, the myth of Kaineus, that Archaic macho, still poses many questions.

Finally, our conference was designed to explore the notion of 'embodied knowledge' from the perspective of the classical Greco-Roman world

⁸³ For the iconographic representations, see now Muth 2008, 427–57.

⁸⁴ Acusilaus F 22 Fowler; Pind. F 128 f Maehler; Apoll. Rhod. 1.63 (quote), with scholion *ad loc.*; Ovid, *Met.* 12.523; Agatharchides, *De mari Erythraeo* 7; *Orph. Arg.* 173; Eustathius on *Il.* 1.264.

⁸⁵ Henrichs 1993, 165–80.

⁸⁶ Bremmer 2006, 15–26, not refuted by Parker 2011, 287–92.

⁸⁷ Morpurgo Davies 2000, 35 and Parker 2000, 56, respectively.

⁸⁸ *Contra* Waldner 2000, 78–81.

by looking at examples of the crossing or dissolution of boundaries of human embodied knowledge caused by deformation, hybridity and the like. The case of Kaineus raises the interesting question of what enables and limits deviations from the norm. Undoubtedly, in this respect the *Wissensordnung* of archaic Greece departed from the form of the normative body of everyday life: the archaic Greeks surely did not normally meet or expect to meet people with divinely effected sex-changes or invulnerable bodies. Yet thanks to certain social practices their embodied knowledge was not always destabilized or transformed, but sometimes even expanded.

As we have seen, the—admittedly scarcely attested—ritual cross-dressing must have made it possible to conceptualise a real sex-change. Yet that was only one of the possibilities, as we have seen. A ‘softer’ version of the sex-change, such as a feminine outfit, remained another narrative option. Similarly, the manner of enraged fighting like an animal, be it a boar or a bear, must have produced the narrative option of invulnerability, even though normative knowledge prevented the ‘production’ of stories of invulnerability leading to immortality. Yet when the social practices changed, some people must have become skeptical of the traditional myths and tried to transform them. That is why the mythographer Heraclitus dropped the sex-change and substituted for it the pederastic relationship, which in his time still had an educational aspect. Similarly, relatively late sources were not satisfied with Kaineus’ mere death and invented his rebirth as a sandy-haired bird, which turns it into a story with a different point.⁸⁹

We thus see that the original account of Kaineus’ life regularly generated new versions. Cognitive psychologists stress that counter-intuitive elements make stories interesting and facilitate their transmission. That is perhaps why the myth of Kaineus ‘survived’ after the demise of the social practices that had produced it. Whereas we have tried to ‘mine’ the myth of Kaineus for the social practices in its background, later Greek generations may just have listened to it for its entertainment value. In one way, then, Greek myth is an ‘archive’ of various *Wissensordnungen*, which we can only decode in a process of trial and error.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Ov. *Met.* 12.524–26.

⁹⁰ I am grateful to Richard Buxton and Bob Fowler for comments. Orla Mulholland kindly and skillfully corrected my English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- d'Angour, A. 2011** *The Greeks and the New*. Cambridge.
- Balensiefen, L. 1996** "Achills verwundbare Ferse. Zum Wandel der Gestalt des Achill in nacharchaischer Zeit," *JdI* 111: 75–103.
- Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, C. 1986** *LIMC* III.1: 44–51, s.v. "Auge".
- Berthold, O. 1911** *Die Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen*. Giessen.
- Boardman, J. 2009** *LIMC* Suppl. 1: 125, s.v. "Auge".
- Brellich, A. 1969** *Paides e parthenoi*. Rome.
- Bremmer, J.N. 1980** "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," *Arethusa* 13: 279–98.
- Bremmer, J.N. 1983** "The Importance of the Maternal Uncle and Grandfather in Archaic and Classical Greece and Early Byzantium," *ZPE* 50: 173–86.
- Bremmer, J.N. 1987** "'Effigies Dei' in ancient Greece: Poseidon." In *Effigies Dei. Essays on the History of Religions*, edited by D. van der Plas, 35–41. Leiden.
- Bremmer, J.N. 1999** "Transvestite Dionysos," *The Bucknell Review* 43: 183–200.
- Bremmer, J.N. 2005** "Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship." In *Griechische Mythologie und Frühchristentum*, edited by R. von Haehling, 21–43. Darmstadt.
- Bremmer, J.N. 2006** "The Rise of the Hero Cult and the New Simonides," *ZPE* 158: 15–26.
- Bremmer, J.N. 2007** "Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the Case of the Rhodian Criminal." In *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, edited by J.N. Bremmer, 55–79. Leuven.
- Bremmer, J.N. and N. Horsfall 1987** *Roman Myth and Mythography*. London.
- Buchholz, H.-G. 2010** *Kriegswesen* Teil 3 (=Archaeologica Homerica I.E.3). Göttingen.
- Burgess, J.S. 2009** *The Death and Afterlife of Achilles*. Baltimore.
- Burkert, W. 1979** *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*. Berkeley.
- Burkert, W. 1983** *Homo necans*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Buxton, R. 2013** *Myths and Tragedies in Their Ancient Greek Contexts*. Oxford.

- Calame, C. 1996²** *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien*. Lausanne.
- Cameron, A. 1995** *Callimachus and His Critics*. Princeton.
- Cameron, A. 2004** *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*. New York.
- Cameron, A. 2009** "Young Achilles in the Roman World," *JRS* 99: 1–22.
- Camporeale, G. 1981** *LIMC* I.1: 200–14, s.v. "Achle".
- Cebrián, R.B. 2010** "Some Greek Evidence for Indo-European Youth Continents of Shape Shifters," *JIES* 38: 343–57.
- Chaniotis, A. 1996** *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*. Stuttgart.
- Das, R.P. and G. Meiser (eds.) 2002** *Geregeltes Ungestüm. Bruderschaften und Jugendbünde bei indogermanischen Völkern*. Bremen.
- Davidson, J. 2007** *The Greeks and Greek Love*. London.
- Decourt, J.-C. 1998** "Caïnis-Caïneus et l'occupation humaine de la plaine orientale de la Thessalie," *REG* 111: 1–42.
- Delcourt, M. 1953** "La légende de Kaineus," *RHR* 144: 129–50.
- De Martino, L. 2011** "Il mito di Ceneo in Virgilio e Ovidio," *Invigilata Lucernis* 33: 63–72.
- Dowden, K. 1989** *Death and the Maiden*. London and New York.
- Dowden, K. 2006** *Zeus*. London and New York.
- Emberger, P. 2011** "Iuvenis quondam, nunc femina. Zur Kainis-Erzählung im augusteischen Epos (Ov. Met. 8,305; 12, 169–209. 459–535; Verg. Aen. 6, 448–449)," *GrazBeitr* 28: 44–96.
- Fantuzzi, M. 2000** *Neue Pauly* 8: 898–900, s.v. "Nikandros [4]".
- Federico, E. 1989** "Talos: funzione e rifunzionalizzazioni di un mito eteocretese," *AION* (archeol.) 11: 95–120.
- Fisher, N. 1992** *Hybris*. Warminster.
- Forbes-Irving, P.M.C. 1990** *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths*. Oxford.
- Fowler, R.L. 2013** *Early Greek Mythographers* 2. Oxford.
- Gantz, T. 1993** *Early Greek Myth*. Baltimore and London.
- Garner, R. 1993** "Achilles in Locri," *ZPE* 96: 153–65.
- Gärtner, Th. 2007** "Die Geschlechtsmetamorphose der ovidischen Caenis und ihr hellenistischer Hintergrund," *Latomus* 66: 891–99.
- Gherchanoc, F. 2003** "Les atours féminins des hommes: quelques représentations du masculin-féminin dans le monde grec antique. Entre initiation, ruse, séduction et grotesque, surpuissance et déchéance," *RHist* 127: 739–90.
- Graf, F. 1979** "Apollon Delphinios," *MusHelv* 36: 2–21.

- Graf, F. 1985** *Nordionische Kulte*. Rome.
- Graf, F. 2009** *Apollo*. London, New York.
- Grimm, J. 1899⁴** *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*. Leipzig.
- Grossardt, P. 2009** *Achilleus, Coriolan und ihre Weggefährten*. Tübingen.
- Hansen, W.F. 2010** "Unverwundbarkeit." In *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 13: 1239–48.
- Hauer-Prost, M. 1994** *LIMC* VII.1: 615–20, s.v. "Rea Silvia".
- Henrichs, A. 1993** "The Tomb of Aias and the Prospect of Hero Cult in Sophokles," *ClAnt* 12: 165–80.
- Heslin, P.J. 2005** *The Transvestite Achilles: Gender and Genre in Statius' Achilleid*. Oxford.
- Janko, R. 1992** *The Iliad: A Commentary IV*. Cambridge.
- Kistler, E. 2001** "Kriegsbilder, Aristie und Überlegenheitsideologie im spät-geometrischen Athen," *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 4: 159–85.
- Koenen, L. 1969** "Eine Hypothese zur Auge des Euripides und tegeatische Plynterien," *ZPE* 4: 7–188.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1981** *LIMC* I.1: 37–200, s.v. "Achilleus".
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 2009** *LIMC* Suppl. 1: 2–15, s.v. "Achilleus".
- Kunisch, N. 1996** *Erläuterungen zur Griechischen Vasenmalerei*. Cologne.
- Lamprinouidakis, V. et al. 1997** *LIMC* VIII.1: 775–7, s.v. "Leukippos I–III".
- Laufer, E. 1990** *LIMC* V.1: 884–91 s.v. "Kaineus".
- Leitao, D. 1995** "The Penis of Leukippos. Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender Ideology in the Ekdusia of Phaistos," *ClAnt* 14: 130–63.
- Leventopoulou, M. et al. 1997** *LIMC* VIII.1: 671–721, s.v. "Kentauroi et Kentaurides".
- Lieberman, A. 2005** "Berserks in History and Legend," *Russian History* 32: 401–11.
- Lincoln, B. 1975** "Homeric Iussa: Wolfish Rage," *IGForsch* 80: 98–105.
- Link, S. 2008** "Aristoteles, Ephoros und die 'Kretische Verfassung'," *Gymnasium* 115: 469–79.
- Lissarrague, F. 2008** "Corps et armes: figures grecques du guerrier." In *Langages et métaphores du corps dans le monde antique*, edited by V. Dasen and J. Wilgaux, 15–27. Rennes.
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. 2003** *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*. Swansea.

- Luppe, W. 1996** "Poseidons Verwandlungsgabe für Mestra Pherc. 1609 II, Hes. Fr. 43c Merkelbach/West," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 26: 127–30.
- Luppe, W. 1997** "Der mythologische Text P.Mich. Koenen 762," *ArchPF* 43: 233–37.
- Maas, P. 1973** *Kleine Schriften*. Munich.
- Morpurgo Davies, A. 2000** "Greek Personal Names and Linguistic Continuity." In *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, edited by S. Hornblower and E. Matthews, 15–39. Oxford.
- Muth, S. 2008** *Gewalt im Bild*. Berlin and New York.
- Neira Jiménez, M.L. 2009** *LIMC* Suppl. 1: 445, s.v. "Rea Silvia".
- Padgett, J.M. 2003** "Horse Men: Centaurs and Satyrs in Early Greek Art." In *The Centaur's Smile*, edited by J.M. Padgett, 1–46. New Haven, London.
- Pàmias, J. 2012** "Auis nunc unica, Caeneu! El mito de Ceneo de Acusilao a Ovidio." In *Y el mito de hizo poesía*, edited by M.C. Álvarez and R. Iglesias, 49–68. Madrid.
- Papadopoulos, J.K. 1994** *LIMC* VII.1: 834–37, s.v. "Talos I".
- Parker, R. 2000** "Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion." In *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, edited by S. Hornblower and E. Matthews, 53–79. Oxford.
- Parker, R. 2005** *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. Oxford.
- Parker, R. 2011** *On Greek Religion*. Ithaca and London.
- Robert, C. 1920** *Griechische Mythologie* 2. Berlin.
- van Rossum-Steenbeek, M. 1997** *Greek Readers' Digests?* Leiden.
- Sauzeau, P. 2003** "Des 'berserker' en Grèce ancienne?" In *Des Géants à Dionysos*, edited by D. Accorinti and P. Chuvin, 95–108. Alessandria.
- Seaford, R. 1986** "Wedding Ritual and Textual Criticism in Sophocles' 'Women of Trachis'," *Hermes* 114: 50–59.
- Sekunda, N. 2010** "Kaineus." In *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, edited by R. Catling and F. Marchand, 344–54. Oxford.
- Silveira Cyrino, M. 1998** "Heroes in D(u)ress: Transvestism and Power in the Myths of Herakles and Achilles," *Arethusa* 31: 207–41.
- Simon, E. 1994** *LIMC* VII.1: 653–55, s.v. "Salmoneus".
- Simon, E. 2009** *LIMC* Suppl. 1: 466, s.v. "Talos I".
- Sporn, K. 2002** *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas*. Heidelberg.

- Tomei, D. 2008** "I kantharoi greci a figure nere e rosse," *Ostraka* 17: 111–80.
- Wachter, R. 1991** "The inscriptions on the François Vase," *MusHelv* 48: 86–113.
- Wachter, R. 2001** *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions*. Oxford.
- Waldner, K. 2000** *Geburt und Hochzeit des Kriegers*. Berlin, New York.
- Waldner, K. 2008** "Zwischen Kreta und Rom: Ovids Bearbeitung eines aitiologischen Mythos aus Nikanders Heteroioumena (Ant. Lib. 17) in den Metamorphosen (9,666–797)." In *Genese und Funktion religiöser Diskurse in der lateinischen Literatur des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, edited by J. Rüpke and A. Bendlin, 169–84. Stuttgart.
- van Wees, H. 2000** "The Development of the Hoplite Phalanx: iconography and reality in the seventh century." In *War and Violence in Ancient Greece*, edited by H. van Wees, 125–66. London.
- West, M.L. 1985** *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*. Oxford.
- West, M.L. 2007** *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*. Oxford.
- Yalouris, N. 1990** *LIMC* V.1: 661–76, s.v. "Io I".

CREDIT

- 1** After Andronikos, M., V. Karageorgis and M. Chatzidakis 1992. *Die Museen Griechenlands*, fig. 22. (Spyros Tsavdaroglu).

ALAN SHAPIRO

ALKIBIADES' EFFEMINACY AND THE ANDROGYNY OF DIONYSOS

ABSTRACT

This paper reconsiders two figures, one historical and one mythological, who have sometimes been casually likened to one another, but through the prism of gendered categories of androgyny and effeminacy. In the second half of the fifth century, Dionysos's androgyny is construed in a wholly positive sense, not only as a manifestation of his divine power, but, in the visual arts, as the image of a new esthetic of youthful masculinity that is directly tied to his idealized, overtly erotic, and nuptial relationship with Ariadne. Alkibiades' effeminacy, in contrast, while sharing some of the same superficial visual traits, belies a form of 'arrested development,' a dysfunctional sexuality that led to frequent excess of all sorts and precluded healthy relationships, whether hetero- or homosexual.

ANDROGYNY AND EFFEMINACY, THEN AND NOW

It has long been a commonplace in the field of Gender Studies that gender and sexuality are culturally constructed, not biologically determined.¹ Nowhere is there a more striking disparity between ancient and modern ways of thinking than in the understanding and construction of the effeminate male.

¹ Winkler 1990; Laqueur 1990; Gleason 1995.

I would first like to make a rigorous distinction between the concepts of effeminacy and androgyny (as the latter term is understood in *modern* usage).² The latter implies the combining of qualities of both genders, as the word itself suggests, and is either neutral or positively connoted, while 'effeminacy' presupposes that a man has taken on female traits, and this is always negatively connoted. As the unmarked gender, men are always in danger of compromising their masculinity.³ Consider how today, women who wear so-called man-tailored clothing are merely fashionable, while men who wear feminine styles are immediately suspect. Women who adopt a version of a male name (Toni, Frankie, Nikki) are hip, while only transgendered males and male transvestites would consider taking on a feminine name. In the United States, at least (unlike in Great Britain), names that could be of ambiguous gender (Francis, Robin) are often avoided for males. Rock stars who cultivate an androgynous look, like the late Michael Jackson, do not thereby flaunt their sexuality, but rather obscure or occlude it entirely, making them less threatening to their youngest fans. But effeminacy always implies a heightened, in-your-face display of sexuality, whether homoerotic in the modern stereotype or mainly heterosexual in Antiquity, as in the case of Alkibiades or Menander.⁴

In the late 19th century, when the concept of homosexuality as an orientation was first introduced in German medical research (a development commemorated in the title of David Halperin's book *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*),⁵ a concomitant idea was that male effeminacy was closely correlated with homosexual orientation, and this idea has persisted into modern times.⁶

In Antiquity, the connotations of male effeminacy are much broader and more varied than in the modern stereotype, and I would suggest three broad semantic fields. The first has nothing to do with sexuality of

2 The adjective ἀνδρόγυνος has a distinctly pejorative connotation in Antiquity, e.g. in Hdt. 4.67 ("womanish, effeminate person"). In Plato, *Symposium* 189E, the word seems to connote a hermaphrodite.

3 Gleason 1995, 60–67; Winkler 1990, 47.

4 For effeminacy in Antiquity see the exhaustive compilation of sources in Herter 1987 and, more recently, Halperin 2002, chapter 4.

5 Halperin 1990.

6 Davidson 1997, 167–168. For an example of the same correlation in an earlier period, that of Jacobean England, see S. Shapiro 1988.

any kind, but rather with markers of class and ethnicity. So, for example, Lydians and Persians are regularly associated with effeminacy in Greek and Latin sources.⁷ The average Athenian viewed most aristocrats as effeminate merely by virtue of flaunting their wealth, indulging in unnecessary luxury, and being somehow soft in their manner and lifestyle.⁸ Into this category would fall all the stories of Alkibiades' lavish purple robes that he dragged through the mud; the soft boots named for him; and his lisp that some found charming, others not.⁹

Second, there exists an ancient notion, somewhat analogous to the stereotype of the modern effeminate homosexual, that the *kinaidos*, the man who plays the passive role in anal intercourse, is effeminated by this act. That is, to use the model most closely associated with the work of Michel Foucault, by being penetrated, he is made to be like a woman.¹⁰ In the era of Alkibiades, the well known figure who perhaps comes closest to this notion is the playwright Agathon, who is caricatured by Aristophanes for his extravagantly feminine appearance.¹¹ Furthermore, as we learn in Plato's *Symposion*, Agathon's status as a successful artist allowed him to defy social convention by remaining the *eromenos* (beloved) of an older man, Pausanias, well into adulthood, presumably playing the passive role.¹²

Thirdly, there is in Antiquity a conspicuous phenomenon that would seem to be the polar opposite of the last, namely, effeminate men who suffer from what the classicist J.D. Reed, in his study of Adonis, has called 'pathological heterosexuality'.¹³ Some of the symptoms of this pathology include *gynaikomania*, an abnormal infatuation with women (especially, of course, having sex with women); frequenting of female prostitutes; incest with female members of one's family; and committing adultery with other men's wives.

7 See Hall 1989 on the Persians; De Vries 2000 on the Lydians.

8 Kurke 1992.

9 See Gribble 1999, 38 for the sources in Athenaios on Alkibiades' "feminizing effiteness and Ionian luxury."

10 Foucault 1985, but cf. Davidson 1997, 168–169, for a critique of the "penetration model."

11 Thesmophoriazousai 134–45; 191–2, with the commentary of Austin and Olson 2004, 97–100; 118–119. cf. Snyder 1974.

12 *Symposium* 193 B–C. On Agathon see Austin and Olson 2004, 61.

13 Reed 1995.

MYTHOLOGICAL PARADIGMS

The earliest and most fully developed paradigm of the effeminate and heterosexual man is the figure of Paris in the *Iliad*.¹⁴ He is described as unusually beautiful and must defend his beauty to his brother Hektor as a gift from Aphrodite (*Iliad* 3.64–66). He is the prototypical example of the adulterer, having stolen (or seduced) Helen away from her husband Menelaos, with the approval and assistance of Aphrodite. His relationship to Helen is one of infatuation (*gynaikomanes*), and he is criticized for preferring to spend time with her in their boudoir, rather than on the battlefield. In his one major appearance in single combat, against Menelaos, he has to be rescued by the same goddess, Aphrodite (*Iliad* 3.373–82). Helen herself despises him for his weakness and compares him unfavorably to her husband (*Iliad* 428–29). In the words of one critic, the effeminate man is “*womanized by his womanizing*.”¹⁵

The correlation between the adulterer and the effeminate man is most strikingly embodied in the fifth century in the character of Aigisthos in Aischylos’s *Agamemnon*. Here the gender reversal is emphasized on several occasions, with Klytaimnestra said to play the man’s role in her relationship with her adulterous cousin and Aigisthos that of the woman.¹⁶ Aigisthos himself was believed to be the offspring of an adulterous (and incestuous) relationship between Thyestes and Atreus’s wife.¹⁷ It is surely significant that Aischylos has Klytaimnestra single-handedly carry out the murder of her husband, whereas in the earlier visual and poetic tradition, Aigisthos had played at least an equal part in the deed.¹⁸

MASCULINITIES IN CLASSICAL ATHENS

Over the course of the fifth century, I believe we can trace striking changes in attitudes to sexuality at Athens, both within and outside marriage. In

¹⁴ I have discussed some of the following points in Shapiro 2009, 253–54, with further references.

¹⁵ Davidson 1997, 165.

¹⁶ Zeitlin 1996, 92.

¹⁷ Gantz 1993, 550–52.

¹⁸ Davies 1969.

Archaic and Early Classical Athens, the pederastic model was so firmly institutionalized among the aristocracy—that is, adolescent boys wooed by adult men in their early years, then playing the role of the older lover, or *erastes*, when they reach maturity and marry—that any deviation from this pattern in the direction of an exclusive or too great an affection for women could be suspect. Thus, for example, in his otherwise wholly admiring biography of Kimon, Plutarch observes that he “was especially prone to form passionate attachments to women” and that “he was deeply, almost extravagantly devoted to Isodike, who was his lawful wife, and was left inconsolable when she died” (*Life of Kimon* 4.9). Notice that Kimon’s extravagant devotion to his wife did not imply anything like the modern idea of monogamy or fidelity, since the whole point of the passage is that Kimon had as many affairs with women as possible, and several of them are named (4.8: Asteria, Mnestra).

