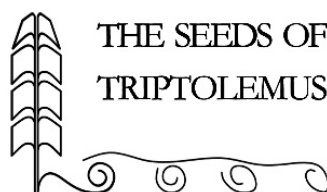


THE SEEDS OF TRIPTOLEMUS

Studies on the Ancient Mediterranean World

3



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THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS
IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES

On the cover: reworking of the mosaic of the House of Dionysus, Paphos
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ISSN 2784-8000

ISBN 978-88-89951-44-6

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di R.P.C.T. s.r.l.

sede legale: Piazza Filattiera, 48, 00139 - Roma

<http://www.deinoteraeditrice.com>

Proprietà letteraria riservata - Printed in Italy

Finito di stampare nel mese di agosto 2023

presso Mediagraf, Padova

Edited by

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS



DEINOTERA
EDITRICE

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PREFACE

Spyridon Tzounakas

This volume (*The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Roman Sources and Beyond: Eleven Studies*) emerged as a result of the papers presented in two Workshops that took place in Nicosia, on 29 May 2021 and 7 July 2021 respectively, within the context of my research programme entitled *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in the Culture of the Western World* (RACCWW). This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525). The main aim of this research programme is to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture. The important geographical position of the island, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and supplement a volume with a similar title that ensued from an international conference held in Nicosia in February 2021: Spyridon Tzounakas, Stella Alekou and Stephen Harrison (eds.), *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Western Culture*, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter 2023 (Trends in Classics 139). For more information on the aims and the main findings of the research programme, see the “Introduction” there (pp. 1-10), as well as the website of the programme (<https://receptionofancientcyprus.com.cy>).

The present volume is divided into three parts. Part 1, entitled “The Roman Conquest of Cyprus and the Exemplarity of the Island”, includes three studies. Spyridon Tzounakas (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in the Rhetorical Strategies of Cicero’s *De domo sua* and *Pro Sestio*”) examines the way the Roman conquest of Cyprus is rhetorically exploited by Cicero in his attempt to denigrate Clodius’ image in two speeches. He argues that the case of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, is harmoniously incorporated in the broader argumentation of the speeches, reinforces the tragic aspects of Clodius’ opponents and works as an *exemplum* that illuminates Clodius’ stance towards Cicero and Sestius. Georgios Vassiliades (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in Ancient Sources: A *bellum iustum* or *iniustum*?”) continues the discussion of the Roman conquest of Cyprus. Through the analysis of relevant Latin and Greek sources, his chapter attempts to show how the Roman authors and, probably, the Roman public opinion of the 50s BC morally evaluated the annexation of Cyprus on the basis of the moral and legal category of *bellum iustum*. It is concluded that Roman public opinion, which is reflected in

contemporary and later sources, was divided on the moral evaluation of whether the annexation of Cyprus was a *bellum iustum* or a *bellum iniustum*, by thus adopting the arguments of Clodius or Cicero respectively. Margot Neger (“Cyprus *in exemplis*: Cypriot Episodes as Narrated by Valerius Maximus”) scrutinizes the presence of Cyprus in Valerius Maximus’ narrative techniques. The chapter investigates a series of anecdotes concerning the island of Cyprus in the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus. The single *exempla* are both self-contained narrative units and parts of different thematic sections on various virtues and vices. The chapter argues that the anecdotes on incidents regarding Cyprus can be read not only within their respective section but also as a cycle which reaches from the first to the last book of the collection. It also examines how the island, its inhabitants and visitors are depicted in a literary work composed in the time of the emperor Tiberius.