Nevertheless, the fact that a man’s genuine affection for his own wife raised eyebrows in Athens is consistent with the idea that men’s emotional investment was primarily in their homoerotic relationships, while marriage mainly served the purpose of producing legitimate heirs and cementing politically advantageous relations between aristocratic families. (Kimon’s wife was a member of the Alkmeonidai.) As if to emphasize the pathology of Kimon’s excessive fondness for women, Plutarch links these stories directly with the persistent rumors of his incestuous relations with his sister Elpinike (*Life of Kimon* 4.5).

At the same time, it is conspicuous that Kimon is never described as either the *eromenos* or the *erastes* of any known Athenian. This is in contrast to many casual comments in Plutarchan lives from the previous generation. The frequent disputes between Themistokles and Aristides, for example, were said to have their origin in a rivalry for the affections of the same boy (*Life of Aristides* 2.2–3). The story of the Tyrannicides, and lovers, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the latter challenged by the tyrant Hipparchos for the young Harmodios (Thucydides 6.54), was of course paradigmatic for such homoerotic rivalries, and also characterizes the tyrant as being unable to keep his lusts under control. Is it possible that Kimon was also thought to suffer from a ‘pathological heterosexuality’ within the conventions of Late Archaic Athens, just as his overt sympathies for the Spartan way of life eventually made him out of step with his fellow Athenians and led to his ostracism?¹⁹

19 Plutarch, *Life of Kimon* 16.3; 17.2.

Perikles may be a similar case, if not quite so extreme. His transgression was to become too emotionally attached to a woman who was not his wife and not even an Athenian—Aspasia—to the point where he divorced his legal wife in order to share his household with Aspasia.²⁰ The ‘punishment,’ as it were, was that Perikles lived to see the sons by his citizen wife die in the plague, while his son by Aspasia was denied citizenship under the terms of the very legislation that Perikles himself had proposed in 451 (Plutarch, *Life of Perikles* 37.3–5).²¹

THE CASE OF ALKIBIADES

The case of Alcibiades is extraordinarily complicated because of the wealth of anecdotes about him and the difficulty of separating fact from fiction. The starting point for many discussions is a passage in Thucydides, one of the few surviving sources who was a contemporary and saw Alcibiades in action. It was the eve of the Sicilian Expedition in 415. Alcibiades was its most enthusiastic supporter, for several reasons: because he was always at odds with Nikias (who opposed it); because he wanted to serve as a general and become known as the conqueror of Sicily and Italy; and because he thought success would bring him wealth and prestige that would enable him further to indulge the passions he could not otherwise afford, especially for horse racing. But, the historian adds, “most of the people came to fear his *paranomia* with respect to his own body in his *diata* [his way of life]” (Thucydides 6.15.3–4).

The key phrase is *ἡ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα παρανομία εἰς τὴν διαίταν*.

The lexicon of Liddell and Scott translates *παρανομία* as “transgression of law, decency, order.” The male citizen body, as scholars such as Jack Winkler have explored, was considered to be something sacrosanct, not to be violated.²² So, for example, to prostitute oneself, as in the well-known case of Timarchos in Aeschines 1, is a form of *παρανομία* against one’s own body and carries serious punishment, including loss of citizen rights.²³ There is no evidence that Alcibiades was ever subject to such an accusation. Rather, the earliest indication of this kind of *παρανομία* is the tradition that, as a youth, he deliberately sought out many *erastai*

²⁰ Henry 1995, 9–17.

²¹ See Patterson 1981 on the Citizenship Law.

²² Winkler 1990, 45–70.

²³ Dover 1978, 19–39.

and, in one case, ran away from home to live with one of them (Plutarch, *Life of Alkibiades* 3). The implication is that the young Alkibiades enjoyed being used sexually by these men, while the dominant ideology required that the *eromenos* resist submitting to his lover and not derive any sexual pleasure from the experience.²⁴ To do otherwise would lay the youth open to the charge of being a *kinaidos* or a *katapugon*, that is, of willingly playing the passive role in intercourse. Such a charge was indeed made against Alkibiades (e.g. Sch. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 716), as against so many others, in Old Comedy, so much so that both terms had probably become generalized terms of abuse by the later fifth century.²⁵

The more serious charge against Alkibiades was that, as an adult, he was infatuated with women, both with *hetairai* and with other men's wives. The most notorious example of the latter was when he fled Athens in the wake of the profanation of the Mysteries, went over to the Spartan side, and promptly seduced the wife of the Spartan King Agis (Thucydides 8.12.2). In this way, he inadvertently imitated the crime of Paris, in his earlier seduction of the wife of the Spartan King Menelaos. To the end of his life, Alkibiades consorted frequently with *hetairai* and was said to have died in the arms of one, Timandra, when the local satrap of Phrygia, on the orders of the Spartan commander Lysander, had his house put to the torch (Plutarch, *Life of Alkibiades* 39.1–3). Another version of Alkibiades' end, also set in Phrygia, has him living not with Timandra, but with a respectable local woman whom he had seduced, thus inviting revenge from her family (39.5). We see here that the motifs of frequenting prostitutes and seducing respectable women are in a sense interchangeable. Both signify not only effeminacy, but also a *paranomia* that is caused by sexual infatuation with women.

A fragment of Antisthenes the Sophist (like Thucydides, a contemporary of Alkibiades) reports that Alkibiades' *paranomia* with respect to women consisted in sleeping with his mother, daughter and sister.²⁶ Again, incest is simply an extension of sex with prostitutes and married women, a symptom of incontinence and excessive, inappropriate desire for women. Antisthenes adds that Alkibiades' incest was "like the Persians',"

24 E.g. Dover 1978, 81–91; Halperin 1986; but cf. DeVries 1997 for a different view based on the visual evidence. On Alkibiades' childhood as represented in Plutarch see Duff 2003.

25 Davidson 1997, 172–173; Steiner 2002. For Alkibiades mocked in Old Comedy as *kinaidos*, *euruproktos*, or *katapugon*, see Gribble 1999, 74.

26 Antisthenes, in Athenaeus 5.220C. Cf. Littman 1970, 265.

probably a reference to a popular stereotype among the Greeks that could easily be linked to Alkibiades on account of his reputation as a medizer.²⁷

If I may indulge here in a bit of amateur psychoanalysis, I would suggest that Alkibiades' 'problem' was a type of arrested development. After playing the role of *eromenos* too enthusiastically, and with too many lovers, he never made the transition to adult male *erastes*.²⁸ Though he lived well into his 40's, there are no anecdotes in the surviving sources of Alkibiades' relationships with younger male lovers. Instead, the development that he traced was summarized in the quip that as a youth, he stole husbands away from their wives, but as an adult, he stole wives away from their husbands.²⁹ Indeed, the only anecdotes that imply homosexual activity on the part of the adult Alkibiades suggest that, like Agathon, he remained the *eromenos* well past the age at which he should have made the transition. Fragments attributed to Lysias tells of how the grown-up Alkibiades accompanied his uncle to Abydos for various sexual adventures with *hetairai* and, incidentally, submitted as an *eromenos* to his own uncle.³⁰ The rumor would have been all the more scandalous because of the implication of incest and debauchery. Then there is the famous story of a young (but adult) Alkibiades trying to seduce the much older Sokrates around the time of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.³¹

The reports that Alkibiades wore his hair long well into adulthood and was possibly clean-shaven, that is, without the beard that was the primary visual marker of the *aner*, or adult male, was part of his determination to cultivate an image that would set him apart from other Athenians.³² Seen in the context I have suggested above, it might also have implied a refusal to grow up that seems to be at odds with the very

27 On Persians and incest see Hall 1989, 189–90. For Alkibiades' medizing see Gribble 1999, 84–85.

28 See Wohl 2002, 130–32; De Romilly 1995, 30.

29 Diog. Laert. 4.49.

30 See Gribble 1999, 150–52.

31 Plato, *Symposium* 217A–219D. Alkibiades is estimated to have been born c. 451/50 (see Rhodes 2011, 21), thus he would have been 18 or 19 during the campaign at Potidaia in 432/1 (Thucydides 1.57.6).

32 Hölscher 2009, 56–57. Likewise, Agathon appears to have tried to keep his boyish look into adulthood by shaving: Austin and Olson 2004, 61, on Thesm. 134; 191. For attempts to identify beardless portraits of Alkibiades among surviving monument of the Classical period, including two new candidates, see most recently Miller 2011.

ambitious political and military career that Alkibiades pursued. How, then, was his effeminacy perceived by his fellow Athenians?

One hint of the negative connotation of Alkibiades' effeminacy is given by the passage in Thucydides cited earlier (6.15.4). The Athenians feared that his *paranoia* with respect to his body implied that Alkibiades was aiming at a tyranny. The logic of this seems to be that tyrants lack self-restraint (*sophrosynê*) and use their power to indulge their bodily pleasures at the expense of others, as, most famously, in the case of Hipparchos.

In a previous paper, published in 2009, I suggested that Alkibiades' unique combination of physical traits, style, and habitus would have evoked in the minds of his fellow Athenians parallels with three different mythological heroes who can be traced in the visual arts, especially the vase-painting, of the period: Adonis, the beautiful youth who was irresistible to women and enervated by the love of a goddess;³³ Phaon, another eternally young and beautiful hero and object of female desire, as well as a protégé of Aphrodite; and Paris, the handsome adulterer. Along with the parallels between Paris and Alkibiades cited above, in late fifth-century iconography Paris becomes the prototype of Oriental luxury (*tryphê* or *habrosynê*), just as Alkibiades found refuge in the Persian Empire and joined a long line of medizers going back to Themistokles and the Spartan general Pausanias.³⁴

ALKIBIADES AND DIONYSOS

In that paper, I also likened Alkibiades to a fourth figure often seen in the art of his time, the god Dionysos, but the analogy was based primarily on the shared motif of drunkenness.³⁵ Alkibiades' frequent drinking to excess was considered another example of his *paranoia* with respect to his body, while in the last decades of the fifth century, Dionysos is, for the first time in Athenian art, shown feeling the effects of the wine that was his gift to mankind (plate 6a).³⁶ The Dionysos of Archaic and

³³ For ancient references to Adonis's effeminacy see Reed 1995, 340.

³⁴ See Shapiro 2009, esp. 238–44 on Adonis and Phaon, and 252–55 on Paris. On *habrosynê* see Kurke 1992.

³⁵ Shapiro 2009, 250–52.

³⁶ Cup attributed to the Codrus Painter, Würzburg L 491; *ARV*² 1270, 17; Avramidou 2011, 92, cat. 53; pl. 21a. On the phenomenon of gods experiencing their own gifts see the classic article of Himmelmann 1959.

Early Classical art is almost always a sober and impassive figure, even when surrounded by his ecstatic followers. The well-known amphora in Würzburg by the Amasis Painter, where the god seems to join in the revelry with satyrs and maenads, seems to be the one exception that proves the rule.³⁷ Whether the god is truly inebriated or merely dancing remains an open question.

There is also a superficial similarity between Alkibiades and Dionysos in that, like Adonis, Phaon, and Paris, Dionysos is, in the last quarter of the fifth century, often shown beardless, with long flowing hair, and in what is sometimes described as an effeminate pose.³⁸ It now seems to me, however, that the situation with Dionysos is far more complex than I had earlier imagined. We learn from a passage in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai* (134–36) that Aischylos had already created a disturbingly androgynous Dionysos, calling him *gunnís*, in his trilogy on the Madness of Lykourgos (c. 465–60), a figure then adopted much later by Euripides in the *Bacchae*.³⁹ In both stories, the essential motif is that of mortal ruler who resists the power of the newly arrived god and must be punished. Thus Dionysos's blurring of gender lines and invitation to cross-dressing (in the case of Pentheus) is not an expression of sexuality of any particular kind, but rather a way of taunting his victim. From the Athenian viewpoint, these are stories of unenlightened 'Others' (set in Thrace and in Thebes), while they (the Athenians) had early on welcomed and celebrated the god.⁴⁰ As I have earlier argued, in Archaic iconography, Dionysos is frequently presented as a family man, with wife and children, a role-model for the largely rural and non-aristocratic citizenry of Attika.⁴¹ Here I shall suggest that the new image of the youthful god in the later fifth century, far from effeminate as it is often called, represents a complement to and continuation of the older one, in that the god now becomes the prototype of the ideal Athenian bridegroom.

³⁷ Würzburg L 265 + L 282; *ABV* 151, 22; von Bothmer 1985, 113–18, cat. 19.

³⁸ Carpenter 1997, 85–103; Jameson 1993; Carpenter 1993.

³⁹ Aisch. *Fr.* 61 Mette; Sommerstein 2008, 66–67. Eur., *Bacchae* 353 (and cf. 451) uses *thelomorphos* of Dionysos, when Pentheus describes the stranger's oddly feminine appearance and implies that it makes him more attractive to women.

⁴⁰ For Thebes as 'other' see especially Zeitlin 1996, 298 and *passim*. On the early cults of Dionysos in Attika see Shapiro 1989, 84–88.

⁴¹ Shapiro 1989, 92–95.

THE YOUTHFUL DIONYSOS

The significant change in the image of Dionysos in the visual arts occurred in between Aischylos's and Euripides's plays and I do not believe was related to either. Thomas Carpenter has emphasized that the sudden appearance of a young and beardless Dionysos in the 420's is all the more striking because the god had so consistently been depicted with a long and full beard from his earliest appearances in Attic art of the time of Sophilos and throughout the Early and High Classical periods, when several other gods and heroes experience an iconographical flexibility that allows them to be sometimes bearded, sometimes not.⁴² Carpenter associates this conservatism with the cultic worship of Dionysos in the form of a bearded mask, usually affixed to a pillar.⁴³

The standard narrative among archaeologists when it comes to the sudden appearance of a beardless Dionysos on the red-figure vases of the late fifth century is as follows: The god was always conceived of as mature and bearded until Pheidias, the presiding genius of the Parthenon sculptures, broke with tradition and created the figure now known as East Pediment Figure D (fig. 1), a young nude Dionysos reclining on an animal skin in the pose of a symposiast.⁴⁴ It has even been suggested that there is a second beardless Dionysos on the Parthenon, in the East frieze, though the damage to the figure's face makes this uncertain.⁴⁵ The vase-painters, deeply impressed by this new image, soon followed suit.

I find several things troubling about this neat scenario. One is a minor point, the time lag between sculpture and painting. Since the pediments should have been carved between c. 439/8 and 433/2,⁴⁶ and the earliest beardless Dionysos on a vase is no earlier than 425, there are several major painters in this gap—the Kleophon Painter, the Phiale Painter, the

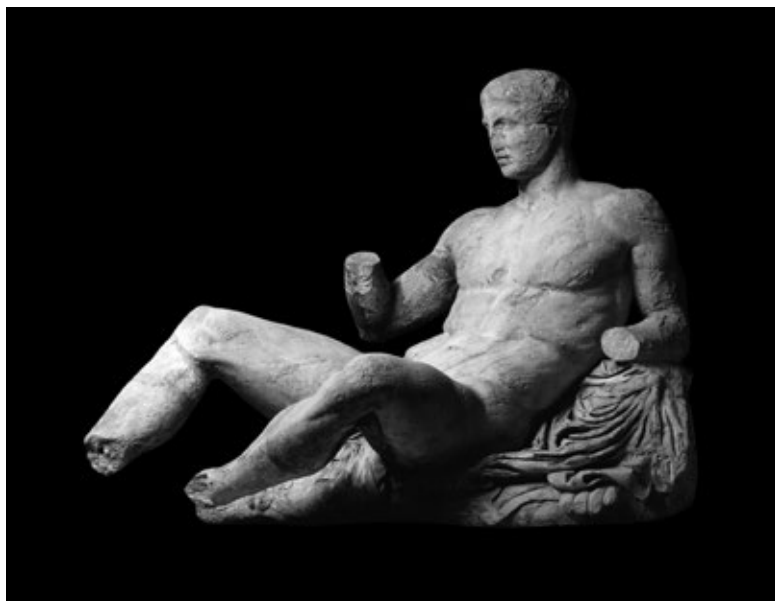
⁴² See Carpenter 1997, 92–93 on the conservatism of the bearded Dionysos in the fifth century.

⁴³ Carpenter 1997, 92–94; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991.

⁴⁴ Carpenter 1997, 85–92; Palagia 1993, 19–20; *LIMC* III: 465, s.v. "Dionysos" no. 493.

⁴⁵ Neils 2001, 164.

⁴⁶ Palagia 2005, 230.



1 Parthenon East Pediment, Figure D. London, British Museum Inv. 303 D

Codrus Painter—who look ‘Parthenonian’ in style but consistently show only the bearded Dionysos (plate 6a).⁴⁷

More problematical is whether we can be certain that Figure D really *is* Dionysos. I am aware that this is the consensus of most scholars, but serious challenges to this identifications were mounted first by Rhys Carpenter in 1962 and subsequently by Evelyn Harrison in 1967, who believes he is Herakles. She has attracted some adherents, notably Martin Robertson.⁴⁸ The matter cannot be considered settled.

A still more basic problem is that, even if Figure D is Dionysos, he does not look like a convincing visual model for the early representations of a beardless Dionysos on red-figure vases. Whereas Figure D has either a short cap of hair or, in the suggestion of Olga Palagia, tight braids on

⁴⁷ See Matheson 1995, 188–92 for the Kleophon Painter’s Dionysos; Oakley 1990, 36, pl. 10b, 67a for the Phiale Painter; and Avramidou 2011, 52–53 for the Codrus Painter’s Würzburg cup (plate 6a).

⁴⁸ R. Carpenter 1962; Harrison 1967, 41–44; Robertson 1979, 75. Carpenter 1997, 85, n. 4, note that Figure D has had over a dozen different identifications since the early 19th century.

the nape of the neck in an archaizing style,⁴⁹ the young Dionysos of the vases has wavy hair that descends in long locks over the shoulders. And while Figure D is completely nude, the earliest images of the beardless Dionysos, in the years about 425 to 410, show him most often with bare torso but a long garment covering the rest of the body, his genitals almost never exposed.⁵⁰

On the name-vase of the Dinos Painter, in Berlin (plates 6b–7b),⁵¹ the beardless Dionysos is indeed shown as a symposiast, but of a very different sort from Figure D. He reclines on a kind of mattress with thick cushions that seems to float in mid-air, not like the standard kline with turned legs, nor like the symposiasts reclining on the ground in the open air on some Archaic black-figure vases.⁵² It is only the satyr who sits at the foot of the couch playing the lyre who has a skin spread beneath him, not the god himself (cf. plates 6b–7a). The rest of the picture, which continues uninterrupted around the entire bowl, is filled out with maenads and satyrs of different ages and with varying attributes. Dionysos himself holds the thyrsos, as do some of the maenads. The drinking vessel we might have expected him to hold is perhaps the kantharos held instead by the maenad who stands just to the left of the couch, looking back toward the god (cf. plate 7a). The scene is thus a kind of antecedent of those that will become popular in the next generation, with the beardless Dionysos either beckoning to or sharing the couch with his consort Ariadne (see below and fig. 4).

Several instances of subtle humor can, I believe, be detected in the scene. The symposiast-god is well supplied with food, held by the maenad just behind him; there is wine, symbolized by the two pointed amphoras on the ground; and music and dance fill the air. Yet the god looks longingly toward the kantharos that appears to be withheld from him. Susan Matheson has pointed out that one papposilenos on the reverse side parodies the pose of a marshal on the Parthenon Frieze (cf. plate 7b).⁵³ In the same vein, I would argue that the grizzled satyr, seated at the foot end of the kline and playing the lyre, represents a comic twist on a traditional

⁴⁹ Palagia 1993, 19

⁵⁰ See Osborne 1998, 93–96.

⁵¹ Berlin 2402 *ARV*² 1152, 3; Matheson 1995, 381, D3; *CVA* (Berlin 11) 66–68 with full references [A. Schöne-Denkinger]; pl. 67–69, color pl. 1; Backe-Dahmen, Kästner, and Schwarzmaier 2010, 22–23.

⁵² On this motif see most recently Topper 2009.

⁵³ Matheson 1995, 152–53.

motif, the banqueting hero accompanied by a *female* consort sitting at the foot of the couch.⁵⁴ Gender roles are gently thrown into confusion as the bearded satyr, in the woman's position, entertains the unexpectedly androgynous god.

A second candidate for the earliest image of the beardless Dionysos decorated a squat lekythos attributed to the Eretria Painter, once in Berlin but now lost and known only in old photographs (figs. 2–3).⁵⁵ Adrienne Lezzi dates it to ca. 425.⁵⁶ The god sits in a landscape, surrounded by an overwhelmingly female thiasos, ten maenads and two satyrs, all of them named. Dionysos has unusually full and long wavy locks, turns back to show off his fine profile (fig. 3), and sits with one leg delicately crossed over the other. We may be reminded of the anecdote told of Alkibiades, that in the painting of him in the lap of Nemea, his face was more beautiful than that of a woman.⁵⁷ It may be significant that the maenad nearest to Dionysos is labelled Nymphē, or Bride.

If we rule out Figure D on the Parthenon East Pediment as the inspiration for the beardless Dionysos in vase-painting, then we must look for other sources. Matheson has suggested theater performance, especially of Euripides,⁵⁸ but the *Bacchai*, first staged in the last decade of the fifth century, is clearly too late. The Eretria Painter's vase may point in another direction (cf. fig. 2). It is one of very few by this prolific master with the figures disposed in a landscape on different levels, a version of the so-called Polygnotan composition that is thought to reflect contemporary wall-painting.⁵⁹ In the sanctuary of Dionysos at Athens, adjacent to the theater, Pausanias saw a cycle of three or four frescoes illustrating different aspects of the god's power: Dionysos leading Hephaistos to Olympos; Pentheus and Lykourgos paying the penalty [i.e. for rejecting the god]; and Ariadne asleep, with Theseus putting out to sea

54 Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 16–18. Cf. the chous by the Eretria Painter, Athens NM 15308; *ARV*² 1249, 17; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 139c.

55 Once Berlin F 2471; *ARV*² 1247, 1; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 342, 43, cat. 234; pl. 143d–145.

56 Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 342.

57 Athenaios 12. 534D; cf. Pollitt 1972, 147. We may also be reminded of Plut., *Alk.* 23.6, where Alkibiades is likened to Helen. See Duff 1999, 236 on the sexual ambiguity and crossing of gender boundaries implied by the passage.

58 Matheson 1995, 299.

59 Simon 1963.



2 Attic red-figure squat lekythos attributed to the Eretria Painter.
Lost, once Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 2471

and Dionysos arriving to rescue her (Pausanias 1.20.3). Though no indication of date or authorship is given for these paintings, two indicators point to the late fifth century. First, a chryselephantine statue of the god that stood nearby was made by Alkamenes, whose activity falls into this period.⁶⁰ And second, though all of these stories had appeared in Greek

⁶⁰ See Lapatin 2001, 98–100 on the statue and the problem of reconciling its date with that of the temple.



3 Detail of the squat lekythos in Fig. 2

art of earlier periods, the only period in which all are well represented is the late fifth century.⁶¹

Most interesting in our context is the last of the paintings, Dionysos arriving to find Ariadne just as she has been abandoned by Theseus. The story is told succinctly on several Early Classical vases,⁶² but the ship of Theseus, which Pausanias implies was visible in the painting (Θησεύς ἀναγόμενος) first appears on several vases of the late fifth century that could well have been inspired by the famous mural.⁶³

DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE AS GROOM AND BRIDE

The story of “*Ariadne auf Naxos*” (to invoke Richard Strauss) casts Dionysos in an unusual role, in a way the polar opposite of the many adulterers and seducers among Greek gods and heroes. In this case, the

⁶¹ See Carpenter 1997, 48–51 (Return of Hephaistos); 106–118 (Death of Pentheus); 37–40 (punishment of Lykourgos). Carpenter notes that the latter scene starts in the Late Archaic period (as does the Death of Pentheus), but note the elaborate example on a late fifth-century hydria in the Villa Giulia, *ARV*² 1343a; *LIMC* VI: s.v. “Lykourgos” 311, no. 12.

⁶² Slehoferova 1986.

⁶³ See Shapiro 2004.

seducer is Theseus, who has abandoned Ariadne on their wedding night, but in spite of this, Dionysos not only restores her honor, but remains faithful to her. She is basically the god's only serious love interest, female or male, in the long literary and visual tradition since the middle of the sixth century. Michael Jameson went so far as to speak of the "asexuality of Dionysos,"⁶⁴ but this is certainly not the case when it comes to Ariadne. Among early depictions of the beardless Dionysos are several in which they are romantically joined, whether on a couch or standing up, most famously, for example, on the Pronomos Vase in Naples of ca. 400, where both motifs appear, on obverse and reverse.⁶⁵

We have already had occasion to mention the Dinos Painter, who gives us what is probably the earliest long-haired, smooth-cheeked Dionysos on a red-figure vase, in the mid-420's (cf. plates 6b–7b). The Dinos Painter could be called something of a connoisseur, or even a devoté, of the god Dionysos, for he also decorated one of the finest, as well as the latest, surviving examples of the so-called *Lenaia stamnoi*, scenes that depict groups of women worshipping a bearded mask of the god affixed to a pole.⁶⁶ But I would like to focus on a less well-known masterpiece of the Dinos Painter that is especially relevant to this inquiry, the volute-krater now in Bologna (fig. 4).⁶⁷ The entire vase is a kind of celebration of the power of Dionysos, and especially of his gift of the wine. The fragmentary obverse shows the return of Hephaistos to Olympos, with Hera chained to her throne and waiting to be released.⁶⁸ We do not know how Dionysos was depicted here, since the figure is lost, apart from what may be his lower legs and feet.⁶⁹ The reverse side has one of the most ambitious and dynamic scenes of the Dionysiac thiasos in multiple registers. But Dionysos and Ariadne have been discreetly moved to the upper right side and, oblivious of the wild merry-making around them, sit together and

⁶⁴ Jameson 1993.

⁶⁵ Naples 81673; *ARV*² 1336, 1; Taplin and Wyles 2010.

⁶⁶ Naples 2419; *ARV*² 1151–52, 2; Simon 1981, pl. 212–215. Of the large bibliography on these vases see especially Frontisi-Ducroux 1991; Peirce 1998.

⁶⁷ Museo Civico P 283; *ARV*² 1151, 1; *CVA* (Bologna 4) pl. 68–69; Matheson 1995, 381, D1; 160–61, pl. 138–39.

⁶⁸ For this rare motif see the contemporary, much better preserved skyphos by the Kleophon Painter, Toledo 82.88; *CVA* (Toledo 2) pl. 84–87.

⁶⁹ See Matheson 1995, 160, pl. 138 B.

look deeply into one another's eyes.⁷⁰ Dionysos is youthful and beardless, though his hair is relatively short and held in place by a fillet.



4 Attic red-figure volute-krater attributed to the Dinos Painter.
Bologna, Museo Civico P 283

70 See Dietrich 2010, 510–512 on this vase.

DIONYSOS, MARRIAGE AND RITUAL

The abrupt appearance of a young and beardless Dionysos on the vases, especially in company with Ariadne, I suggest, has nothing to do with a sculptural model on the Parthenon, nor with the disturbingly gender-bending god of Aischylos and Euripides. Rather, he represents what Robert Parker has recently called the god's role as a "model of conjugality."⁷¹ At the level of cult, that conjugality was symbolized by the annual ritual of the wedding of Dionysos to the Basilinna, wife of the Archon Basileus.⁷²

This poorly attested but much-discussed ritual, which took place during the Anthesteria, has the Basilinna, who is married to a distinguished Athenian citizen, playing the role of Ariadne, who was not, of course, an Athenian in origin. The ritual thus turns her an 'honorary Athenian,' in the same way that the comic poets treat Dionysos as an 'honorary Athenian.'⁷³ Though we do not understand every aspect of this curious ritual, one of its primary implications was surely to underline the importance of marriage between two Athenians of the citizen class. This is the main point of our most extended ancient literary reference to the ritual, in the well-known speech against Neaira ([Demosthenes] 54).⁷⁴ What most enrages the speaker is that Neaira and her crony Stephanos had tricked the Archon Basileus, one Theogenes, into marrying Neaira's daughter, who was both a prostitute and a non-Athenian. She thus usurped the role normally reserved for an Athenian woman of citizen status and made a mockery of the ritual wedding to Dionysos.

Although the marriage of Dionysos and the Basilinna may have been an ancient ritual, I believe it is no accident that the earliest references to it in vase-painting are dated shortly after the middle of the fifth century, that is, in the aftermath of the Periklean Citizenship Law. None of them, in my view, depicts the ritual itself, that is, the real-life Archon Basileus and his wife. Rather, all of them show Dionysos and Ariadne coming together as a wedded couple, the mythological *aition* for the ritual. Dionysos is still, of course, bearded in the earliest examples in the 440's (plate 8).⁷⁵

⁷¹ Parker 2005, 442, n. 98.

⁷² Parker 2005, 303–305; Simon 1983, 96–98; Humphreys 2004, 237–50.

⁷³ E.g. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 48–54; cf. Parker 2005, 149–51.

⁷⁴ See Hamel 2003, 103–113.

⁷⁵ Fragmentary calyx-krater, Tübingen 5439; *ARV*² 1057, 97; *CVA* (Tübingen 4)

but the scene becomes even more prevalent as we move into the late fifth and early fourth centuries, as on two choes in the Metropolitan Museum. On one, of the early fourth century, that has been little studied (plates 9a–c), a youthful Dionysos reclines on his kline in the center, reaching out his right hand to beckon his shy consort, who is coaxed along by a youth holding a torch to indicate a nighttime wedding.⁷⁶ Ariadne holds out both hands toward the god in a gesture of awe that recalls somewhat that of mortal worshipers on votive reliefs (cf. plate 9a). Behind Dionysos, two more male acolytes, one again holding a torch, stumble casually into the god's presence as if unaware of the tender moment being played out (cf. plate 9c).

A second, somewhat later example also in New York is the well-known chous with Dionysos and a bride-like woman labeled Pompe, a direct reference to the festival procession.⁷⁷ Both choes, of course, also suggest specific associations with the Anthesteria in their shape.

The later fifth century also saw an efflorescence of wedding vessels, especially loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi, with a new, romanticized image of the bridal couple as a beautiful, beardless youth and a lovely young woman, often linked by an erotically charged gaze and accompanied by the god Eros.⁷⁸ Many commentators have remarked on the 'unreality' of these scenes, in that the typical Athenian bridegroom, according to our sources, was nearing thirty and surely bearded.⁷⁹ This new esthetic of the late fifth century, in which male beauty is most prized in the form of a youthful, smooth face, long hair, and ephebic body, is best captured in the anecdote that Parrhesios's painting of Theseus looked as if he fed on roses.⁸⁰ By the middle of the fourth century, when the artist Euphranor is said to have made this remark (claiming that his Theseus was fed on meat), this esthetic had gone even a step further, toward the many highly androgynous male figures who populate large-scale sculpture and South Italian vases.⁸¹ Just

pl. 18. The most detailed and best-known depiction of the wedding of Dionysos and the Basilinna is to be found on the calyx-krater, Tarquinia RC 4192; *ARV*² 1057, 96; Simon 1983, pl. 31, 1.

⁷⁶ New York 06.1021.183; *LIMC* III: 488, s.v. "Dionysos" no. 781.

⁷⁷ New York 25.190; Simon 1983, pl. 23, 5; Smith 2011, 171, VP 58 with full references, fig. 86.

⁷⁸ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45–47, fig. 106.

⁷⁹ Sutton 1992, 24–27.

⁸⁰ Pliny, *NH* 35.129; Pollitt 1972, 167.

⁸¹ In sculpture one thinks first of works like Praxiteles' Apollo Sauroktonos:

as Theseus is the ephebic hero most associated with this look, the divine prototype of this new esthetic is none other than Dionysos.

The work of Robert Sutton has emphasized the creation in the later fifth century of a new ethos celebrating an idealized, romantic view of heterosexual love and marriage at Athens that is absent from the preceding era, with its rather disengaged brides and grooms, on the one hand, and erotic coupling of *erastes* and *eromenos* on the other.⁸² All the features of this new ethos are best embodied in the image of the young and beardless Dionysos expressing genuine and reciprocal affection for his consort Ariadne. François Lissarrague has aptly observed that it is only in the second half of the fifth century that the worlds of Dionysos and of Eros and Aphrodite meet one another on Attic vases.⁸³ And, to quote Parker again, the image of the marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne is “erotically charged like no other divine amour.”⁸⁴

If we return, finally, to Alkibiades, we may ask, how much of Dionysos did he have in him? When we leave aside the stories of over-indulgence in wine, the answer seems to be, not much. Rather, Alkibiades is the antithesis of the god when it comes to women and marriage. His own marriage, to the daughter of the wealthy Kallias, was notoriously unhappy, and his obsession with prostitutes eventually drove his long-suffering wife Hipparete to move out of the house (Plutarch, *Life of Alkibiades* 8.3–4). Alkibiades compelled her to come back, adding insult to injury and proving himself to be far from the ideal, faithful, and tender husband embodied by Dionysos.

To put it another way, the Dionysos of the late fifth century represents a positively connoted androgyny in the context of marital bliss and constancy, while Alkibiades embodies the worst qualities associated with effeminacy.⁸⁵ In the end, Alkibiades' effeminacy may have contributed to his irresistible fascination in his early years, but is very unlikely to

Pasquier and Martinez 2007, 202–220. For statues and other images of the androgynous Dionysos see especially Cain 1997.

⁸² Sutton 1992; Sutton 1997–98. For the imagery of Archaic weddings see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 44–45.

⁸³ Lissarrague 1990, 66.

⁸⁴ Parker 2005, cf. the well-known scene in Xenophon's *Symposion* (9.2–7), where a pair of actors re-enacts the highly erotic encounter of Dionysos and Ariadne.

⁸⁵ Cf. the comment posed by Osborne 1998b, 40: “masculinity became a particularly acute political issue in Classical Athens.”

have played a role in his later falling out of favor and eventual downfall. As his triumphal return to Athens in 407, when he would have been in his mid-40's, makes clear, the Athenians would forgive him anything, as long as he brought them victory in battle. He fell victim, rather, to the political in-fighting at Athens that had marked his whole career, along with the rise of a brilliant new Spartan commander, Lysander.

In the dream that foretold his death, according to Plutarch (*Alkibiades* 39.2), Alkibiades was dressed in the clothing of his companion Timandra, and she was applying to his face a woman's make-up, white lead and dark eye-liner. This is not something he would have done in real life (as did, apparently, Agathon).⁸⁶ What made Alkibiades so far ahead of his time, and so problematical, was not his effeminacy, as anyone, ancient or modern, would understand that term, but rather his failure in re-defining of masculinity into something that would only find a measure of acceptance more than half a century later, with Alexander the Great.⁸⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Austin, C. and S.D. Olson (eds.), 2004 *Aristophanes Thesmophoriazousae*. Oxford.

Avramidou, A. 2011 *The Codrus Painter*. Madison.

Backe-Dahmen, A., U. Kästner and A. Schwarzmaier 2010 *Von Göttern und Menschen. Bilder auf griechischen Vasen*. Berlin, Tübingen.

Blamire, A. 1989 *Plutarch, Life of Kimon*. London.

von Bothmer, D. 1985 *The Amasis Painter and his World*. Malibu.

Cain, H.-U. 1997 Dionysos "Die Locken lang, ein halbes Weib? ..." (*Euripides*), *Ausstellungskatalog Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke München*. München.

Carpenter, R. 1962 "On Restoring the East Pediment of the Parthenon," *AJA* 66: 265–268.

Carpenter, T.H. 1997 *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens*. Oxford.

Davidson, J. 1997 *Courtesans and Fishcakes*. New York.

Davies, M.I. 1969 "Thoughts on the Oresteia before Aischylos," *BCH* 93: 214–60.

⁸⁶ Cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 191

⁸⁷ Hölscher 2009.

- De Romilly, J. 1995** *Alcibiade ou les dangers de l'ambition*. Paris.
- DeVries, K. 1997** "The 'Frigid Eromenoi' and their Wooers Revisited: A Closer Look at Greek Homosexuality in Vase Painting." In *Queer Representations*, edited by M. Duberman, 14–24. New York.
- DeVries, K. 2000** "The Nearly Other: The Attic Vision of Phrygians and Lydians." In *Not the Classical Ideal*, edited by B. Cohen, 338–363. Leiden.
- Dietrich, N. 2010** *Figur ohne Raum?* Berlin.
- Dover, K.J. 1978** *Greek Homosexuality*. London.
- Duff, T.E. 1999** *Plutarch's Lives. Exploring Virtue and Vice*. Oxford.
- Duff, T.E. 2003** "Plutarch on the Childhood of Alcibiades (Alk. 2–3)," *PCPS* 49: 89–117.
- Foucault, M. 1985** *The Uses of Pleasure* (The History of Sexuality, vol. 2), transl.R. Hurley. New York.
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F. 1991** *Le dieu-masque: une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes*. Paris, Rome.
- Gantz, T. 1993** *Early Greek Myth*. Baltimore.
- Gleason, M.W. 1995** *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*. Princeton.
- Gribble, D. 1999** *Alcibiades and Athens*. Oxford.
- Hall, E. 1989** *Inventing the Barbarian*. Oxford.
- Halperin, D.M. 1986** "Plato and Erotic Reciprocity," *ClAnt* 5: 60–80.
- Halperin, D.M. 1990** *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*. New York.
- Halperin, D.M. 2002** *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*. Chicago.
- Hamel, D. 2003** *Trying Neaira*. New Haven.
- Harrison, E.B. 1967** "Athena and Athens in the East Pediment of the Parthenon," *AJA* 71: 27–58.
- Henry, M. 1995** *Prisoner of History. Aspasia of Miletus and her Biographical Tradition*. Oxford.
- Herter, H. 1987** "Effeminatus," *RAC* 4: 619–638.
- Himmelmann, N. 1959** *Zur Eigenart des klassischen Götterbildes*. Munich.
- Hölscher, T. 2009** *Herrschaft und Lebensalter. Alexander der Grosse: Politisches Image und anthropologisches Modell*. Basel.
- Humphreys, S. 2004** *The Strangeness of Gods*. Oxford.
- Jameson, M.H. 1993** "The Asexuality of Dionysos." In *Masks of Dionysos*, edited by C. Faraone and T. Carpenter, 44–64. Ithaca.

- Kathariou, K. 2002** *Το εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Μελεάγρου και η εποχή του*. Thessaloniki.
- Kurke, L. 1992** "The politics of Habrosyne in Archaic Greece," *AntCl* 11: 91–120.
- Lapatin, K.D.S. 2001** *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient World*. Oxford.
- Laqueur, T. 1990** *Making Sex*. Cambridge.
- Lezzi-Hafter, A. 1988** *Der Eretria Maler*. Mainz.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990** "The Sexual Life of Satyrs." In *Before Sexuality*, edited by D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, and F.I. Zeitlin, 53–81. Princeton.
- Littman, R.J. 1970** "The Loves of Alcibiades," *TAPA* 101: 263–76.
- Matheson, S.B. 1995** *Polygnotus and Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*. Madison.
- Metzger, H. 1965** *Recherches sur l'imagerie athenienne*. Lyon.
- Miller, S.G. 2011** "Alkibiades." In *Sailing to Classical Greece: papers on Greek art, archaeology and epigraphy presented to Petros Themelis*, edited by O. Palagia and H.R. Goette, 37–43. Oxford.
- Neils, J. 2001** *The Parthenon Frieze*. Cambridge.
- Oakley, J.H. and R. Sinos 1993** *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*. Madison.
- Osborne, R. 1998a** "Men without Clothes: Heroic Nakedness and Greek Art." In *Gender and the Body in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by M. Wyke, 80–104. Oxford.
- Osborne, R. 1998b** "Sculpted Men of Athens: masculinity and power in the field of vision." In *Thinking Men*, edited by L. Foxhall and J. Salmon, 23–42. London, New York.
- Palagia, O. 1993** *The Pediments of the Parthenon*. Leiden.
- Palagia, O. 2005** "Fire from heaven: pediments and akroteria of the Parthenon." In *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present*, edited by J. Neils, 224–259. Cambridge.
- Parker, R. 2005** *Polytheism and Society at Athens*. Oxford.
- Pasquier, A. and J.-L. Martinez 2007** *Praxitèle*. Exhibition Catalogue, Musée du Louvre.
- Patterson, C.B. 1981** *Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451/50*. New York.
- Peirce, S. 1998** "Visual language and concepts of cult on the 'Lenaia Vases'," *ClAnt* 17: 59–95.
- Pollitt, J.J. 1990** *The Art of Greece*. Cambridge.
- Reed, J.D. 1995** "The Sexuality of Adonis," *ClAnt* 14: 321–44.
- Robertson, M. 1979** "Two Question-marks on the Parthenon." In *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter von Blanckenhagen*, edited by G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore, 75–87. Locust Valley.

- Shapiro, H.A. 1989** *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*. Mainz.
- Shapiro, H.A. 2004** "Theseus and Ariadne on Crete: The Dinos Painter's Krater from Gela." In *Ta Attika. Veder Greco a Gela. Ceramiche attiche figurate dall'antica colonia*, edited by R. Panvini and F. Giudice, 229–38. Rome.
- Shapiro, H.A. 2009** "Alcibiades: the Politics of Personal Style." In *Art in Athens in the Time of the Peloponnesian War*, edited by O. Palagia, 236–63. Cambridge.
- Shapiro, S.C. 1988** "Yon Plumed Dandebrot: Male 'Effeminacy' in English Satire and Criticism," *Review of English Studies* 34: 400–412.
- Simon, E. 1981** *Die griechischen Vasen*. Munich.
- Simon, E. 1983** *Festivals of Attica*. Madison.
- Sissa, G. 2008** *Sex and Sensuality in the Ancient World*. New Haven.
- Slehoferova, V. 1986** "Zwei seltene Vasendarstellungen wohlbekannter Sagen," *AntK* 28: 82–88.
- Smith, A.C. 2011** *Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art*. Leiden.
- Snyder, J.M. 1974** "Aristophanes' Agathon as Anacreon," *Hermes* 102: 244–46.
- Sommerstein, A. (ed.) 2008** *Aeschylus* vol. 3. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge MA, London.
- Steiner, A. 2002** "Private and Public: Links Between Symposion and Syssition in the Athenian Agora," *ClAnt* 21: 349–379.
- Sutton, R.F. 1992** "Pornography and Persuasion on Attic Pottery." In *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, edited by A. Richlin, 3–35. New York.
- Sutton, R.F. 1997–98** "Nuptial Eros. The Visual Discourse of Marriage in Classical Athens," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 55/56: 27–48.
- Taplin, O. and R. Wyles 2010** *The Pronomos Vase and its Context*. Oxford.
- Thönges-Stringaris, R. 1965** "Das griechische Totenmahlrelief," *AM* 80: 1–99.
- Topper, K. 2009** "Primitive Life and the Construction of the Sympotic Past in Athenian Vase Painting," *AJA* 113: 3–26.
- Winkler, J.J. 1990** *The Constraints of Desire*. London.
- Wohl, V. 2002** *Love Among the Ruins*. Princeton.
- Younger, J.G. 2005** *Sex in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London.
- Zeitlin, F.I. 1996** *Playing the Other*. Chicago.

CREDITS

- 1** Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
- 2** Photo after Lezzi-Hafter (1988) pls. 144–45.
- 3** Photo after Lezzi-Hafter (1988) pl. 144.
- 4** Museum photo courtesy Laura Minarini.

PLATES

- 6a** Museum photo, courtesy J. Griesbach.
6b. 7a.b Museum photo: Johannes Laurentius.
8 Museum Photo: Thomas Zachmann.
9a-c Museum photo, courtesy J.R. Mertens.

ANNETTA ALEXANDRIDIS

Ζῷα: BILDER DES KÖRPERS ZWISCHEN MENSCH UND TIER IM MYTHOS VON AKTAION

ABSTRACT

The paper analyzes images of the transformation of Aktaion into a stag, dating from the 6th to the 4th centuries BCE from an iconographic, linguistic and phenomenological point of view. The images themselves undergo some changes over time. While earlier renderings depict metamorphosis as a sort of masquerade, later ones emphasize the fusion between human and animal bodies. In both cases the images respond to bodily experiences their beholders had in one of the most prominent contexts of viewing, the symposium. The earlier examples refer to various types of performances the banqueters practiced themselves; the later reflect more upon the artificiality of the depictions as works of art or staged events looked at by outsiders. This is in line with a less active role of the banqueters at the time and the increasingly self-referential status of the symposium. Similar to the linguistic evidence the images also conceive of transformation in a different way. Whereas earlier depictions stress the performative aspect of metamorphosis as something that needs to be actualized, the later ones present transformation in a more descriptive mode that results in fusing male, female and animal bodies as well as different levels of reality.