Part 2, entitled “The Cypriot Myths in Ovid and Beyond”, deals with the Cypriot myths in Orpheus’ song in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 10 and their reception in later literature and art. In his study “Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype” Spyridon Tzounakas examines various ancient sources (with special emphasis on Latin literature and the myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*) that contributed to the entrenchment of the promiscuous Cypriot women stereotype, which survives for centuries and is especially evident in travel writing from the 15th to the 18th century. Sophia Papaioannou’s study (“Pygmalion’s Inspiration and Pygmalion as Inspiration”) on the one hand discusses the presence of the myth of Pandora in Pygmalion and Ovid’s engagement with one of the most celebrated myths of the Hesiodic corpus, while on the other, it examines the incorporation of the Pygmalion episode in the stories of agalmatophilia featuring famous works of art and creators as well as in the Roman ideology of the *imagines maiorum*. In Stella Alekou’s study (“The Ambiguity of Love and the Ideology of Rape in Ovidian *ekphraseis*: Pygmalion’s Prequel to Arachne’s Story”) the myth of Pygmalion is examined as a prequel to that of Arachne, another famous artist in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. She reveals the ambiguous representation of love in these episodes, when Ovid exposes rape while apparently praising love, and argues that Ovid employs optical illusions to shed light on the image of love which in art appears as distorted, to address the politics of rape. The next study of this Part (“From the Humble Workshop in Cyprus to the Victorian Stage: Ovidian Pygmalion’s Reception in W. S. Gilbert’s Mythological Comedy *Pygmalion and Galatea*”) also deals with Ovid’s Pygmalion. Here Stamatia Kitsou demonstrates that W. S. Gilbert exploited the main outline of the Ovidian myth and proceeded to a generic transformation composing the first mythological comedy with Galatea, the statue’s name after Rousseau, as a

protagonist. As Galatea's inanimation and interaction with the other characters of the play is problematic and a series of misunderstandings arises from her lack of social education, Gilbert proves himself to be prolific in social criticism and masterful, almost latent, considerations regarding the gender-based roles and their social construction. In her second contribution to this volume ("The Ovidian and Alfierian Myrrha as an Odalisque in Lord Byron's *Sardanapalus*: Transformations and a Play of Identities"), Stamatia Kitsou investigates the presence of the Ovidian myth of Cinyras and Myrrha in Lord Byron's tragedy *Sardanapalus*. She argues that for the formation of Myrrha's dramatic persona, Byron takes into account the Ovidian Myrrha (*met.* 10.298-502) and mainly the protagonist of the pre-Romantic tragedy of Vittorio Alfieri, *Mirra*; thus, he creates a play of mutual transformations and conflicting identities, while maintaining the core of his classical models.

Part 3, entitled "Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence", includes three studies. In the first of them, Daniele Castrizio ("A Coin Series with Capricorn and Scorpion from Cyprus") deals, from an iconographic point of view, with an emission of bronze coins generally attributed to the island of Cyprus, and provides elements for a more precise dating of the coin series. Based on the writings of Manilius, this paper provides an interpretation of the importance of the zodiacal signs on ancient coins, and discusses the relationship between the zodiacal sign of Capricorn and the imperial propaganda at the time of Augustus. Next, Antonio Corso ("Pliny, *nat.* 34.81: The Bronze Sculptor Styppax of Cyprus and the *Splanchnoptes*") studies Pliny's inclusion of Styppax and of his bronze statue of the *Splanchnoptes* in his selective catalogue of the most important bronze statues and connects it to the political environment of the Flavian dynasty. Finally, Alessandra Bravi's article ("An Excellent Foreigner: Titus at the Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite") sheds new light on the visit paid by Titus to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos. Based on the archaeological data, she reconstructs the site as it looked at the time of the visit of Titus, and suggests a link between the sanctuary at Paphos and the *Templum Pacis*, inaugurated by the Flavians, where Venus has her own space. She concludes that the great eastern goddess Aphrodite/Isis/Astarte was the primary legitimacy of the *imperium* of the Flavians, since her oracle was needed to a plebeian family which could not claim mythical ancestors.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the Research and Innovation Foundation of Cyprus, which generously supported our research project, to the Department of Classics and Philosophy of the University of Cyprus, which immediately embraced our workshops, to my dear colleagues and collaborators Dr. Stella Alekou, Dr. Despina Keramida and Dr. Stamatia Kitsou for their valuable involvement in the preparation of these events, and, of course, to all the speakers and the participants in these two

workshops, who contributed to their success. Special thanks go to Stefano Rocchi, the Director of the series *The Seeds of Triptolemus*, who supported the preparation of the manuscript with his help and advice, as well as to our publisher, Dr. Zaira Maranelli, and to Dr. Marco Filippi, at Deinotera Editrice, for their assistance and patience. I also thank the anonymous readers for their invaluable comments and suggestions which helped to improve the quality of the volume.

Nicosia, July 2022

PART 2
THE CYPRIOT MYTHS IN OVID AND BEYOND

FROM THE HUMBLE WORKSHOP IN CYPRUS TO THE VICTORIAN
STAGE: OVIDIAN PYGMALION'S RECEPTION IN W. S. GILBERT'S
MYTHOLOGICAL COMEDY *PYGMALION AND GALATEA**

Stamatia Kitson
University of Cyprus

In the 10th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.243-297) the story of the sculptor Pygmalion constitutes a unique case, within the context of the four Cypriot stories, that appears to have a happy ending and culminates in the wedding of Pygmalion and his beloved, a statue transformed into a woman. The reception of the myth has been a variegated, rich and illuminating one, especially impressive in the art and literature of the 19th century.¹ Its popularity was enhanced effectively by Rousseau's one-act opera (*scène lyrique*) which is considered to be the first work where the statue is named Galatea.² The thematic axis of Rousseau's melodrama relies on the artist's inquietude regarding the absence of inspiration and on a second, but equivalent level, the artist's complex relationship with its creature in terms of identification and complementarity. As has been aptly pointed out, "Galatea becomes the cold fingerprint of the sculptor's fervid imagination".³

The instant of the metamorphosis and the transformation from marble to flesh – the incontestable focal point of the story in its wholeness – was depicted in various forms of art with emphasis on the change of the flesh's tones, the eroticism between the artist and the creature, and the fulfilment of desire.⁴ Amongst them there are cases where the depiction alludes to a comic treatment, deviating from the serious and metaphorical presentation of the myth: in an almost pornographic image Galatea fondles Pygmalion sexually and in another she puts her finger playfully in the artist's palette.⁵ The recognition of the myth's comic potential did not limit itself to art but led to its transformation in literary production as well. Thus, W. Gilbert produced the first mythological comedy, before his co-operation with Sullivan in a series of whimsical operettas;⁶ this is a comic play which is considered to have

* This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525).

¹ See e.g. ALEKOU 2023.

² See REINHOLD 1971, 316-319.

³ ΣΑΓΚΡΙΩΤΗΣ 2012, 32.

⁴ On the serious-minded, metaphoric or comic artistic representations of Pygmalion and his statue see WOSK 2015, 11.

⁵ See WOSK 2015, 11.

⁶ On the productions of Gilbert and Sullivan see WREN 2001; EDEN / SAREMBA 2009.

been an original and unique case with regard to the English theatrical tradition of the Victorian era.⁷ Gilbert's comedy has been received enthusiastically as a renewal and exaltation of the comic genre, as the comic theatrical plays of that period were limited to simple, usually *ad lib*, sketches, easily digestible products intended for mass consumption;⁸ in contrast to this previous condition,⁹ the exploitation of functional elements and the ingenious renewal of the myth enrich the perspectives of the story and amplify its potential beyond a mere comic treatment limited to the laughter of the public. As I shall argue, Gilbert's re-writing of the myth signals the enriched function of the genre since it serves as a vehicle for keen observation and criticism on various levels: the social structure, human relationships, gender-based issues,¹⁰ art, and especially the position and the relationship of the artist with money and the material prosperity in a rigorously developed society. Under this prism, I have selected, from a wide spectrum, some instances that testify to the aimed reception of the story through well-calculated transformations.