Wenn wir vom Körperbild der alten Griechen reden, dann beziehen wir uns in der Regel auf den männlichen Körper der Klassik.¹ Dass dieser

1 Z.B. Parker 1999. Ich danke den Organisatoren der Tagung und allen Teilnehmern für die Möglichkeit, einige meiner Überlegungen zu einem größeren Projekt vorstellen und diskutieren zu können (s. Alexandridis, in

Körper in der griechischen Kultur weit weniger statisch war, als es seine Rezeptionsgeschichte vermuten läßt, haben Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte schon immer gesehen und beschrieben, sei es als Stilwandel, Wandel der Ikonographie oder – in strukturalistischer oder symbolischer Lesart – in Konfrontation mit dem ‚Anderen‘ Körper (der Frauen, Barbaren, Alten, Mischwesen etc.), kurz dem Gegenkörper.² Diese Körper sind jedoch, so die Erkenntnis neuerer Forschungen, weniger als Pole in einem dichotomischen Modell, denn als (ideale?) Endpunkte eines Kontinuums zu begreifen.³ Der vorliegende Beitrag schließt daran an, erweitert das Spektrum aber in die Breite. Ausgehend vom Zusammentreffen des menschlichen – hier männlichen – Körpers mit dem tierischen können fließende Übergänge jenseits der Körpergeschichte sichtbar gemacht werden, wie z. B. im Verhältnis von Bild und Abgebildetem oder verschiedener Darstellungsmedien zueinander, wie z. B. Vasenbildern, plastischen Gefäßen oder mimischen Vorführungen. Die zunehmende Verwischung der Grenzen zwischen Mensch und Tier (bzw. Mann und Frau) hängt auch, so schlage ich vor, mit spezifischen, sich im Laufe der Zeit ändernden Wahrnehmungskontexten zusammen, die den Körper des Betrachters in verschiedener Weise vereinnahmten, wie z. B. das Symposion.

METHODISCHE VORBEMERKUNGEN

Das von den Organisatoren der Tagung gestartete Experiment, Fluidität zur theoretisch zentralen Denkfigur der Körper- und Wissensgeschichte zu machen, birgt einige methodische Herausforderungen. Schließlich bedeutet es, fließende Übergänge, d. h. Bewegung, zur Norm zu erheben, einer Norm, die sich im Detail dem genauen Zugriff per definitionem entzieht. Heuristisch ist es immer einfacher, von dialektisch organisierten Gegensätzen auszugehen, um sie dann eventuell in einer Synthese aufzulösen. Auch der vorliegende Beitrag folgt zum Einstieg dieser altbewährten Methode, zeigt aber gleichzeitig, dass auch innerhalb einer festen Struktur Grenzen durchlässig sein können. Auf Dauer jedenfalls, und das sehe ich als Chance, sollte die Beschreibung, der oft zu Unrecht

Druckvorbereitung). Besonderer Dank geht an Hans Bernsdorff und Lorenz Winkler-Horaček für Diskussion und Hinweise.

² z. B. Cohen 2000; Hölscher 2000.

³ Siehe z. B. Fabricius 2001, 2003 und 2007. Für Kritik am Begriff „Gegenwelt“ s. z. B. Heinemann 2000.

argumentativer Wert aberkannt wird, gleichwertig neben die sezierende Analyse rücken.

Mit mythologischen Bildern der Verwandlung eines Menschen in ein Tier rückt der vorliegende Beitrag ein Motiv der Fluidität par excellence in den Mittelpunkt. Ich habe bewußt Bilder von Mythen gewählt, weil uns diese Mythen Erzählungen liefern, die die Struktur und Dynamik der Bilder und der darin involvierten Körper zu verstehen helfen. So eröffnen sich Möglichkeiten, Fluidität unter verschiedenen Blickwinkeln zu untersuchen, auch wenn oder gerade weil uns die Darstellungen ‚nur‘ statische Mischwesen bieten⁴.

Zudem ist die Metamorphose nicht nur ein Aspekt der Körpergeschichte, sondern auch ein Problem der Darstellung in Wort und Bild.⁵ Der Titel des Beitrages versucht, diese verschiedenen Schichten im Begriff ζῶον (*zōon*) zu vereinen. *Zōon* meint speziell das Tier im Unterschied zum Menschen, kann aber auch Lebewesen allgemein bezeichnen, also Mensch und Tier in einer Kategorie zusammenfassen. Schließlich hat das Wort auch die Bedeutung von Bild im Sinne von Gemälde oder Zeichnung, so wie wir etwa ‚Landschaft‘ für ‚Landschaftsgemälde‘ sagen würden – kurz ein Bild, welches das Dargestellte, so legt es die Etymologie nahe, verlebendigt.⁶ Der Begriff umfaßt damit gegebenenfalls – nicht grundsätzlich – mehrere Grenzauflösungen wie die zwischen Mensch und Tier oder Repräsentation und Realität.

Ich versuche dem im folgenden in drei verschiedenen methodischen Ansätzen gerecht zu werden und betrachte Darstellungen der Metamorphose unter ikonographischen, philologisch-linguistischen und phänomenologischen Gesichtspunkten. Bild und Text sollen dabei nicht im Sinne eines ikono- oder logozentrischen Ansatzes gegeneinander ausgespielt werden. Vielmehr verbindet alle Abschnitte die Ausgangsvermutung, dass Repräsentation und Realität in einem aktiven Verhältnis zueinander stehen.⁷ Die Verbindung zwischen beiden ist dabei weniger

⁴ Zu Begriff und Konzept des „*Mischwesens*“ s. u. a. Aston 2011; Winkler-Horaček 2000, 2008 und im Druck.

⁵ Zur alten metaphorischen Verbindung von Kunst und Metamorphose s. z. B. Sharrock 1996.

⁶ *LSJ* 72 (s.v. ἄλογος). 760 (s.v. ζῶον). 799–800 (s.v. ἥρ, θηρίον); vgl. auch Alexandridis 2013.

⁷ Auch diese beiden Begriffe sind wieder ideale Endpunkte eines Kontinuums. Schließlich wird Realität nicht nur dargestellt, sondern Repräsentation ist auch Teil der Realität und kann sie formen; vgl. z. B. Hölscher 2003, 2. Man könnte also auch von verschiedenen Realitätsebenen sprechen.

durch die Repräsentation oder die Realität als vielmehr – und hier folge ich Maurice Merleau-Pontys *Phänomenologie der Wahrnehmung* – durch den wahrnehmenden menschlichen Körper selbst gegeben. Der Körper ist nicht einfach in Raum oder Zeit gestellt, so heißt es da, sondern bewohnt sie, lebt in ihnen. Das heisst, die drei sind nicht unabhängig voneinander, der Körper insbesondere bestimmt, wie wir Raum und Zeit wahrnehmen.⁸ Hans Belting hat diesen Ansatz in seiner *Bild-Anthropologie* aufgenommen und den Körper zum primären Trägermedium erklärt, ohne das ein Bild, ob sichtbar oder unsichtbar, ob materialisiert oder mental, nicht existiert.⁹ Ein Bild, so könnte man weiter ausführen, kann auf oder in andere Medien projiziert werden und von da wiederum von ein- und demselben oder anderen Körpern wahrgenommen und verändert werden, aber es existiert nie unabhängig vom Körper oder Körpern; anders gesagt, es ist nie körperlos. Der menschliche Körper mit seinen spezifischen Mischung aus persönlichen und gesellschaftlich geprägten Erfahrungen fungiert immer als eine Art Filter oder Katalysator,¹⁰ in jedem Fall aber transformierend und somit konstitutiv für eine bestimmte Erfahrung. Für die Erkundung verkörperter Wissensordnungen in der Antike gilt es demnach auch, die körperlichen Erfahrungshorizonte zu rekonstruieren, in dem und mit dem Bildern gesehen wurden. Das kann freilich nur ausschnitthaft und ideal geschehen. Es soll hier am Beispiel des Symposiums versucht werden, zu dem ich attische und unteritalische Vasenbilder des späten 6. bis ins 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in Beziehung setze.

VON DER MASKERADE ZUM ‚MORPHING‘: DIE IKONOGRAPHIE EINER METAMORPHOSE

Im folgenden sei exemplarisch die Ikonographie der Metamorphose des Aktaion untersucht.¹¹ Der Jäger Aktaion hat sich einer Grenzüberschreitung schuldig gemacht. Er ist als Unbefugter in die göttliche Sphäre

8 Merleau-Ponty 1945, 115–179, bes. 162. 178–179 (organische Beziehung zwischen Subjekt und Welt).

9 Belting 2001, 11–55.

10 Das Bild ist nur teilweise zutreffend. So passt etwa der Umstand, dass der Katalysator multiple Reaktionen befördert, nicht jedoch, dass er dabei selbst nicht verbraucht wird.

11 Nicht alle Darstellungen von Metamorphosen folgen demselben Schema, s. Alexandridis 2009 und in Druckvorbereitung. Zur Ikonographie des

eingedrungen; je nach Mythenversion soll er entweder Zeus Geliebte Semele verführt haben wollen oder in Artemis Heiligtum gejagt haben.¹² Zur Strafe wird er in einen Hirsch verwandelt und von seinen eigenen Hunden gerissen. Aktaion verliert seine menschliche Gestalt für immer, er stirbt als ein Tier, seine Verwandlung ist irreversibel.

Auf einer Halsseite einer Amphora des Eucharides-Malers in Hamburg, welche in die Jahre um 490 v. Chr. datiert, kniet ein bärtiger Aktaion am Boden, hilflos angesichts der vier Hunde, die ihn anfallen und in Brust und Bauch beißen (Tafel 10).¹³ Seine Verwandlung in einen Hirsch ist durch eine Tierhaut angedeutet, die auf seiner Brust verknötet ist und den ganzen Körper hinterfängt. Aktaion ist verkleidet.¹⁴ Seine Tiernatur scheint rein äußerlicher Art und klar abgegrenzt von seiner menschlichen zu sein. Nur an wenigen Punkten sind die Trennungslinien verwischt. Die tote Tierhaut erscheint belebt. So wiederholen die gespreizten Beine des Hirschfells die Position von Aktaions Oberschenkeln sowie die Geste seines rechten Armes, der in flehendem Gestus ausgestreckt ist. Der Hund, der auf seines Herrn rechter Schulter sitzt, beißt die verknötete Tierhaut blutig, als würde er seinen Gefährten gleich den menschlichen Körper attackieren. Und schließlich hängt der Tierskalp nicht leblos in Aktaions Nacken, sondern bedeckt, die Ohren aufgerichtet, seinen Kopf.

Die Umkehrung von Hierarchien – wie Überlegenheit/Unterlegenheit oder Mensch/Tier – ist ein Schlüsselement des Mythos selbst und macht die Bestrafung zu einer besonders grausamen: Der Jäger wird zu seiner eigenen Beute. Die Darstellung auf der Eucharides-Amphora verstärkt die Spannungen und Paradoxien des Plots. Aktaions doppelte

Aktaion allgemein s. u. a. Guimond 1981; Mugione 1988; Frontisi-Ducroux 1997 und 2003, 95–143; Kossatz-Deissmann 2009 mit älterer Literatur.

12 Forbes Irving 1990, 197–201.

13 Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1966.34; Hoffmann 1967; Alexandridis 2009 mit weiterer Literatur.

14 Keine der Schriftquellen vor Ovid erwähnt explizit die Verwandlung des Jägers in ein Tier. Hesiod in seinem Frauenkatalog (*fr.* 161 a.b; 162 Most) schreibt, Artemis habe Aktaion in die Erscheinung eines Hirsches verwandelt und die Hunde in den Wahnsinn getrieben. Nach Stesichoros (*fr.* 236 PMG; zitiert bei Pausanias 9.2.3.) warf sie ein Fell um den Jäger. Die Version, nach der er Artemis beim Bade überraschte, ist zum ersten Mal bei Kallimachos (*Hymn.* 5. 107–18) belegt (anders Guimond 1981, 462. 468–9 und Lacy 1990, die jedoch die bildliche Tradition der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei mißverstehen); vgl. Forbes Irving 1990, 197–201.

Natur, sein doppelter Status sind permanent sichtbar. Der menschliche Jäger ist kostümiert als das gejagte Tier; der noch lebende Mensch ist in ein totes und Tod bringendes Fell gehüllt. Oder auch: den im Sterben begriffenen, nackten, schutzlosen Menschen bedeckt und schützt eine belebte Tierhaut. Und diese Haut ist im übrigen kein rein animalisches Element, sondern selbst bereits ein Produkt vom Menschen angewandter Technologie.¹⁵

Artemis kommt von links heran. Das Erlegen des menschlichen Tieres durch die Hunde wird durch die Göttin unterstützt. Sie hat gerade einen Pfeil auf den gejagten Jäger oder den vertierten Menschen abgeschossen. Dieser ist zwischen göttlicher und tierischer Sphäre gefangen. Aber so ausweglos die Situation auch scheint, bleibt sie doch in einer Hinsicht offen, denn menschliche und tierische Natur sind gleichsam verdoppelt. Bis auf die erwähnten ‚undichten‘ Stellen, wie den blutenden Fellknoten oder das vom Menschen verarbeitete, aber dennoch lebendig wirkende Tierfell, verschmelzen beide Naturen nicht miteinander. Die Trennlinie bleibt sichtbar, denn die Tierhaut kann leicht abgelegt werden. Aktaion ist nicht wirklich verwandelt, sondern ‚nur‘ verkleidet,¹⁶ die gesamte Szene eine Maskerade.¹⁷

Das lässt sich mit dem Kontext in Verbindung bringen, für den diese Darstellung ursprünglich wohl gedacht war. Das Bild schmückt den Hals einer Amphora, also eines Gefäßes, in dem Wasser oder Wein

¹⁵ Widdows 2006, 42–97. 154–155; 2012: 77. 82.

¹⁶ Die in Anm. 14 zitierte Version, nach der Artemis ein Fell um Aktaion warf, ist unterschiedlich gedeutet worden. Jacobsthal 1929, 4 Anm. 11 und Bowra 1961, 99–100 verstehen den Akt realistisch als einen Trick der Göttin, um die Hunde zu ködern. Andere halten das Motiv für eine Metapher, welche die Verwandlung anzeige; z. B. Rose 1932; Nagy 1973 (der die linguistische Verwandtschaft zwischen Haut/δέρμα und Körper/δέμας betont); Forbes Irving 1990, 198–199. Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 109–110 hält die Formulierung für bewußt ambivalent. – Einen Bezug zu Theateraufführungen, insbesondere Aischylos *Toxotides*, und damit das Fell als Bühnenkostüm, sehen z. B. Hoffmann 1967, 17; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 145–147; Forbes Irving 1990, 197. Diese Interpretation geht in die richtige Richtung, sollte jedoch allgemeiner begriffen werden, wie ich im folgenden zu zeigen hoffe.

¹⁷ Zum Begriff „Maskerade“ s. Tseëlon 2001, 2–3. Die Unterscheidung zwischen Verkleidung, die auch täuschend sein kann, und Maskerade, die immer bewußt als solche sichtbar bleibt (Steinhart 2004, 1 nennt dies „Bildbruch“), läßt sich nicht immer strikt aufrechterhalten.

für das Symposion bereitgehalten werden konnten.¹⁸ Das verwirrende Spiel mit menschlicher und tierischer Natur, realem Körper und seiner Verkleidung, kurz mit einer Verdoppelung, passen gut in die Bilder- und Vorstellungswelt eines Banketts, die durch heitere und vom Wein angeheizte Konversation hervorgerufen werden konnte und stets mit der dionysischen Welt verbunden ist. Die Darstellung auf der Hamburger Amphora macht diese Verbindung explizit. Aktaion ist wie ein Symposiast bekränzt.¹⁹ Auf diese Weise konnte sich der Betrachter leicht mit dem maskierten und transformierten Protagonisten der Geschichte identifizieren. Die Verbindung liegt hier im Akt und der Erfahrung des Rollentausches und der Verwandlung selbst, und nicht im Motiv der Strafe oder des Vergehens.²⁰

Um die Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. wird die Metamorphose Aktaions anders dargestellt. Menschlicher und tierischer Körper verschmelzen zu einer neuen, vermeintlich natürlichen Einheit. Die Bestrafung Aktaions auf einem Glockenkrater des Lykaon-Malers in Boston, um 440 v. Chr. entstanden, verdeutlicht diesen Wandel (Tafel 11).²¹ Alle Protagonisten sind inschriftlich benannt. Zeus zur Linken und Artemis zur Rechten beobachten ruhig das Geschehen. Die Göttin trägt eine Fackel sowie Pfeil und Bogen, ist jedoch nicht in Aktion gezeigt. Drei Hunde stürzen sich auf Aktaion, aber sie scheinen weniger aggressiv im Vergleich zu denen der älteren Darstellungen. Nur zwei Hunde haben direkten Körperkontakt mit ihrem Herrn. Keiner beißt ihn, vielmehr schnüffeln sie um ihn herum wie beim freudigen Wiedererkennen.²² Wir sehen auf jeden Fall kein Blut. Das Rasen der Hunde ist durch eine Personifikation wiedergegeben. Eine

¹⁸ Steiner 2007, 237–239; allgemein Scheibler 1983, 16–17.

¹⁹ Alexandridis 2009, 267–268 mit Anm. 14. Zur „Aktualisierung“ von Mythen s. Hölscher 1999, 14–15; für ein Beispiel aus dem sympotischen Kontext: Wannagat 1999. Zu Kränzen s. Blech 1982, v. a. 63–74 (Symposion und Komos); Sarti 2009, 210 mit Anm. 34–35. Schriftliche Überlieferung zu bekränzten Symposiasten, z. B. Xenophanes DK 21 B 1 (zitiert in Ath. 9.462c); weitere Belege in Blech 1982, 64–65 mit Anm. 9–14; Heilmeyer 2002. Darstellungen in der Vasenmalerei: z. B. Lissarrague 1987, Abb. 9–11. 18–21; Vierneisel – Kaeser 1990, 216–227; Steiner 2007, 187. 202–203 Abb. 8.16–7. 9.3–5; de la Genière 2009, 339–341 Abb. 1. 4. 5.

²⁰ Anders Junker 2002, 16–18. Je nach Kontext waren selbstverständlich andere Lesarten möglich.

²¹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1900.346.

²² Ich danke Jacqueline Clinton für diese Beobachtung.

Frau in kurzem Gewand und mit Tierfell, eine Hundeprotome auf dem Kopf, nähert sich von links. Laut Inschrift handelt es sich um Lyssa, die Personifikation der Tollwut oder Raserei.²³ Sowohl ihr hybrider Körper als auch die um den Torso geschlungene Tierhaut, die an das Outfit einer Mänade erinnert, deuten auf eine Grenzüberschreitung hin.²⁴ Die Hundeprotome auf ihrem Kopf steht in der Tradition älterer Darstellungen von Männern, Tänzern oder verwandelten mythologischen Figuren, die Tier- oder Frauenbüsten auf dem Kopf tragen und alle verkleidet zu sein scheinen (Tafel 14b).²⁵

Anders Aktaion: Mantel und Stiefel kennzeichnen ihn als Jäger. Seine Verwandlung in einen Hirsch ist nicht durch kostümartige Requisiten wie ein Fell angezeigt, sondern durch ein kleines Geweih auf seiner Stirn, durch Tierohren, die ihm aus den Schläfen wachsen, sowie durch die Andeutung von Fell auf seinem Gesicht.²⁶ Menschliche und tierische Natur sind hier in einem Körper verschmolzen, so dass die Grenze zwischen beiden – dem heutigen ‚morphing‘ nicht unähnlich²⁷ – nur schwer, wenn überhaupt, zu greifen ist. Im Gegensatz zur Darstellung auf der Hamburger Amphora sind die Ohren des Jägers nicht durch Tierohren verdoppelt, sondern durch sie ersetzt. Das Geweih ist nicht Teil eines Tierskalps, sondern die Hörner scheinen Aktaions Stirn auf natürliche Weise zu entspringen. Aber während die früheren Darstellungen, in denen Aktaion eher verkleidet erscheint, ihn als Opfer in eindeutig unterlegener Position zeigen, ist dieses spätere Bild, in dem Aktaion anatomisch mehr zum Tier geworden ist, weniger eindeutig, was den Ausgang der Kampfes angeht. Auf der einen Seite lassen die Figuren der Götter, die die Szene statisch rahmen, sowie die herbeieilende Lyssa, vermuten, dass es für das Opfer kein Entkommen gibt. Auf der anderen Seite legen Aktaions Jugend – er ist im Gegensatz zu den älteren Darstellungen bartlos –, seine dynamische Körperhaltung sowie der Doppelspeer in seiner Hand nahe, dass er den Angriff der Hunde abwehren können. Während die älteren Darstellungen auf spielerische und verwirrende Weise menschlichen und tierischen Körper zueinander in Beziehung setzen,

²³ Zu Lyssa s. u. a. Shapiro 1993, 168–170; Borg 2002, 147–150; Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 112–115.

²⁴ Moraw 1998, v. a. 29–65; Villanueva Puig 2009, 59–216.

²⁵ Brommer 1954.

²⁶ Im Original schwer zu erkennen, s. jedoch Caskey und Beazley 1954, 83: „forehead, nose, and cheeks are covered with fur—rendered by brown stippling“.

²⁷ Vgl. z. B. Daniel Lee's „manimals“ <http://www.daniellee.com/Manimal.htm>.

bleibt die physische, anatomische Grenze zwischen beiden doch weitgehend klar. Die Tierhaut ist dem menschlichen Körper aufgelegt, wie ein Kleidungsstück hinzugefügt, d. h. sie kann auch wieder entfernt werden. Man könnte fast meinen, die Verwandlung sei hier, ganz entgegen dem Plot der Geschichte, reversibel. In jedem Fall aber legt die Ikonographie nahe, dass es eine klare physische Grenze zwischen Mensch und Tier gibt. Diese kann zwar flexibel gehandhabt werden, bleibt aber sichtbar. Hinsichtlich der hierarchischen Struktur der Geschichte und des Bildes ist diese Grenze weniger eindeutig. Der verkleidete, und deshalb deutlich als Mensch erkennbare Aktaion ist zum Tier geworden, weil er sich in einer ausweglos unterlegenen Position befindet.

In den späteren Bildern ist dieses Verhältnis umgekehrt. Hier ist die physische oder anatomische Grenze zwischen Mensch und Tier durchlässig und damit weniger klar zu ziehen. Tierische Körperteile wie Hörner oder Ohren sind fester Bestandteil des menschlichen Körpers geworden, der eine neue Einheit bildet, eine Einheit von – ganz im Sinne der Geschichte – irreversibler Hybridität. Aber obwohl Aktaion hier mit Elementen des gejagten und unterlegenen Tieres gewissermassen verwachsen ist, behält er – im Gegensatz zum Plot des Mythos – eine überlegene Position, wie man sie von einem Jäger erwarten würde.²⁸ Aktaion agiert wie ein Mensch, aber ist er noch einer? Seine äußerlichen physischen Merkmale zeigen, dass er ein Hybrid ist, ein Wesen also, das in der Realität so nicht existiert. Menschliche und tierische Elemente sind hier auf komplizierte Weise mit verschiedenen Wirklichkeitsebenen verschränkt. Die im Bild dargestellte Situation spricht immer noch dafür, auch weiterhin eine Grenze zwischen Mensch und Tier zu postulieren. Allerdings ist sie schwerer zu fassen und erscheint instabiler, genauer gesagt: grundsätzlich und dauerhaft instabiler.

Der soeben geschilderte ikonographische Wandel ist auch in anderen Wiedergaben der Episode zu beobachten. Frühere Darstellungen Aktaions

28 Nach Moret 1975, 103–134 (v. a. 111–113) ist diese Pose nur in unteritalischer Vasenmalerei als Zeichen der Überlegenheit zu verstehen, während sie in der attischen das Gegenteil bedeute. m. E. sind die attischen Bilder nicht so eindeutig; vgl. z. B. einen ehemals in der Slg. Borowski befindlichen Krater (Muth 2008, 608–610 Abb. 438), auf dem der Ausfallschritt des aufrecht stehenden Helden sowohl beherztes Ausholen zum definitiven Schlag gegen die Hunde wie auch Flucht anzeigen kann.

zeigen nicht immer seine Verwandlung,²⁹ aber wenn sie es tun, dann greifen sie zum Mittel der Verkleidung durch ein Tierfell. Die Grenze zwischen menschlichem und tierischem Körper bleibt erkennbar. Oder auch: Der Bruch zwischen der – bildimmanenten – Realität (der Mensch) und Illusion (das Tier) bleibt immer sichtbar. Eine Pelike im Louvre und das Fragment eines Volutenkraters von der Athener Akropolis, zum Beispiel, zeigen Aktaion einmal mit einem um die Schultern geknoteten Tierfell (Tafel 12),³⁰ das andere Mal geradezu eingenäht in eine Art Fellanzug.³¹ In beiden Fällen kniet er am Boden in einer zweifellos unterlegenen Position. Der Ausgang des Angriffs ist in dieser Hinsicht, wie auf der Hamburger Amphora, klar abzusehen.

Spätere Darstellungen belegen, dass sich die im Bostoner Lykaon Krater veranschaulichte Veränderung der Ikonographie (Verschmelzung menschlichen und tierischen Körpers, Verjüngung, überlegene Position) nicht nur in der attischen Vasenmalerei abspielt und dass sie weit in das 4. Jh. v. Chr. reicht. Auf der Schulter einer lukanischen Nestoris in London, datiert um 400–380 v. Chr., zum Beispiel sehen wir zur Linken Artemis.³²

29 z. B. attisch rotfiguriger Krater des Panmalers in Boston, MFA 10.185 (Guimond 1981, Nr. 15*); Melische Reliefs in Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen AB 1 (Jacobsthal 1931, Taf. 25); Neapel, Museo Nazionale CS 361 und Paris, Louvre C 4447 (Guimond 1981, Nr. 18a–c*).

30 Attisch rotfigurige Pelike des Geras Malers (zugeschrieben), um 480 v. Chr., aus Vulci, Paris, Louvre G 224 (Abb. 3). Vgl. auch attisch rotfigurige Amphora des Geras Malers (zugeschrieben), um 498/80 v. Chr., Kopenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 99 (Jacobsthal 1929, 4 fig. 6); attisch rotfigurige Pelike, 480/70 v. Chr., Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.476.1–6 und 86.AE.199.5; attisch rotfigurige Kalpis des Pan Malers (zugeschrieben), um 470 v. Chr., Certosa di Padula, Museo 164. (Mugione 1988, Abb. 3).

31 Frgt. eines attisch rotfigurigen Volutenkraters des Pan Malers (zugeschrieben), 470–60 v. Chr., Athen, Nationalmuseum ACR 760, von der Akropolis (Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, Abb. 28, Umzeichnung).

32 London, British Museum F 176 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151–2 K 52 Taf. 28,2; Guimond 1981, Nr. 48a*). Vergleichbare Darstellungen bieten z. B.: apulischer Volutenkrater, um 400 v. Chr., Tarent, Museo Nazionale 177001 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151 K 58; Guimond 1981, Nr. 126; Kossatz-Deissmann 1992, Nr. 2*). Mit einem Speer bewaffnet erscheint Aktaion z. B. auf folgenden Vasen: apulische Oinochoe, um 350 v. Chr., Tarent, Museo Nazionale (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151. 158 K 57 Taf. 29,2); apulische Amphora, um 350 v. Chr., Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 3239 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 150. 154 K 46 Taf. 30,1; Guimond 1981, Nr. 83b*. 88*); Frgt. eines apulischen Kraters, um 350 v. Chr., Deutschland, Privatslg. (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978,



1 Aktaion, apulischer Volutenkrater. Neapel, Museo Nazionale SA31

Sie zeigt auf einen jugendlichen und starken Jäger mit Hirschgeweih und -ohren. Kniend schwingt er ein Schwert, um die ihn attackierenden Hunde zu vertreiben. Auf einem apulischen Volutenkrater in Neapel aus der Zeit um 340–330 v. Chr. ist die Umkehrung geradezu auf die Spitze getrieben (Abb. 1).³³ Der schöne Jüngling Aktaion, der nur durch das große Geweih zu identifizieren ist, hat einen Hirsch in die Knie gezwungen und ist gerade dabei ihm den tödlichen Stoß zu versetzen. Der Jäger kann seine Arbeit ungestört verrichten, denn weit und breit sind keine Hunde zu sehen. Das ‚in-between‘, d. h. die Unschärfe zwischen Mensch und Tier

142. 151 Abb. 4 K 61; Guimond 1981, Nr. 51b); verschollene apulische Pelike und Reliefvasen des späten 5. und frühen 4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Jacobsthal 1929, 13 Abb. 15. 16; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151–152 K 59. 62–64 Abb. 5). Mit Schwert oder Keule, vorwärtsschreitend: faliskischer Kelchkrater, um 375–350 v. Chr. in Civit  Castellana, Museo 6360 (Guimond 1981, Nr. 32*); lukanische Nestoris, um 340–330 v. Chr., Cambridge/Mass., Fogg Art Museum 1960.367 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151. 154 K 49 Taf. 27,2; Guimond 1981, Nr. 45*); apulischer Teller, um 340–330 v. Chr., Tarent, Museo Nazionale 5163 (I.G. 8894) (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151 K 56; Guimond 1981, Nr. 46*).

33 Neapel, Museo Nazionale SA 31 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151 K 53; Guimond 1981, Nr. 110*; Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 120–122 Abb. 29 Taf. IV).



2 Aktaion, apulischer Glockenkrater. Göteborg,
Röhsska Konstsöjdmuseet RKM 13–71

oder Jäger und Opfer,³⁴ gilt in diesen Darstellungen auch für das Alter und manchmal das Geschlecht des Helden. So erwartet auf einem Krater in Göteborg ein jugendlich androgyner, langgelockter Aktaion den Angriff seiner Hunde (Abb. 2).³⁵ Ein apulischer Stamnos in Paris aus der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., auf dem das Motif der Jagd sogar ganz verschwunden ist, zeigt einen ebenfalls langlockigen Knaben mit zierlichen Hörnern auf der Stirn und androgynem, nackten Körper geradezu verträumt unter einem Baum, während ein Hund mit der Schnauze um eine Liebkosung bittet.³⁶ Der mythische Protagonist scheint mit der idyllischen Szenerie

34 Nach Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 122 kann das Bild auf verschiedene Weisen gelesen werden, entweder als eine Synopse unterschiedlicher Zeitpunkte innerhalb der Geschichte oder symbolisch, d. h. den Jäger als seine eigene Beute darstellend.

35 Göteborg, Röhsska Konstsöjdmuseet 13–71 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151. 155 K 50 Taf. 31,2; Guimond 1981, Nr. 44*). Den Begriff „androgyn“ verwende ich hier beschreibend und nicht, wie im späten 5. Jh. üblich, moralisch wertend; vgl. dazu Fabricius 2003, 139–140.

36 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 949, um 350 v. Chr. (Kossatz-Deissmann

geradezu zu verschmelzen. Artemis lehnt gelassen an einem Pfeiler, ein kleiner Satyr kommt von links heran.

Das Fehlen visuell eindeutiger Hinweise auf eine Maskierung Aktaions in diesen Bildern bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass keine Bezüge zu theatralischen Darstellungen oder performances im weiteren Sinne bestehen. Auf dem Bostoner Krater (Tafel 11) sind sie in der Beschriftung explizit gemacht. Die Figur des Aktaion ist zweimal inschriftlich benannt, einmal mit dem mythischen Namen und einmal, direkt unterhalb des Gefäßrandes, mit dem Namen ‚Euaion‘ (EYAION). Diesen Namen kennen wir auch von anderen Vasen, die einen *Euaion kalos* preisen oder einen Aulos blasenden Symposiasten Euaion (Abb. 5) nennen.³⁷ Höchstwahrscheinlich nimmt der Name nicht auf irgendeinen athenischen Zecher oder unbekannten Schauspieler bezug, sondern auf Aischylos Sohn Euaion, der selbst Schauspieler und Dramatiker war. Wichtig ist die Verschmelzung oder Überlappung von Symposium, vorführender Darstellung (performance) und eventuell Theateraufführung auf der Ebene der visuellen (und in diesem speziellen Fall auch textuellen) Repräsentation.³⁸

Fast alle Darstellungen des Mythos im späten 5. Jh. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. weisen theatralische Elemente auf.³⁹ Anders als die frühklassischen Darstellungen, die sich auf Aktaion und Artemis konzentrieren, beinhalten die späteren Vasenbilder mehrere zusätzliche Figuren. Und während in den früheren Darstellungen alle Protagonisten agieren (Artemis, Aktaion, die Hunde), sehen die meisten Figuren in den späteren Bildern nur zu, Hunde manchmal inklusive. So haben sich drei der Hunde auf der Londoner Nestoris schon in Aktaions Fleisch verbissen, während die zwei anderen wie auch Artemis Begleithund abzuwarten scheinen. Der eine hockt hinter einem Baumstamm,

1978, 151. 155–6 K 54 Taf. 30,2; Guimond 1981, Nr. 112*). Die Ikonographie erschwert zugegebenermaßen eine eindeutige Benennung.

37 z. B. Krumeich 2002 (mit weiterer Lit. und Liste aller Belege auf S. 159). Jeffrey Rusten weist mich darauf hin, dass der Name Euaion auch als sprechender Name – verwandt mit εὐαίων, einer „von schöner Erscheinung“ oder „der ein glückliches Leben führt“ – eine Erfindung sein könnte.

38 Zum Bezug auf das Theater s. auch Neer 1998, 25–28.

39 Frgt. einer unteritalisch rotfigurigen Oinochoe, um 370–360 v. Chr., Boston, Museum of Fine Art 03.839 a–b (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 150. 153 K 48 Taf. 28,1; Guimond 1981, Nr. 48b); faliskische Oinochoe in Civit  Castellana, Mus. 1601, mit Panb ste neben Aktaion (Guimond 1981, Nr. 33*). Auf einem apulischen Glockenkrater in G teborg, R hsska Konsts jdmuseet 13–71 steht Lyssa, ein Fell schwenkend, neben ihm (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151. 155 K 50 Taf. 31,2; Guimond 1981, Nr. 44*).

um den Kampf zu beobachten. Artemis selbst greift ebenfalls weder an noch ein, sondern steht oder sitzt an der Seite, auf die Speere gelehnt; sie schaut zu und zeigt nur manchmal auf das Geschehen in der Mitte.⁴⁰ Andere Gottheiten oder mythologische Figuren halten sich ebenfalls in der Umgebung auf, wie z. B. Zeus, Hermes, Pan, Satyrn, aber auch unbenannte Männer und Frauen. Sie alle sehen der zentralen Auseinandersetzung eher gelassen zu. Ihr distanziertes Interesse kontrastiert auffällig mit der Brutalität und Dramatik der Szene und legt nahe, dass diese Zuschauer eher eine Darstellung – ein Bild oder eine Vorführung – betrachten, denn einen realen Kampf.⁴¹

Manche Darstellungen nehmen explizit auf Theater- oder andere Vorführungen Bezug. Die Hundeprotome auf Lyssas Kopf als Teil eines Kostüms wurde bereits besprochen. Auf einem sizilischen Skyphos in Karlsruhe aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. rennt ein junger Aktaion mit riesigem Geweih, Tierohren und Ansätzen von Fell auf dem Gesicht mit erhobenem Haupt nach rechts.⁴² Er schwingt einen Speer und ist dabei, einen der fünf Hunde, die an seinem Körper hängen, zu erwürgen. Die Szene ist von zwei paraventartigen Stellwänden gerahmt, hinter denen, gewissermaßen als dionysische Requisiten und mit durchaus komischem Effekt, je eine kleine Panfigur hervortritt und mit ausgestrecktem Arm auf das Geschehen weist. In anderen Bildern, die den Mythos in eine idyllisch dionysische Landschaft verlegen, verweisen Pan und Satyrn in einer allgemeineren Weise unter anderem auf das Theater. Auf dem bereits erwähnten apulischen Krater (Abb. 1), auf dem Aktaion einen Hirsch erlegt, imitiert ein Satyr seine Pose und unterstreicht so deren Theatralik, Artifizialität und Bildhaftigkeit.

In all diesen späteren Bildern ist Aktaions Bestrafung also als ein Spektakel präsentiert, das von bildimmananten Zuschauern betrachtet wird. Im Vergleich zu früheren Darstellungen, in denen Verwandlung

⁴⁰ Vgl. Guimond 1981, Nr. 16*. 32*. 33*. 44*. 45*. 48a*. 81* (Lykaon Krater). 83a*. 83b*. 88*. 110*. 111*. 112*.

⁴¹ Der Eindruck wird durch die wenigen Charaktere bestärkt, die, falls dargestellt, aktiv auf das Geschehen reagieren, seinen Verlauf und Ausgang verdeutlichen oder seine Dramatik unterstreichen: Lyssa als Personifikation der Tollwut, Hekate als Vorbotin des Todes sowie Aktaions Jagdgefährten, die gestikulierend davonrennen – sie alle verweisen in Kostüm oder Gestik auf einen theatralischen Zusammenhang.

⁴² Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 72.335; um 370/60 v. Chr. (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 151. 153 K 51 Taf. 29,1; Guimond 1981, Nr. 49*); vgl. auch den Kopf eines Pan auf einem Frgt. in Boston, Museum of Fine Art 03.839b (Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, 153 Taf. 28,1).

auch als Schauspiel, nämlich als Maskerade veranschaulicht wurde, beinhaltet und bewirkt das eine unterschiedliche Position des Betrachters und Benutzers der Vase. Selbstverständlich ist der Betrachter in beiden Fällen Zuschauer. Aber während er/sie diese späteren Bilder auf verschiedene mehr oder weniger explizite Weise als ein Spektakel identifizieren, sich den Betrachtern im Bild gewissermaßen zugesellen und so als Zuschauer definieren kann, binden ihn/sie die älteren Bilder direkt an die Protagonisten als maskierte Symposiasten oder Komasten. Hier ist er sowohl Zuschauer wie auch selbst potentieller Darsteller. Die eigene Metamorphose durch Verkleiden oder Alkoholgenuß während des Gelages ist ebenso temporär und reversibel wie die im Mythen-Bild gezeigte. In den späteren Darstellungen dagegen, in denen Transformation als irreversibel wiedergegeben ist, verläuft die Identifikation für den Betrachter über die Zuschauerfiguren in der Darstellung selbst. Nur durch das Dazwischenschalten einer Betrachterebene im Bild wird das wiedergegebene Geschehen in seiner Künstlichkeit, als Illusion erkennbar. Ansonsten aber verschwimmen mit den körperlichen Grenzen zwischen Mensch und Tier auch die zwischen verschiedenen Realitätsebenen. Das Bild des knienden Aktaion kann gleichzeitig sowohl die mythische Figur, eine Darstellung derselben oder einen Schauspieler in dieser Rolle meinen. Aber auch die Zuschauer bleiben nicht in ihrem Raum isoliert; auch hier finden sich Wesen, wie z. B. Satyrn, die ebenso hybrid dargestellt sind wie Aktaion. In diesen Bildern ist die volle Bedeutungsbreite des Begriffs ζῶα erreicht.

Ἡ ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ ἈΟΡΙΣΤΟΣ ODER DIE GRAMMATIK DER VERWANDLUNG

Bildliche Darstellungen der Metamorphose in der griechischen Kunst sind meist unter dem Blickwinkel narrativer Strategien untersucht worden, also nach der Frage, wie ein zeitlicher Ablauf in ein statisches Bild umgesetzt und welcher Moment der Verwandlung für die Darstellungen ausgewählt wird.⁴³ Gängige Unterscheidungen sind die nach vollständiger

43 Vgl. z. B. Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1967; Snodgrass 1982; Raeck 1984; Davies 1986; Shapiro 1994, v. a. 7–10; Small 1999; Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, v. a. 87–91 (mit Übersichtstabelle); Wærn-Sperber 2001; Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 74–93; Giuliani 2003, 21–27. 186–202. 286–289; Steiner 2007, 94–128; Muth 2008, v. a. 608–610; Buxton 2009, 76–109. Typologisch: Zgoll 2004, 133–141. 175–179. 217–223 (für die augusteische Literatur).

und unvollständiger Metamorphose bzw. nach monochroner und synchroner oder polychroner Darstellungsweise. Die Hybridität der Gestalten erscheint in jedem Fall als eine Art Notlösung. Das beruht meist auf der nicht immer ausgesprochenen Annahme, dass zwischen Hybridität und Metamorphose klar zu trennen sei, und dass letztere vor der Erfindung des Kinos ohnehin nicht bildlich als Prozeß hätte wiedergegeben werden können.⁴⁴ Wie Alison Sharrock jedoch bereits am Beispiel von Ovids Metamorphosen gezeigt hat, überlappen sich die Konzepte von Hybridität und Verwandlung spätestens in der Rezeption ihrer Repräsentation. Eine Metamorphose ist visuell meist unvollendet (also hybridisiert) wiedergegeben und wird vom Leser oder Betrachter vollendet. Umgekehrt können Leser oder Betrachter hybride Figuren in eine narrative Sequenz stellen, wie etwa eine zu den Hintergründen ihrer Entstehung.⁴⁵ Zudem wird ein Bild generell nicht auf einmal wahrgenommen, sondern schrittweise von den Augen erkundet. Umgekehrt, so ließe sich ergänzen, präsentiert auch eine schriftliche oder mündliche Beschreibung den Prozeß der Verwandlung nicht als kontinuierlich fließend, sondern als eine Aneinanderreihung unterschiedlicher Stufen von Hybridität wie ‚filmstills‘.⁴⁶

Viel grundsätzlicher und auf grammatischer Basis argumentiert Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux. Für sie ist Verwandlung vor allem ein Phänomen der Wahrnehmung. Ihrer Meinung nach ist Ovid der erste, der einen solchen Vorgang auf geradezu kinematographische Weise beschrieben hat. Für die Griechen dagegen habe sich eine Metamorphose, der ja immer ein göttliches Moment anhaftet, schlagartig, „mit einem Wimpernschlag“ ereignet.⁴⁷ Ob als vergangenes oder künftiges Ereignis, Transformation sei stets als eine bereits vollzogene Handlung vorgestellt worden. Die Texte trügen dem Rechnung, indem sie an entsprechender Stelle stets

⁴⁴ So Bynum 2001, 31. – Der Begriff *metamorphosis* kommt erst in augusteischer Zeit auf. Als erster Beleg gilt Strabo 1.2.11; s. Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 19. 84–93. 183–185; Zgoll 2004, 133–141; Buxton 2009, 22–24.

⁴⁵ Sharrock 1996. Sowohl Metamorphose wie Hybridität sind mit der Metapher verwandt; vgl. auch Lafaye 1904/1971, 2. Und die Metamorphose, so Sharrock, ist wiederum eine Metapher für Kunst; s. auch Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 74–93 und Coelsch-Foisner 2005, 42.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Ovids Beschreibungen der Verwandlung von Daphne, Callisto, Actaeon, Arachne or Myrrha (Ovid, *Met.* 1.547–556, 2.476–481, 3.194–197, 6.140–145, 10.489–514). Sharrocks Unterscheidung nach Bild/synchron und Schrift oder Wort/diachron (Sharrock 1996, 106) ist also zu differenzieren; s. auch Alexandridis 2009, 267.

⁴⁷ Vgl. auch Lafaye 1904/1971, 2–3 für die vorhellenistische Zeit.

den Aorist verwendeten. Die Tatsache, dass verwandelte Menschen in bildlichen Darstellungen als Mischwesen gezeigt sind, entspricht nach Frontisi-Ducroux der Vorstellung von der punktuellen Aktion: Die Bilder frieren gleichsam einen Moment ein.⁴⁸

Diese wichtigen Beobachtungen bedürfen einer Differenzierung. Die Vorstellung von der Metamorphose als eines allmählich sich vollziehenden Prozesses ist dem Griechischen nicht völlig fremd, wie wir vor-ovidischen Texten entnehmen können. So beschreibt in einem Dramenfragment des Euripides eine Figur (höchstwahrscheinlich Kadmos), wie sie im Begriff ist, sich in eine Schlange zu verwandeln. Der Text verwendet das Präsens. In einer Passage der hellenistischen *Kypria*, in der es um die Verwandlung der Nemesis geht, wird das Imperfekt benutzt.⁴⁹ Beide Zeiten sind eher geeignet, duratives Geschehen, also einen Prozeß anzudeuten. Es ist verlockend, die zeitliche Stellung der aufgeführten Texte mit den bereits skizzierten ikonographischen Veränderungen, die mehr Fluidität suggerieren, in Verbindung zu bringen. Generell ist die betreffende schriftliche Überlieferung jedoch zu spärlich, um hier eine Entwicklungslinie zu rekonstruieren.⁵⁰

Die Grammatik verdient allerdings näher in Augenschein genommen zu werden. Wie von linguistischer Seite mehrfach betont, gilt die ‚Schulgrammatik-Regel‘, dass der Aorist zeitlich zu verstehen sei, und vor allem ein punktuell Geschehen bezeichne, in vielen Fällen nicht. Eher drückt er einen Aspekt aus, d. h. markiert die Position des Sprechers, und die muß nicht allein zeitlich bestimmt sein.⁵¹ Zwar ist das Imperfekt der beschreibende Modus par excellence, d. h. für andauernde Vorgänge der Vergangenheit geeignet, aber genügend Fälle belegen, dass auch der

⁴⁸ Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, 19. 84–93. 183–185.

⁴⁹ Eur. fr. 930 Kannicht: οἱμοι, δράκων μου γίγνεται τὸ ἥμισυ; ich danke Hans Bernsdorff für diesen Hinweis; s. auch Bernsdorff 2000, 105–106. Verwandlung der Nemesis in den *Kypria* (= fr. 9 Bernabé): γίγνεται δ' αἰνὰ | θηρία; vgl. Buxton 2009, 169.

⁵⁰ s. jedoch Lafaye 1904/1971, 12–23. Für ihn vollzieht sich der entscheidende Schritt hin zu einem beschreibenden Modus in der hellenistischen Zeit, die ein stärker wissenschaftliches Interesse an physischen, vermeintlich natürlichen Phänomenen, und deshalb auch an der Metamorphose als Prozess gehabt habe.

⁵¹ z. B. Stagg 1972; Bakker 2007. Die größere Bedeutung des Aspektes gegenüber der Zeitlichkeit habe das Griechische mit dem Semitischen gemein; vgl. McKay 1965, 2–6; Fehling 2002, 215. Letzterer hält die Zeitenfolge für eine Erfindung des Hellenismus.

Aorist – wie sein Name schon sagt⁵² – unbegrenzt, nicht determinativ ist, und deshalb auch Aktionen mit offenem Ausgang bezeichnen kann.⁵³ Eher geht es also um den Standpunkt des Sprechenden oder des Hörers bzw. Lesers. Während z. B. mit dem Imperfekt ein Geschehen von innen geschildert wird, betrachtet man es mit dem Aorist von außen. Das Imperfekt nimmt damit den Blickwinkel eines ‚insiders‘ der Vergangenheit ein. Der Aorist dagegen benennt ein Ereignis, das in die Zukunft, so z. B. Gegenwart des Rezipienten hineinwirkt, weil es dort unmittelbare Relevanz erhält. Egbert Bakker hat dies u. a. am Beispiel archaischer Grabsteine veranschaulicht. Ein Text wie „*X hat das Mal für Y aufgestellt*“ bezeichnet zwar einen Vorgang, der in der Vergangenheit abgeschlossen wurde; aber da dieser Text immer wieder von Vorbeigehenden gelesen, höchstwahrscheinlich sogar laut vorgelesen wurde, wiederholte sich der darin bezeichnete Akt auf unbestimmte Zeit in die Zukunft hinein. Die performative Funktion der Inschrift findet ihre Entsprechung im Aorist, der, so Bakker, „*the performance of the past in the present*“ anzeigt.⁵⁴

Für die Idee der Metamorphose gilt demnach umso mehr, dass sie ein Phänomen der Wahrnehmung ist, wie von Frontisi-Ducroux herausgearbeitet. Aber sie ist nicht nur subjektiv, sondern informiert gleichzeitig über die Position des Sprechers oder Erlebenden, etwa in der Frage, ob eine Verwandlung abgeschlossen oder noch im Gange befindlich ist bzw. eine wiederholbare Aktion darstellt. Der folgende Abschnitt untersucht, ob und wie das Erleben und Darstellen von Verwandlung in einem spezifischen Kontext zusammenhängen könnten.

MYTHISCHE METAMORPHOSE ALS PRAXIS UND ERFAHRUNG IN DER GEGENWART: DAS SYMPOSION

Die am Beispiel der Ikonographie des Aktaion geschilderten Veränderungen betrafen sowohl das zunehmende Verfließen physischer Grenzen zwischen Mensch und Tier oder Mann und Frau, als auch der zwischen Realität und verschiedenen Formen ihrer bildlichen Wiedergabe. Diese Veränderungen entsprechen allgemeineren Trends der griechischen Ikonographie. Sie werden traditionell auf sozio-politische, formal-stilistische

⁵² Das meinten auch die antiken Grammatiker, vgl. Beetham 2002, 230; Bakker 2007, 122 Anm. 51.

⁵³ Stagg 1972, 228–231; Beetham 2002.

⁵⁴ Bakker 2007, 115.

oder erzähltechnisch-künstlerische Gründe zurückgeführt.⁵⁵ Ich möchte hier einen anderen Weg einschlagen, der weder rein bildimmanent argumentiert, noch die Bilder als pure Reaktion auf historische Ereignisse versteht. Vielmehr soll den Bildern selbst, und das heißt auch ihren Bildträgern eine aktive Rolle gegeben werden. Ich stelle sie deshalb in einen prominenten Kontext ihrer Betrachtung, der gleichzeitig eine zentrale Institution der griechischen Gesellschaft war: das Symposion.⁵⁶ Neben literarischen Quellen und den Vasenformen weisen auch visuelle ‚Brücken‘ in den Darstellungen selbst – wie z. B. der Kranz, den Aktaion auf der Eucharides-Amphora trägt (Tafel 10) – mehr oder weniger direkte Bezüge zu dieser Institution auf. Allerdings kann nicht grundsätzlich davon ausgegangen werden, dass die von mir besprochenen Bilder immer im Kontext des Gelages gesehen wurden. Im Gegenteil, Fundkontexte und technische Eigenheiten der unteritalischen Vasen belegen zum Beispiel, dass ein Grossteil dieser Stücke für das Grab bestimmt war und nie für ein Gelage benutzt werden konnte.⁵⁷ Dennoch evozieren die Vasenformen das Gelage, wie es sowohl am Grab wie im Haus stattfinden konnte.⁵⁸ Der folgende Abschnitt läßt diese Frage beiseite und konzentriert sich auf die gewandelte Funktion des Symposiums und der Rolle, welche verschiedene Arten von Verwandlung darin spielten.

Der rituelle Charakter des Symposions ist immer wieder betont worden. Trotz fester Ablaufregeln sind Rituale jedoch nicht statisch, sondern können sich je nach Raum und Zeit verändern.⁵⁹ Leider sind solche Veränderungen

55 z. B. Burn 1987 (politische Situation während des peloponnesischen Krieges); Neer 1998 (Naturalismus und daraus resultierender verstärkter Illusionismus); Giuliani 2003 (veränderte Schrift- und Lesekultur); Junker 2003 (Mythenkritik); Muth 2008 (veränderte narrative Strategien, rein bildimmanent). Elsner 2006 dreht den Spieß provokanterweise um und sieht sozio-politische Veränderungen als eine Folge ästhetischer Entscheidungen.

56 Das Theater wäre eine andere Institution, an der sich ein solches Experiment durchspielen ließe, vgl. Alexandridis, in Druckvorbereitung.

57 Lohmann 1982; Giuliani 1995 und 1999. Junker 2002 allgemein zur Differenzierung von Grabbeigabe und Totengefäß.

58 Gegen eine sepulkral bestimmte Lesart wenden sich Hoffmann 2002, 125–129. 131–143 (Taranto, Museo Nazionale 214004 zeigt Aktaion) und Carpenter 2009.

59 Turner 1988, 21–22. Chronologische und lokale Unterschiede arbeitet z. B. Fehr 2003 in Bezug auf Korinth heraus. Allgemein s. u. a. Murray 1990 und 2003.

für das griechische Symposion nicht einfach zu rekonstruieren. Die Quellenlage, insbesondere das Bildmaterial, ist athenozentrisch und privilegiert die archaisch-frühklassische Zeit.⁶⁰ Dennoch legen neben literarischen Quellen auch ikonographische wie archäologische Befunde attischer wie unteritalischer Keramik nahe, dass Gelagesitten zwischen dem späten 6. und dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. nicht dieselben bleiben.⁶¹ Vor allem die Rolle der Zecher scheint sich mit der Zeit gewandelt zu haben. Von aktiv an den unterhaltenden Darbietungen Teilnehmenden werden sie zu bloßen Zuschauern.⁶² Das führt auch eine veränderte Wahrnehmung des Gelages als solches mit sich. Ist es zunächst wegen der in seinem Rahmen stattfindenden Aktivitäten von Bedeutung, so wird es später mitsamt seinen Gepflogenheiten als Institution inszeniert, gleichsam als Zitat seiner selbst.

Das spätarchaische und frühklassische Symposion als Forum der Selbstdarstellung war von verschiedenen Formen transgressiven Verhaltens und des Rollentauschs geprägt, wie u. a. François Lissarrague, Richard Neer und Alfred Schäfer gezeigt haben.⁶³ Von Aulistrien und Hetären abgesehen, waren keine Profis unter den Teilnehmern. Die Zecher unterhielten sich selbst durch Tanz, Gesang oder Verkleidung. Zu den verschiedenen Formen von ‚Maskierung‘ gehörte es, im Gesang die Stimmer oder den Charakter eines andern Wesens, etwa einer Frau oder eines Tieres anzunehmen.⁶⁴ Im beliebten Gesellschaftsspiel des *eikasmos* galt es, den Trinkkumpanen mit anderen Dingen, vorzugsweise niederen Kreaturen wie Tieren oder Angehörigen sozial verachteter Personengruppen zu vergleichen.⁶⁵

60 z. B. Lissarrague 1987; Vierneisel – Kaeser 1990; Schäfer 1997: 41–71; Neer 2002. – Athenaios, die reichste literarische Quelle, ist nicht immer leicht chronologisch zu differenzieren.

61 Die Ikonographie attischer Vasen des 6. und 5. Jhs. v. Chr. sehe ich hier als durchaus repräsentativ für Athen und nicht als speziell auf den etruskischen Exportmarkt ausgerichtet an; vgl. z. B. Reusser 2002, Osborne 2004 gegen Marconi 2004, Lynch 2009.

62 Vgl. auch für das folgende v. a. Schäfer 1997.

63 Lissarrague 1987; Schäfer 1997; Neer 2002 u. a.

64 z. B. Anth. Graeca 16,287 wo eine Frau Hektor mimt; vgl. auch Steinhart 2004, 7; ferner Pind. *fr.* 107a Snell-Maehler; Theogn. 257–260 ἵππος ἐγὼ καλὴ καὶ ἀεθλί, ἀλλὰ κάκιστον | ἄνδρα φέρω. Vgl. auch Theogn. 579–580 und 861–864; Bowie 1986, 15–21; Hedreen 2007, 238–240. Pind. *fr.* 107a Snell-Maehler; Bowie 1986, 15–21; Stehle 1996, 195.

65 Xen. *Sym.* 6.8–10; Plat. *Sym.* 215a. Generell Fraenkel 1922, 169–173; Monaco 1963, v. a. 59–69; Voutyras 1990; Pelliccia 2002, v. a. 200–214 mit Anm. 17

Diese Spiele mit dem Wechsel der eigenen Identität hatten ihre materielle Entsprechung, zum Beispiel im Trinkgeschirr selbst. Die sog. Augenschalen (Tafel 14b) verwandelten das Gesicht des Zechers beim Trinken in das des Dionysos, von Mitgliedern des Thiasos oder eines Tiers.⁶⁶ Kantharoi und Rhyta, deren Gefäßkörper als Tierköpfe gestaltet sind (Tafel 13), oder Becher in Hufform machten ihn zum Tier.⁶⁷

Zur Unterhaltung beim Bankett gehörten ferner – auch wenn sie heute schwer zu rekonstruieren sind – mimetische Aufführungen.⁶⁸ Beim *morphasmos*, der nach Athenaeus und Pollux sowohl Teil des Banketts wie einer religiösen Prozession sein konnte, traten als Tiere verkleidete Menschen auf. Matthias Steinhart und Kenneth Rothwell haben eine Reihe von Vasenbildern zusammengestellt, die Menschen in Tierkostümen in einem nicht narrativen Kontext und ohne Bühnenrequisiten zeigen. Sie interpretieren diese Bilder deshalb überzeugend als Darstellungen von Tierchören und -tänzen – und nicht von Komödienszenen – die auch während des Symposions oder des darauffolgenden Komos zur Aufführung kamen.⁶⁹ In Verbindung mit den bereits geschilderten Gelagesitten kann man wohl davon ausgehen, dass es die Symposiasten selbst waren, die sich verkleideten.⁷⁰

Verschiedene Vasenbilder scheinen das zu bestätigen. So zeigt ein Skyphos von der Athener Agora mehrere Männer auf Kissen liegend, wohl beim Symposion unter freiem Himmel (Tafel 14a). Zwei von ihnen

betont zu recht gegen Fraenkel, dass es sich um einen Zeitvertreib der Elite handelt; noch deutlicher Steiner 2007, 253–256. Eine entsprechende Szene ist auch in Aristophanes *Wespen* geschildert, s. Aristoph. *Wespen* 1308–12; Taillardat 1962, 37–38; Monaco 1963, 31–32; Pelliccia 2002, 204–205; Pütz 2007: 98–99.

66 Für verschiedene Deutungen s. z. B. Ferrari 1986; Jordan 1988; Bérard et al. 1989, 151–165; Lissarrague 1987, 134–137; Kunisch 1990 (mit Diskussion der Forschungsliteratur); Vierendeel – Kaeser 1990, 417–421; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991a, 100–102; 1991b, 178–188; Martens 1992, 285–294; Steinhart 1995, 55–68; Mitchell 2009, 36–46; Villanueva Puig 2009, 151–167.

67 Esel, Maultier, Hund und Widder sind die beliebtesten, s. Lissarrague 1995; True 2006.

68 Zu Aufführungen beim Symposion vgl. Lawler 1964, 117–120; Vetta 1983; Pellizer 1990; Schäfer 1997.

69 Steinhart 2004, 8–64; Rothwell 2007, 6–35. Ath. 1629 f 2–3; Poll. 4,103.

70 Brijder 1988 erkennt Symposiasten mit Affenmasken auf einer rotfigurig Schale. Hier ist jedoch visuell zwischen Darstellung eines realen Vorganges und Bildwitz nicht zu unterscheiden.

tragen eine seltsame Kopfbedeckung mit Stierhörnern und -ohren.⁷¹ In ähnlicher Weise spielen Darstellungen vom Zechern auf Trinkgefäßen manchmal mit der Instabilität von männlich und weiblich. Die sog. Booners sind auf Vasenbildern der Zeit von ungefähr 530–460 v. Chr. belegt, das heißt sie überlappen chronologisch mit den Darstellungen der Tiermaskeraden. Diese Booners tanzen, musizieren und tragen dabei lange Chitone, turbanartige Kopftücher, weiche Stiefel und manchmal Ohringe und Sonnenschirme (Tafel 15). Lange Zeit drehte sich die Diskussion darum, ob diese Männer Transvestiten sind oder Männer in orientalischer Kleidung, die einen luxuriösen Lebensstil zum Ausdruck bringen.⁷² Margaret Miller hat beide Interpretationsansätze zu verbinden versucht und m. E. überzeugend gezeigt, dass die sog. Booners Komasten beim cross-dressing sind und sich gerade damit als Angehörige der Elite zu erkennen geben.⁷³ Ihre Aufmachung unterscheidet sie in jedem Fall klar vom gewöhnlichen athenischen männlichen Bürger und gleicht sie an Frauen an. Ihre Kleidung verdeutlicht somit die Instabilität von Gender, aber eben als Maskerade: aufgrund der Bärte bleiben die Männer immer als Männer erkennbar – so wie in den früheren Darstellungen des Aktaion das Tierfell als temporäre Verkleidung den Menschenkörper nicht verunklärt.

71 Agora P 32413 (ich danke Kathleen Lynch für Hilfe bei der Beschaffung des Photos); Camp 1996, 246 Nr. 22 fig. 7 pl. 7,2 interpretiert das Bild als Darstellung eines Picknicks im Freien als Theaterszene oder Kultritual. Für letzteres s. auch Rothwell 2007, 46–55. Lynch 2011, 111–118, 197–200 Nr. 28 FarbAbb. 8 Abb. 44 erwägt mehrere Möglichkeiten, darunter ländliche Dionysia, aber auch verkleidete Symposiasten. Sie hält Kostümierung jedoch nicht für gängige Praxis beim Gelage, sondern betrachtet die Figuren auf dem Athener Skyphos als Mitglieder einer bestimmten, nicht näher definierbaren, aber exklusiv agierenden Gruppe. Ramage 1983, 546–547 hält die Personen für Nichtgriechen. Steinhart 2004, 23–24 verweist auf Athen. 2,38e, wo Symposiasten mit Stieren (und Pantheren) verglichen werden. Aber der Vergleich bezieht sich auf ihr vom Wein erzeugtes Rasen. Den Charakter eines Kostüms haben auch die Helme der ‚Reiter‘ auf einer schwarzfigurigen Amphore in Berlin, Antikensammlung F 1697 (Rothwell 2007, Taf. 1) mit ihren ohren- oder hornartigen Zusätzen.

72 z. B. DeVries 1973; Kurtz – Boardman 1986; Price 1990; Kurke 1992, 73–103; Neer 2002, 19–23 gegen Buschor 1923; Caskey – Beazley 1954; Kenner 1970, 112–132; Frontisi-Ducroux – Lissarrague 1990.

73 Miller 1999.

Dass ‚Frau‘ ähnlich wie ‚Tier‘ ein Kostüm sein konnte, belegen u. a. schwarzfigurige Darstellungen von Männern mit Schirmen oder gar nackten Männern, die weibliche Büsten auf dem Kopf tragen (Tafel 14b).⁷⁴ Die Häupter der Freiluftsymposiasten auf dem bereits erwähnten Skyphos von der Athener Agora (Tafel 14a) sind nicht nur mit Stierhörnern und -ohren geschmückt, sondern darunter auch mit einer typisch weiblichen Kopfbedeckung, dem *sakkos*, den wir auch von den Booners kennen.⁷⁵ Trinkgefäße, meist Kantharoi, in Gestalt von weiblichen Köpfen belegen schließlich, dass ‚Frau‘ als eine Maske des Anderen (neben dem Tier oder dem Barbaren) fungierte.

Worte, Gefäße und Bilder belegen also eine performative Praxis der Metamorphose, die mit bereits beobachteten ikonographischen Phänomenen korrespondiert. Verkleidung wie Maskierung, ob poetisch oder materiell, lassen die Grenze zwischen Menschen und Tierkörper sichtbar. Wie in früheren Darstellungen des Aktaion, in denen er ein Tierfell trägt, ist die Verwandlung temporär.

Um die Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. scheinen sich manche Symposionpraktiken zu verändern, wie Alfred Schäfer gezeigt hat.⁷⁶ Alte Traditionen wurden zwar weiter verfolgt.⁷⁷ Schrift- und Bildquellen späterer klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit belegen jedoch eindeutig die gestiegene Bedeutung von professionellen Unterhaltern. Visuelle Darstellungen des Symposiums zeigen diese neue Form eines angemessenen Gelageverlaufs (Abb. 4 und Tafel 16). Die Zecher halten sich zurück; anstatt selbst aufzutreten liegen sie nun vornehm auf den Klinen und sehen professionellen Schaustellern zu. Das konnten Pantomimen sein, wie die in Xenophons *Symposion*, die zunächst akrobatische Tänze vorführen und dann die erotische Begegnung von Dionysos und Ariadne nachstellen.⁷⁸ Ihre offenbar

74 Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale H 2729 (= Inv. 81138); Rom, Museo Artistico Industriale; vgl. Brommer 1954 Abb. 1–3; Taaffe 1991, 95–96 Abb. 3.

75 Sollte es sich um eine *mitra*, also ein ‚orientales‘ Kleidungsstück handeln, wäre es hier, in Verbindung mit den Tierelementen, ein Zeichen der Alterität. Für andere Beispiele vgl. Raeck 1981; Miller 1991; Scheibler 2000.

76 Schäfer 1997, 76–89; s. auch Hirschmann 1985, 24–25 für die bildlichen Darstellungen.

77 Das Kottabos-Spiel ist z. B. auch für die hellenistische Zeit belegt; Männer sollen sich weiterhin als Frauen verkleidet haben; vgl. Athen. 668a–b; Mingazzini 1950–1; Miller 1999, 242–244 mit weiteren Belegen.

78 Xen. *Sym.* 9, 3–7.



3 Attisches Rhyton mit Vorderausguß. Athen, Nationalmuseum 2057

höchst realistische Vorstellung regt die Bankettteilnehmer bezeichnenderweise nicht an, sich dem Treiben anzuschließen. Vielmehr eilen sie nach Hause in ihre Ehebetten; die Ledigen schwören bald zu heiraten. Auch ‚Profi-Tiere‘ kamen beim Gelage zum Einsatz. So berichtet Athenaeus von trainierten Pferden, die zur Unterhaltung der Bankett-Teilnehmer tanzten.⁷⁹ Alfred Schäfer hat diese Situation der Symposiasten zu recht mit der von Zuschauern im Theater verglichen.

Veränderungen innerhalb des athenischen Trinkgeschirrs weisen in eine ähnliche Richtung. *Kalos*-Inschriften, die einst den Zecher

⁷⁹ Ath. 12, 520 c–f.

eingeladen hatten, ein Bild, eine Person, oder eine Vorführung mit der eigenen Stimme zu kommentieren, verschwinden um 440 v. Chr.⁸⁰ Die Produktion von Tiergefäßen, die in den Jahren um 460–450 v. Chr. nochmals einen Höhepunkt erfahren hatte, läuft zum Ende des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. allmählich aus. Einige der späteren Beispiele lehnen sich deutlicher an ältere persische Modelle an; die Tierschnauze ist nicht mehr geschlossen, sondern hat ein Loch (Abb. 3).⁸¹ Das erforderte auch eine andere Art und Weise der Benutzung. Während man aus älteren Modellen wie aus Schalen oder Bechern trank, d. h. den Gefäßrand zum Mund führte, so dass der Gefäßkörper dabei das Gesicht bedeckte, wurde das Rhyton später nach persischer Sitte angehoben, um sich die Flüssigkeit in den Mund laufen zu lassen oder in eine Trinkschale zu gießen. Darstellungen von Symposia auf attischen und unteritalischen Krateren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. zeigen diese neue Mode neben der traditionellen Trinkweise (Tafel 16). Die Aneignung orientalischer Praktiken ist immer als Beleg für gestiegenes Luxusbedürfnis interpretiert worden. Aber die neue Trinkhaltung hatte auch einen anderen Effekt; anstatt sich mit dem Gefäß zu maskieren, hatte der Zecher es zu konfrontieren und die Tierfratze anzusehen.⁸² Im Gegensatz zu früheren Gelagesitten, die den Symposiasten zum Zuschauer und Darsteller machen, war er hier gewissermaßen nur noch Zuschauer.

So sehen wir ihn auch nicht mehr als cross-dresser, sondern als jemanden, der sich an den androgynen Körpern von professionellen Schaustellern erfreut, wie z. B. Mädchen, die den Waffentanz oder den sog. Oklasma-Tanz vollführen (Abb. 4).⁸³ In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um ursprünglich männliche Aktivitäten. Insbesondere der Waffentanz wurde von jungen Männern während der Dionysia oder den Panathenäen aufgeführt. Die Körper der jungen, oft nackten Schaustellerinnen beim

⁸⁰ Slater 1999: 156–158. Zum performativen Aspekt vgl. Lissarrague 1987, 123–139; Lissarrague 1999; ferner Svenbro 1993, 44–63 und v. a. 187–216. Einen generellen Überblick zur Forschungsliteratur gibt Steiner 2007, 65–93.

⁸¹ Material gesammelt bei Hoffmann 1962, 1966 und 1979.

⁸² Ich verdanke diese Beobachtung Susanne Ebbinghaus; vgl. auch Ebbinghaus 2006; 2008a und b.

⁸³ Lawler 1964, 106–110; Poursat 1968, v. a. 586–604 Nr. 30–54; Delavaud-Roux 1993, 9–16. 69–106; Schäfer 1997, 76–83. 110 Nr. VI 3 a–l; Steinhart 2004, 14–20. Weitere Literaturhinweise bei Naerebout 1997, 132–133. 288. 405–406. Speziell zur Pyrriche Ceccarelli 1998 und 2004. Auch die weibliche Pantomime in Xenophons Symposion vollführt einen solchen Tanz, vgl. Xen. *Sym.* 2.13.



4 Attisch rotfiguriger Krater. Neapel, Museo Nazionale SA 281

Gelage erscheinen völlig androgyn mit ihren schmalen Hüften und der flachen Brust. Anstelle der früheren Maskeraden, bei denen sich männliche Symposiasten als Frauen verkleideten, haben wir es hier mit Figuren zu tun, die die Grenze zwischen den Geschlechtern verwischen lassen.

Im späten 5. Jh. v. Chr. hatten die Waffentänze keine militärische Bedeutung mehr. Ihre Aufführung galt eher der Zurschaustellung von Tradition oder, wie Paola Ceccarelli meint, der athenischen Selbstwahrnehmung.⁸⁴ Auch das Gelage scheint starke Züge einer solchen Inszenierung der eigenen Kultur angenommen zu haben. Sympotische Gepflogenheiten – sei es in Bezug auf Erziehung und den *eros* (wie in Platons *Symposion*)⁸⁵ oder auf die korrekte Handhabung des Trinkgeschirrs (wie in Kritias Trinkliedern) – werden historisiert und diskutiert eher denn praktiziert.⁸⁶ Und schließlich werden sie, wie z. B. in Aristophanes *Wespen*, auf der Bühne selbst thematisiert, wo der junge Athener Bdelykleon seinen sozusagen demokratisch verdorbenen Vater Philokleon in die Sitten des guten alten aristokratischen Banketts einweiht.⁸⁷

Als ein letzter Schritt dieser zunehmend symbolischen Funktion des Symposions kann die Tatsache gelten, dass die unteritalischen Gefäße

⁸⁴ Ceccarelli 2004, 117.

⁸⁵ Zu Eros und Erziehung in Xenophons *Symposion* vgl. Wohl 2004.

⁸⁶ Schäfer 1997, 74–90; Iannucci 2002; Steiner 2002.

⁸⁷ Vgl. v. a. Aristoph. *Wespen* 1122–1150. 1168–1264. 1326–1448.

Formen des Trinkgeschirrs wie z. B. den Krater nurmehr zitieren ohne jemals für entsprechende Zwecke hergestellt worden zu sein, wie fehlender innerer Firnis oder Löcher im Boden belegen.⁸⁸ Als Grabbeigaben verwiesen sie auf das Symposion als eine – wohl eher als panhellenisch, denn speziell athenisch angesehene – Form kultivierter Gemeinschaft. Auch hier wird die eigene Kultur, oder die, derer man sich zugehörig fühlt, inszeniert. Diese Selbstreferentialität bzw. Zitathaftigkeit ist auch in den Bildern zu beobachten, wo sie gleichzeitig die Grenzen zwischen verschiedenen Körpern und Realitätsebenen verschwimmen läßt.

Es ergibt sich demnach ein konstantes Wechselspiel zwischen Bildern der Metamorphose und den Praktiken, in deren Kontext sie gesehen wurden, wie z. B. dem Symposium in seinen unterschiedlichen Ausformungen. Dieses Wechselspiel ist selbst einem Wandel unterworfen. In früheren Darstellungen wird die mythische Verwandlung im Kontext des Symposions immer wieder aktualisiert. Man könnte dies durchaus als aoristisch im performativen Sinne verstehen. Zwar sind die Teilnehmer der Maskerade Teil des Geschehens und haben insofern ein gewisse Innensicht, aber sie bleiben der Illusion gewahr. Die mythische Vergangenheit wird eben nur ausschnittshaft, in einer Außensicht aktualisiert. Spätere Darstellungen beschreiben dagegen ein mythisches Ereignis komplett, als vergangen und gewissermassen aus der Perspektive der mythischen Protagonisten, also imperfektivisch. Eine solche Innensicht kann allerdings nur illusorisch erzeugt werden, d. h. wenn sie als Schauspiel, Kunstwerk oder Bild in der Gegenwart von außen betrachtet wird. Und es ist gerade diese Außensicht, die das Verschwimmen von Grenzen in der eigenen Wahrnehmung, sei es die zwischen Mensch und Tier, Mann und Frau, oder Realität und ihrer Darstellung erleichterte.

ABKÜRZUNGEN

LSJ Liddell, H. G., R. Scott und H. Stuart Jones 1996. *A Greek-English lexicon, with a revised supplement*. Oxford.

88 Lohmann 1982. Eine rein funeräre Benutzung gilt allerdings nicht für die Rhyta, wie z. B. von Hoffmann 1988, 1989 oder 1997 behauptet, s. dagegen Ebbinghaus 2008a.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Alexandridis, A. 2009 „Shifting Species. Animal and Human Bodies in Attic Vase Painting of the 6th and 5th Centuries B.C.“ In *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, hrsg. von Th. Fögen und M. Lee, 261–282. Berlin, New York.

Alexandridis, A. 2013 „Zwischen Mensch und Tier: Bilder der Metamorphose und der Zoophilie im griechischen Mythos.“ In *Animali. Tiere und Fabelwesen von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, hrsg. von L. Tori und A. Steinbrecher, Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum, 70–79. Genf, Mailand.

Alexandridis, A. (in Druckvorbereitung) *Zóa. Images of the Body Between Man, Woman and Animal in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge, New York.

Aston, E. 2011 *Mixanthrôpoi: animal-human hybrid deities in Greek religion*. Kernos Suppl. 25. Liège.

Bakker, E. 2007 „Time, Tense, and Thucydides,“ *CW* 100.2: 113–122.

Beetham, F. 2002 „The Aorist Indicative,“ *GaR* 2002: 227–236.

Belting, H. 2001 *Bildanthropologie*. München.

Bérard, Cl. et al. (Hrsg.) 1989 *A City of Images*. Princeton.

Bernsdorff, H. 2000 *Kunstwerke und Verwandlungen. Vier Studien zu ihrer Darstellung im Werk Ovids*. Bern, Frankfurt am Main.

Blech, M. 1982 *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*. Berlin.

Borg, B. E. 2002 *Der Logos des Mythos. Allegorien und Personifikationen in der frühen griechischen Kunst*. München.

Bowie, E. L. 1986 „Early Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival,“ *JHS* 108: 13–35.

Bowra, C. M. 1961 *Greek Lyric Poetry. From Alcman to Simonides*. Oxford.

Brijder, H. A. G. 1988 „Apish performances in the 6th century BC.“ In *Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery (Copenhagen, August 31 – September 4, 1987)*, hrsg. von J. Christiansen und T. Melander, 62–70. Copenhagen.

Brommer, F. 1954 „Kopf über Kopf,“ *A&A* 4: 42–44.

Burn, L. 1987 *The Meidias Painter*. Oxford.

Buschor, E. 1923 *Das Schirmfest*. Berlin.

Buxton, R. G. A. 2009 *Forms of astonishment. Greek myths of metamorphosis*. Oxford.

- Bynum, C. W. 2001** *Metamorphosis and Identity*. New York.
- Camp, J. McK. 1996** „Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1994 and 1995,“ *Hesperia* 65: 231–261.
- Carpenter, Th. H. 2009** „Prolegomenon to the Study of Apulian Red-Figure Pottery,“ *AJA* 113: 27–38.
- Caskey, L. D. und J. D. Beazley 1954** *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Part 2. London, Boston.
- Ceccarelli, P. 1998** *La pirrica nell'antichità greco romana. Studi sulla danza armata*. Pisa.
- Ceccarelli, P. 2004** „Dancing the Pyrrhiché in Athens.“ In *Music and the muses: the culture of mousiké in the classical Athenian city*, hrsg. von P. Murray und P. Wilson, 91–117. Oxford.
- Coelsch-Foisner, S. 2005** „Metamorphic Changes in the Arts.“ In *Metamorphosis. Structures of Cultural Transformations*, hrsg. von J. Schlaeger, 39–56. Tübingen.
- Cohen, B. (Hrsg.) 2000** *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*. Leiden.
- Davies, M. 1986** „A Convention of Metamorphosis in Greek Art,“ *JHS* 106: 182–183.
- Delavaud-Roux, M.-H. 1993** *Les danses armées en Grèce ancienne*. Aix-en-Provence.
- DeVries, K. 1973** „East meets West at dinner,“ *Expedition* 15: 32–39.
- Ebbinghaus, S. 2006** „Begegnungen mit Ägypten und Vorderasien im archaischen Heraheiligtum von Samos.“ In *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci. Atti del convegno internazionale*, hrsg. von A. Naso, 187–229. Firenze.
- Ebbinghaus, S. 2008a** „Of Rams, Women, and Orientals: A Brief History of Attic Plastic Vases.“ In *Papers on Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, hrsg. von K. Lapatin, 145–160. Los Angeles.
- Ebbinghaus, S. 2008b** „Patterns of Elite Interaction. Animal-Headed Vases in Anatolia in the Eight and Seventh Centuries BC.“ In *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and their Neighbours*, hrsg. von J. C. Billie, M. R. Bachvarova und I. C. Rutherford, 181–190. Oxford.
- Elsner, J. 2006** „Reflections on the ‚Greek Revolution‘ in art: from changes in viewing to the transformation of subjectivity.“ In *Rethinking revolutions through ancient Greece*, hrsg. von S. Goldhill und R. Osborne, 68–95. Cambridge.
- Fabricius, J. 2001** „Verweiblichung und Verweichlichung – Zu männlichen und weiblichen Körperkonzepten in der griechischen Kultur.“ In *Geschlecht weiblich. Körpererfahrungen – Körperkonzepte*, hrsg. von C. Franz und G. Schwibbe, 35–83. Berlin.

Fabricius, J. 2003 *Soma/corpus. Körperkonzepte und Geschlechterdifferenz in der griechischen und römischen Kultur* (Göttingen: unpubl. Habilitation).

Fabricius, J. 2007 „Grenzziehungen. Zu Strategien somatischer Geschlechterdiskurse in der griechischen und römischen Kultur.“ In *Geschlechterdefinitionen und Geschlechtergrenzen in der Antike*, hrsg. von E. Hartmann, U. Hartmann und K. Pietzner, 65–86. Stuttgart.

Fehling, D. 2002 „Zur Geschichte des Perfekts,“ *Hyperboreus* 8: 215–221.

Fehr, B. 2003 „What has Dionysos to do with the symposium?“ In *Symposium. Banquet et représentations en Grèce et à Rome, Colloque international – Université de Toulouse*, hrsg. von Ch. Orfanos und J.-C. Carrière, 23–37. Toulouse.

Ferrari, G. 1986 „Eye-Cup,“ *RA* 5–20.

Forbes Irving, P. M. C. 1990 *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths*. Oxford.

Fraenkel, E. 1922 *Plautinisches im Plautus*. Berlin.

Frontisi-Ducroux, F. 1991a *Le dieu-masque. Une figure du Dionysos d'Athènes*. Rome.

Frontisi-Ducroux, F. 1991b „Senza maschera né specchio: l'uomo greco e i suoi doppi.“ In *La maschera, il doppio e il ritratto. Strategie dell'identità*, hrsg. von M. Bettini, 131–158. Rome.

Frontisi-Ducroux, F. 1997 „Actéon, ses chiens et leur maitre.“ In *L'animal dans l'antiquité*, hrsg. von B. Cassin und J.-C. Labarrière, 435–454. Paris.

Frontisi-Ducroux, F. 2003 *L'homme-cerf et la femme araignée. Figures grecques de la métamorphose*. Paris.

Frontisi-Ducroux, F. und F. Lissarrague 1990 „From Ambiguity to Ambivalence: A Dionysiac Excursion Through the ‚Anakreontic‘ Vases.“ In *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, hrsg. von D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler und F. I. Zeitlin, 211–256. Princeton (franz. in *Aion* 5, 1983, 11–32).

de la Genière, J. 2009 „Les amateurs des scènes érotiques de l'archaïsme récent.“ In *Shapes and uses of Greek vases (7th–4th centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles, 27–29 April 2006*, hrsg. von A. Tsingarida, 337–346. Brussels.

Giuliani, L. 1995 *Tragik, Trauer und Trost. Bildervasen für eine apulische Totenfeier*. Berlin.

Giuliani, L. 1999 „Contenuto narrativo e significato allegorico nell'iconografia della ceramica apula.“ In *Im Spiegel des Mythos: Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt*, hrsg. von F. De Angelis und S. Muth, 43–51. Wiesbaden.

Giuliani, L. 2003 *Bild und Mythos. Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst*. München.

Guimond, L. 1981 *LIMC* 1: 454–469, s.v. „Aktaion“.

Hedreen, G. M. 2007 „Involved Spectatorship in Archaic Greek Art,“ *Art History* 30: 217–246.

Heilmeyer, M. 2002 „Kränze für das griechische Symposion in klassischer Zeit.“ In *Die griechische Klassik. Idee oder Wirklichkeit*, hrsg. von M. Maischberger, 296–299. Mainz.

Heinemann, A. 2000 „Bilderspiele beim Gelage. Symposiast und Satyr im Athen des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.“ In *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike*, hrsg. von T. Hölscher, 321–349. München.

Himmelman-Wildschütz, N. 1967 *Erzählung und Figur in der archaischen Kunst*. Abhandlungen der Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur. Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse 1967.2. Wiesbaden.

Hölscher, T. 1999 „Immagini mitologiche e valori sociali nella Grecia arcaica.“ In *Im Spiegel des Mythos: Bilderwelt und Lebenswelt*, hrsg. von F. De Angelis und S. Muth, 11–30. Wiesbaden.

Hölscher, T. (Hrsg.) 2000 *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike*. München.

Hölscher, T. 2003 „Images of war in Greece and Rome. Between military practice, public memory, and cultural symbolism,“ *JRS* 93: 1–17.

Hoffmann, A. 2002 *Grabritual und Gesellschaft. Gefäßformen, Bildthemen und Funktionen unteritalisch-rotfiguriger Keramik aus der Nekropole von Tarent*. Rahden/Westf.

Hoffmann, H. 1962 *Attic Red-figured Rhyta*. Mainz.

Hoffmann, H. 1966 *Tarentine Rhyta*. Mainz.

Hoffmann, H. 1967 „Eine neue Amphora des Eucharides-Malers.“ *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 12: 10–34.

Hoffmann, H. 1979 „Attic and Tarentine Rhyta. Addendum.“ In *Studies in honor of Arthur Dale Trendall*, hrsg. von A. Cambitoglou, 95–97. Sydney.

Hoffmann, H. 1988 „Why did the Greeks need imagery? An anthropological approach to the study of Greek vase painting,“ *Hephaistos* 9: 143–162.

Hoffmann, H. 1989 „Rhyta and Kantharoi in Greek Ritual,“ *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 4: 131–166.

Hoffmann, H. 1997 *Sotades: Symbols of Immortality on Greek Vases*. Oxford.

Hurschmann, R. 1985 *Symposionszenen auf unteritalischen Vasen*. Würzburg.

Iannucci, A. 2002 *La parola e l'azione. I frammenti simposiali di Crizia*. Bologna.

Jacobsthal, P. 1929 „Aktaions Tod.“ *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 5: 1–23.

- Jacobsthal, P. 1931** *Die melischen Reliefs*. Berlin.
- Jordan, J. A. 1988** *Attic black-figure eye-cups*. Diss. New York.
- Junker, K. 2002** „Symposiengeschirr oder Totengefäße. Überlegungen zur Funktion attischer Vasen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.“ *AntK* 42: 3–26.
- Junker, K. 2003** „Die Reliefmetopen des Heratempels von Selinunt. Mythoskritik und der Wandel des Sagenbildes im 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert.“ *RM* 110: 227–261.
- Kenner, H. 1970** *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike*. Bonn.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1978** *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen*. Schriften zur antiken Mythologie 4. Mainz.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1992** *LIMC* VI: 322–329, s.v. „Lyssa“.
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 2009** *LIMC* Suppl. 1: 40–2, s.v. „Aktaion“.
- Krumeich, R. 2002** „Euaion ist schön‘. Zur Rühmung eines zeitgenössischen Schauspielers auf attischen Symposiengefäßen.“ In *Die Geburt des Theaters in der griechischen Antike*, hrsg. von S. Moraw und E. Nölle, 141–145. Mainz.
- Kunisch, N. 1990** „Die Augen der Augenschalen.“ *AntK* 33: 20–27.
- Kurke, L. 1992** „The Politics of ἀποσώνη in Archaic Greece.“ *ClAnt* 11.1: 91–120.
- Kurtz, D. C. – J. Boardman 1986** „Booners.“ *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3: 35–70.
- Lacy, L. R. 1990** „Aktaion and a Lost Bath of Artemis.“ *JHS* 110: 26–42.
- Lafaye, G. 1904/1971** *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*. Paris / Reprint Hildesheim, New York.
- Lawler, L. B. 1964** *The Dance in Ancient Greece*. London.
- Lissarrague, F. 1987** *Un flot d'images. Une esthétique du banquet grec*, Paris.
- Lissarrague, F. 1995** „Identity and Otherness: the Case of Attic Head Vases and Plastic Vases.“ *Source* 15: 5–9.
- Lissarrague, F. 1999** „Publicity and performance: kalos inscriptions in Attic vase painting.“ In *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, hrsg. von S. Goldhill und R. Osborne, 359–373. Cambridge.
- Lohmann, H. 1982** „Zu technischen Besonderheiten apulischer Vasen.“ *JdI* 97: 191–249.
- Lynch, Kathleen M. 2009** „Erotic Images on Attic Vases: Markets and Meanings.“ In *Athenian potters and painters II*, hrsg. von J. H. Oakley und O. Palagia, 159–165. Oxford.
- Lynch, K. M. 2011** *The symposium in context. Pottery from a late archaic house near the Athenian Agora*. Hesperia Suppl. 46. Princeton.

Marconi, C. 2004 „Images for a warrior. On a group of Athenian vases and their public.“ In *Greek vases: images, contexts and controversies*. Proceedings of the conference sponsored by the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23–24 March 2002, hrsg. von C. Marconi, 27–40. Leiden, Boston.

Martens, D. 1992 *Une esthétique de la transgression. Le vase grec de la fin de l'époque géométrique au début de l'époque classique*. Bruxelles.

McKay, K. L. 1965 „The Use of the Ancient Greek Perfect Down to the Second Century A.D.“ *BICS* 12: 1–21.

Merleau-Ponty, M. 1945 *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris.

Miller, M. C. 1991 „Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?“ In *Dining in a Classical Context*, hrsg. von W. J. Slater, 59–81. Ann Arbor.

Miller, M. C. 1999 „Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamnos,“ *AJA* 103: 223–253.

Mingazzini, P. 1950–1 „Sulla pretesa funzione oracolare del kottabos,“ *AA*: 35–47.

Mitchell, A. G. 2009 *Greek Vase-painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*. Cambridge.

Monaco, G. 1963 *Paragoni burleschi degli antichi*. Palermo.

Moraw, S. 1998 *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Mainz.

Moret, J.-M. 1975 *L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italiote. Les mythes et leur expression figurée au IV^{ème} siècle*. Rome.

Mugione, E. 1988 „La punizione di Atteone: Immagini di un mito tra VI e IV sec. a. C.“ *DialArch* 6.1: 111–32.

Murray, O. (Hrsg.) 1990 *Sympotica: A symposium on the Symposium*. Oxford.

Murray, O. 2003 „Sympotica: twenty years on.“ In *Symposium: banquet et représentations en Grèce et à Rome: colloque international, Université de Toulouse-le-Mirail, mars 2002*, hrsg. von C. Orfanos und J.-C. Carrière, 13–21. Toulouse.

Muth, S. 2008 *Gewalt im Bild. Das Phänomen der medialen Gewalt im Athen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin, New York.

Naerebout, F. G. 1997 *Attractive Performances. Ancient Greek Dance: Three Preliminary Studies*. Amsterdam.

Nagy, G. 1973 „On the death of Actaeon,“ *HSCP* 77: 179–80.

Neer, R. T. 1998 „Imitation, Inscription, Antilogic,“ *Mètis* 13: 17–38.

Neer, R. T. 2002 *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting. The Craft of Democracy, ca. 530–470 B.C.E.* Cambridge.

Osborne, R. 2004 „Images of a warrior. On a group of Athenian vases and their public.“ In *Greek vases: images, contexts and controversies*. Proceedings of the conference sponsored by the Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23–24 March 2002, hrsg. von C. Marconi, 41–54. Leiden, Boston.

Pelliccia, H. 2002 „The Interpretation of Iliad 6.145–9 and the Sympotic Contribution to Rhetoric,“ *Colby Quarterly* 38.2: 197–230.

Pellizer, E. 1990 „Outlines of a morphology of sympotic entertainment.“ In *Symptotica: A symposium on the Symposion*, hrsg. von O. Murray, 177–184. Oxford.

Porter, J. I. (Hrsg.) 1999 *Constructions of the Classical Body*. Ann Arbor.

Poursat, J.-C. 1968 „Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique,“ *BCH* 92: 550–615.

Price, S. D. 1990 „Anacreontic Vases Reconsidered,“ *GRBS* 31.2: 133–175.

Pütz, B. 2007 *The Symposium and Komos in Aristophanes*. Oxford.

Raeck, W. 1981 *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Bonn.

Raeck, W. 1984 „Zur Erzählweise archaischer und klassischer Mythenbilder,“ *JdI* 99: 1–25.

Ramage, N. H. 1983 „A Merrythought Cup from Sardis,“ *AJA* 87: 453–460.

Reusser, Ch. 2002 *Vasen für Etrurien. Verbreitung und Funktionen attischer Keramik im Etrurien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Zürich.

Rose, H. P. 1932 „De Actaeone Stesichoreo,“ *Mnemosyne* 59: 431–432.

Rothwell, K. 2007 *Nature, Culture, and the Origins of Greek Comedy*. Cambridge.

Sarti, S. 2009 „An unpublished dimidiating animal-head cup in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire of Brussels.“ In *Shapes and uses of Greek vases (7th–4th centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles, 27–29 April 2006*, hrsg. von A. Tsingarida, 203–212. Brussels.

Schäfer, A. 1997 *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion. Darbietungen, Spiele und Wettkämpfe von homerischer bis in spätklassische Zeit*. Mainz.

Scheibler, I. 1983 *Griechische Töpferkunst*. München.

Scheibler, I. 2000 „Attische Skyphoi für attische Feste,“ *AntK* 43: 17–43.

Schmitt-Pantel, P. 1992 *La cité au banquet. Histoire du repas public dans les cites grecques*. Rome.

Shapiro, H. A. 1993 *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts, 600–400 B.C.* Zürich.

- Shapiro, H. A. 1994** *Myth into Art. Poet and Painter in Classical Greece*. London.
- Sharrock, Alison 1996** „Representing metamorphosis.“ In *Art and text in Roman culture*, hrsg. von J. Elsner, 103–130. Cambridge.
- Slater, N. W. 1999** „The Vase as Ventriloquist: Kalos-Inscriptions and the Culture of Fame.“ In *Signs of Orality. The Oral Tradition and Its Influence in the Greek and Roman World*, hrsg. von E. A. Mackay, 144–161. Boston, Leiden.
- Small, J. P. 1999** „Time in Space: Narrative in Classical Art,“ *Art Bull* 81.4: 562–575.
- Snodgrass, A. M. 1982** *Narration and Allusion in Archaic Greek Art*. London.
- Stagg, F. 1972** „The abused aorist,“ *Journal of Biblical Literature* 91: 222–231.
- Stansbury-O'Donnell, M. D. 1999** *Pictorial Narrative in Ancient Greek Art*. Cambridge.
- Stehle, E. 1996** *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece. Nondramatic Poetry in Its Setting*. Princeton.
- Steiner, A. 2002** „Public and Private: Syssition and Symposion in Fifth Century Athens,“ *ClAnt* 21: 341–379.
- Steiner, A. 2007** *Reading Greek Vases*. Cambridge.
- Steinhart, M. 1995** *Das Motiv des Auges in der griechischen Bildkunst*. Mainz.
- Steinhart, M. 2004** *Die Kunst der Nachahmung. Darstellungen mimetischer Vorführungen in der griechischen Bildkunst archaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Mainz.
- Svenbro, J. 1993** *Phrasikleia. An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca, London (Franz. Original 1988).
- Taaffe, L. K. 1991** „The Illusion of Gender Disguise in Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusae,“ *Helios* 18.1: 91–112.
- Taillardat, J. 1962** *Les images d'Aristophane. Études de langue et de style*. Paris.
- True, M. 2006** „Plastic Vases and Vases with Plastic Additions.“ In *The Colors of Clay. Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, hrsg. von B. Cohen, 239–290. Los Angeles.
- Tseëlon, E. (Hrsg.) 2001** *Masquerade and Identities. Essays on Gender, Sexuality and Marginality*. London.
- Tsingarida, A. (Hrsg.) 2009** *Shapes and uses of Greek vases (7th–4th centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles, 27–29 April 2006*. Brussels.
- Turner, V. 1988** *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York.
- Vetta, M. 1983** *Poesia e simposio nella Grecia antica*. Roma, Bari.
- Vierneisel, K. und B. Kaeser (Hrsg.) 1990** *Kunst der Schale, Kultur des Trinkens*. München.

Villanueva Puig, M.-Ch. 2009 *Ménades. Recherches sur le thiasé féminin de Dionysos des origines à la fin de l'époque archaïque*. Paris.

Voutyras, E. 1990 „Εικάζειν,“ *Thrakike Eptetida* 7: 35–48.

Wærn-Sperber, A. 2001 „Ancient Perception of Time in Metamorphosis Scenes on Greek Vases.“ In *Ceramics in context. Proceedings of the Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery held at Stockholm, 13–15 June 1997*, hrsg. von Ch. Scheffer, 155–63. Stockholm.

Wannagat, D. 1999 „Die Bostoner Kirkeschale. Homerische Mythen in dionysischer Deutung?“ *AntK* 42, 9–20.

Widdows, D. L. 2006 *Removing the Body: Representations of Animal Skin on Greek Vases*. Ann Arbor.

Widdows, D. L. 2012 „Hide and Peek: Gazing upon Epiktetos's London E38,“ *Hephaistos* 29: 69–86.

Winkler-Horaček, L. 2000 „Mischwesen und Tierfries in der archaischen Vasenmalerei von Korinth.“ In *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike*, hrsg. von T. Hölscher, 217–244. München.

Winkler-Horaček, L. 2008 „Fiktionale Grenträume im frühen Griechenland.“ In *Mensch und Tier in der Antike. Grenzziehung und Grenzüberschreitung*, hrsg. von A. Alexandridis, M. Wild und L. Winkler-Horaček, 503–525. Wiesbaden.

Winkler-Horaček, L. im Druck *Monster in der frühgriechischen Kunst. Die Überwindung des Unfassbaren*. Image & Context 4. Berlin, New York.

Wohl, V. J. 2004 „Dirty Dancing.“ In *Music and the muses: the culture of mousiké in the classical Athenian city*, hrsg. von P. Murray und P. Wilson, 336–363. Oxford.

Zgoll, Ch. 2004 *Phänomenologie der Metamorphose: Verwandlungen und Verwandtes in der augusteischen Dichtung*. Tübingen.

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEIS

1 nach Frontisi-Ducroux 2003, Farbtaf. 4.

2 nach Kossatz-Deissmann 1978, Taf. 31,2.

3 Ethnikon Archaialogikon Mouseion, Athen; Photo St. Stournaras;

© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund.

4 nach Schäfer 1997 Taf. 39,2.

TAFELN

10 © Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.

11 © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

12 © Musée du Louvre, Paris / Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Photo Hervé Lewandowski / Art Resource NY.

13 © Trustees of the British Museum.

14a © American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

14b © Neapel, Museo Nazionale.

15 © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München; Photo Renate Kühling.

16 © Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

CONTRIBUTORS

ANNETTA ALEXANDRIDIS is Associate Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology, Department of History of Art and Visual Studies at Cornell University, NY. She is the author of *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses: Eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna* (2004) and co-editor (with Markus Wild and Lorenz Winkler-Horacek) of *Mensch und Tier in der Antike: Grenzziehung und Grenzüberschreitung* (2008). Currently she is working on a book with the title *Shifting Species: The Iconography of Metamorphosis and Zoophilia in Ancient Greece*.

MARCELLO BARBANERA is Professor of Archaeology and History of Greek and Roman Art in the Department of Classical Studies at the University La Sapienza of Rome. He is author of *Storie dell'arte antica* (2004), *Relitti riletti. Metamorfosi delle rovine e identità culturale* (2010), *Cultura e costruzione del ricordo nelle società del Mediterraneo e del Vicino Oriente antico* (2011) and at 'Morphomata Lectures Cologne': *The Envy of Daedalus. Essay on the Artist as Murderer* (MLC 4, 2013). He was fellow at Morphomata from April 2012 to March 2013.

HANS BERNSDORFF is Professor for Classical Philology at Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main. His monographs include *Das Fragmentum bucolicum Vindobonense* (P. Vindob. Rainer 29801). *Einleitung, Text und Kommentar* (Hypomnemata 123, 1999) and *Die Darstellung von Hirten in der nicht-bukolischen Dichtung des Hellenismus* (Palingenesia 72, 2001). Currently he is editing for Oxford University Press: *Anacreon of Teos, Testimonia and Fragments. Edited and translated with introduction and commentary*.

JAN N. BREMMER is Emeritus Professor (2009) of Religious Studies at the University of Groningen. His most recent books are *The Rise of Christianity through the Eyes of Gibbon, Harnack and Rodney Stark* (2010) and *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World* (2014). He is the co-editor (with Marco Formisano) of *Perpetua's Passions* (2012). He was fellow at

Morphomata from October 2010 to September 2011 and organised with Dietrich Boschung a congress on *The Materiality of Magic* ('Morphomata', vol. 20, 2015).

VÉRONIQUE DASEN is Professor of Classical archaeology at the University of Fribourg (CH). She is the author of *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (1993) and *Jumeaux, jumelles dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* (2005); co-editor (with H. King) of *La médecine dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* (2008) and (with M. Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère) of *Des Fata aux fées: regards croisés de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (2011).

HELEN KING is Professor of Classical Studies at The Open University (UK). She is the author of 'Barbes, sang et genre: afficher la différence dans le monde antique', in Jérôme Wilgaux and Véronique Dasen *Langages et métaphores du corps* (Rennes 2009) 153–168 and with Véronique Dasen of *La médecine dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine* (2008) and *Midwifery, Obstetrics and the Rise of Gynaecology: Users of a Sixteenth-Century Compendium* (2007).

FRANÇOIS LISSARRAGUE is Director of Studies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. His monographs translated into English include *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual* (1990), and *Greek Vases: The Athenians and Their Images* (2000). He is co-editor (with C. Bérard et al.) of *The City of Images* (1989), and (with Irene Aghion and Claire Barbillon) *Heroes and Gods of Antiquity* (1996).

LLOYD LLEWELLYN-JONES is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History, Classics Subject Area, at the School of History, Classics & Archaeology at University of Edinburgh. His monographs include *King and Court in Ancient Persia* (2013), *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (2003; paperback 2010). He is co-editor (with Andrew Erskine) of *Creating a Hellenistic World* (2011), (with Liza Cleland and Glenys Davies) of *Dress in Ancient Greece and Rome: An A–Z* (2007) and (with Liza Cleland and Mary Harlow) of *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World* (2005).

ALAN SHAPIRO is W.H. Collins Vickers Professor of Archaeology at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Department of Classics. He is author of *Myth into Art. Poet and Painter in Classical Greece* (1994), *Personifications in Greek Art* (1993), and at 'Morphomata Lectures Cologne': *Re-fashioning*

Anakreon in Classical Athens (MLC 2, 2012). He is editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece* (2007) and co-editor (with Nikolaos Kaltsas) of *Worshipping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (exhibition cat., Onassis Cultural Center, New York 2008). He was fellow at Morphomata from October 2009 to September 2010.

DESPOINA TSIAFAKIS is Senior Researcher of Archaeology and Head of the Cultural Heritage Department at Cultural and Educational Technology Institute (CETI). She is author of *Thrace in Attic Iconography of the 5th century B.C. Studies on the relations between Athens and Thrace* (1998, in Greek), co-editor (with M. Tiverios) of *The Role of Color in Ancient Greek Art and Architecture, 700–31 B.C.* (2002). Her publications on the topic of 'Thrace' include 'The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens', in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (Leiden 2000) 364–389.

ERIC R. VARNER is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the Departments of Art History and Classics, Emory University. He is author of 'Violent Discourses: Visual Cannibalism and the Portraits of Rome's 'Bad' Emperors', in S. Ralph (ed.), *The Archaeology of Violence: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Violence and Conflict* (2010) 121–142, *Mutilation and Transformation: Damnatio Memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture* (2004). Currently he is working on a book with the title *Grotesque Aesthetics. Transgression and Transcendence in the Age of Nero*.

Bislang in der Morphomata-Reihe erschienen:

- 1 Günter Blamberger, Dietrich Boschung (Hrsg.), *Morphomata. Kulturelle Figurationen: Genese, Dynamik, Medialität*, 2011. ISBN 978-3-7705-5148-4.
- 2 Martin Roussel (Hrsg.), *Kreativität des Findens. Figurationen des Zitats*, 2012. ISBN 978-3-7705-5305-1.
- 3 Jan Broch, Jörn Lang (Hrsg.), *Literatur der Archäologie. Materialität und Rhetorik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, 2012. ISBN 978-3-7705-5347-1.
- 4 Dietrich Boschung, Corina Wessels-Mevissen (Eds.), *Figurations of Time in Asia*, 2012. ISBN 978-3-7705-5447-8.
- 5 Dietrich Boschung, Thierry Greub, Jürgen Hammerstaedt (Hrsg.), *Geographische Kenntnisse und ihre konkreten Ausformungen*, 2012. ISBN 978-3-7705-5448-5.
- 6 Dietrich Boschung, Julian Jachmann (Hrsg.), *Diagrammatik der Architektur*, 2013. ISBN 978-3-7705-5520-8.
- 7 Thierry Greub (Hrsg.), *Das Bild der Jahreszeiten im Wandel der Kulturen und Zeiten*, 2013. ISBN 978-3-7705-5527-7.
- 8 Guo Yi, Sasa Josifovic, Asuman Lätzer-Lasar (Eds.), *Metaphysical Foundation of Knowledge and Ethics in Chinese and European Philosophy*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5537-6.
- 9 Wilhelm Voßkamp, Günter Blamberger, Martin Roussel (Hrsg.), *Möglichkeitsdenken. Utopie und Dystopie in der Gegenwart*, 2013, ISBN 978-3-7705-5554-3.
- 10 Dietrich Boschung, Sebastian Dohe (Hrsg.), *Meisterwerk als Autorität. Zur Wirkmacht kultureller Figurationen*, 2013. ISBN 978-3-7705-5528-4.
- 11 Stefan Niklas, Martin Roussel (Hrsg.), *Formen der Artikulation. Philosophische Beiträge zu einem kulturwissenschaftlichen Grundbegriff*, 2013. ISBN 978-3-7705-5608-3.
- 12 Ryosuke Ohashi, Martin Roussel (Hrsg.), *Buchstaben der Welt – Welt der Buchstaben*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5609-0.
- 13 Thierry Greub (Hrsg.), *Cy Twombly. Bild, Text, Paratext*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5610-6.
- 14 Günter Blamberger, Sebastian Goth (Hrsg.), *Ökonomie des Opfers. Literatur im Zeichen des Suizids*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5611-3.
- 15 Sabine Meine, Günter Blamberger, Björn Moll, Klaus Bergdolt (Hrsg.), *Auf schwankendem Grund. Schwindel, Dekadenz und Tod im Venedig der Moderne*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5612-0.

- 16 Larissa Förster (Ed.), *Transforming Knowledge Orders: Museums, Collections and Exhibitions*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5613-7.
- 17 Sonja A.J. Neef, Henry Sussman, Dietrich Boschung (Eds.), *Astroculture. Figurations of Cosmology in Media and Arts*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5617-5.
- 18 Günter Blamberger, Sidonie Kellerer, Tanja Klemm, Jan Söffner (Hrsg.), *Sind alle Denker traurig? Fallstudien zum melancholischen Grund des Schöpferischen in Asien und Europa*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5724-0.
- 19 Dietrich Boschung, Ludwig Jäger (Hrsg.), *Formkonstanz und Bedeutungswandel*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5710-3.
- 20 Dietrich Boschung, Jan N. Bremmer (Eds.), *The Materiality of Magic*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5725-7.
- 21 Georgi Kapriev, Martin Roussel, Ivan Tchalakov (Eds.), *Le Sujet de l'Acteur: An Anthropological Outlook on Actor-Network Theory*, 2014. ISBN 978-3-7705-5726-4.
- 22 Dietrich Boschung, Alfred Schäfer (Hrsg.), *Römische Götterbilder der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5727-1.
- 24 Dietrich Boschung, Christiane Vorster (Hrsg.), *Leibhafte Kunst. Statuen und kulturelle Identität*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5809-4.
- 25 Eva-Maria Hochkirchen, Gerardo Scheige, Jan Söffner (Hrsg.), *Stimmungen des Todes und ihre Bestimmung. Ein Experiment*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5810-0.
- 26 Dietrich Boschung, Marcel Danner, Christine Radtki (Hrsg.), *Politische Fragmentierung und kulturelle Kohärenz der Spätantike*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5811-7.
- 27 Ingo Breuer, Sebastian Goth, Björn Moll, Martin Roussel (Hrsg.), *Die Sieben Todsünden*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5816-2.
- 28 Eva Youkhana, Larissa Förster, (Eds.), *GraffitiCity. Visual practices and contestations in urban space*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5909-1.
- 29 Dietrich Boschung, Jürgen Hammerstaedt (Hrsg.), *Das Charisma des Herrschers*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5910-7.
- 30 Dietrich Boschung (Hrsg.), *Archäologie als Kunst. Archäologische Objekte und Verfahren in der bildenden Kunst des 18. Jh.s und der Gegenwart*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5950-3.
- 31 Dietrich Boschung, Patric Kreuz, Tobias Kienlin (Eds.), *Biography of Objects. Aspekte eines kulturhistorischen Konzepts*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5953-4.
- 32 Dietrich Boschung, Alexandra Busch, Miguel John Versluys (Eds.), *Reinventing 'The invention of tradition'? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present*, 2015. ISBN 978-3-7705-5929-5.

PLATES



1 Attic white ground cup attributed to the Pistoxenos Painter, ca. 470 B.C.
Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Acropolis Collection 2.439
(former National Arch. Museum 15190)



2 Engraving "Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata" by Agostino Carracci, 1583



3 Engraving “Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata” by Agostino Carracci, 1586



4 Florence, Museo Archaeologico inv. 2411. Tempera on wood
(32,5 cm × 20,5 cm)



5a Bisitun, relief and inscription of Darius I. The king, bow in one hand, raises his other in adoration of Ahuramazda who hovers above him. Rebel leaders, chained and fettered are led before the king (he steps upon the belly of Gaumata). Darius is accompanied by courtiers holding weapons as emblems of their courtly offices.



5b Persepolis, recreation of the Treasury Relief. On a raised platform, Darius I (or possibly Xerxes) is seated on his high-backed lion-legged throne, his feet resting upon a footstool. He is accompanied by the Crown Prince, courtiers, and guards. Incense burners in front of the king purify and sweeten the air and a canopy decorated with a winged disk, striding lions, and a tassel boarder demarcates the royal ceremonial space.



6a Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Kodros Painter.
Würzburg, Martin von-Wagner Museum L 491



6b Attic red-figure dinos (name-vase of the Dinos Painter).
Berlin, Antikenmuseum 2402



7a Detail of the dinos on plate 6b



7b Detail of the dinos on plate 6b



8 Attic red-figure calyx-krater fragment. Tübingen, University 5439



9a Attic red-figure chous.
New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art 06.1021.183



9b Attic red-figure chous.
New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art 06.1021.183



9c Attic red-figure chous.
New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art 06.1021.183



10 Aktaion, Halsbild einer attisch rotfigurigen Amphora des Eucharides-Malers, um 490/480 v. Chr. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1966.34



11 Aktaion, attisch rotfiguriger Krater des Lykaon-Malers, um 440 v. Chr. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.346



12 Aktaion, attisch rotfigurige Pelike. Paris, Louvre G 224



13 Trinkgefäß (Rhyton-Kantharos) mit Eselskopf, 525–500 v. Chr. London, British Museum 1876,0328.5AN83176



14a Attisch schwarzfiguriger Skyphos. Athen, Agora P 32413



14b Attisch schwarzfigurige Augenschale. Neapel, Museo Nazionale 81138



15 Tondo einer attisch rotfigurigen Kylix des Duris.
München, Antikensammlungen Inv. 2647



16 Attisch rotfiguriger Glockenkrater. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum
ANSA IV 910

The Series *Morphomata* is edited by Günter Blamberger and Dietrich Boschung.

The **Morphomata International Center for Advanced Studies**—Genesis, Dynamics and Mediality of Cultural Figurations is one of the international Käte Hamburger Collegia sponsored by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research under the auspices of the initiative “Freedom for Research in the Humanities”. Up to ten fellows per year from different countries and specialties cooperate with researchers from Cologne in the analysis of cultures. In this new locus of research in the Humanities, interdisciplinary and intercultural perspectives are negotiated.

www.ik-morphomata.uni-koeln.de

Dietrich Boschung Professor of Classical Archaeology on the University of Cologne and one of the directors of the Morphomata Center for Advanced Studies.

Alan Shapiro W.H. Collins Vickers Professor of Archaeology, Department of Classics, at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

Frank Wascheck Project Manager Excellence Research Support Program—Deputy Head Collaborative Projects at the University of Cologne.



WILHELM FINK