Gilbert's exploitation of the ancient myth is neither accidental nor arbitrary but well attuned to the spirit of the mid-Victorian period and indicative of its reception of the ancient Greek and Roman culture as a departure from an industrialized and alienated world, as a means to a return, albeit temporary, to a nostalgic, idealized epoch.¹¹ Under this perspective, the classical sculpture flourishes and thrives, and keeps a distinct place in the art of the time, especially the representation of the perfection of the female form; it is noteworthy that even the painters depict sculptors chiselling in progress, emphasizing the standards of symmetry and balance.¹² All these aspects, their ideological connotations and enriched perspective, are incorporated and treated accurately in Gilbert's comedy. The comic play is articulated in three Acts and observes strictly the Aristotelian trinity of unity of subject, time and place. Everything happens within the framework of twenty-four hours and in Pygmalion's workshop, which has a view in Athens. Pygmalion is still a sculptor and Galatea the creature *par excellence*, but their interaction is not an ideal one. This time the sculptor is Athenian and not Cypriot, something plausibly justified by the correlation of the ancient Greek grandeur with

⁷ On Gilbert's leading role see BARGAINNIER 1970, 29-30.

⁸ Similar are the cases of the ancient Mime and the French vaudeville and their gradual 'literarisation'; on vaudeville see GIDEL 1986 and TERNI 2006; on the relation of Mime and vaudeville regarding their evolutionary stages see TSITSIRIDIS 2011, 221-222.

⁹ On the decline of drama in the early 19th century see BARGAINNIER 1970, 7-19.

¹⁰ On Gilbert's interest in issues of gender see WILLIAMS 2010, 151-252.

¹¹ See RICHARDS 2009, 1-2; on the reception of classical antiquity in the Victorian culture in general see also GOLDHILL 2011.

¹² See RICHARDS 2009, 66.

Athens and the latter's registration in the collective conscience as the centre of the classical civilization.

The outline of the story runs as follows: Pygmalion is married to Cynisca and lives in Athens. His relationship with his wife is presented as an ideal one; in fact, the artist chisels sculptures in meticulous imitation of her physical appearance.¹³ Still, he is not satisfied, and his constant desire is to inanimate his creatures. He considers himself a magician artist who can transform cold stone to divine forms, yet complains to Gods that they maintained exclusively for themselves the privilege to infuse life. Gods grant him this charisma and in this may lurk a punishment for his *hybris*; Galatea turns to a human being, but the enthusiastic acceptance is followed by frustration when the inconvenience and misunderstandings, emanated from her lack of experience and social education, are endless. The comedy ends in an almost bitter manner deprived of the usual festive atmosphere, with Galatea's return to her previous state and the restoration of the relations amongst the couples of the play.

Gilbert increases dramatic tension through the dramaturgically purposeful expansion of the circle of the dramatic persons. Pygmalion is already married to a woman who, before her commitment to him, seems to have been the exact equivalent of the Ovidian sculptor (*met.* 10.245-246): she was devoted to the Goddess of chastity and rejected thoroughly, with repulsion, the idea of marriage. The situation was reversed the day she met Pygmalion and fell in love with him the way the Ovidian Pygmalion was infatuated with the statue. Moreover, in the play Pygmalion has a sister, Myrine, who is in love with the soldier Leucippus; the latter is brave, bulky but shy and awkward. Gilbert inserts in his drama an archetypal stock figure with an important dramatic role, who garnered popularity especially in Greek New Comedy and its reception in Roman comedies.¹⁴ In this case, it is noteworthy that Gilbert deviates from the traditional literary portrayal of the soldier and presents Leucippus in a more sympathetic and favourable way, without burdening him with the usual flaws of arrogance and boastfulness attributed to the swaggering coward *miles gloriosus*. The dramatic situation also involves Pygmalion's patron, Chrysos, with his wife, Daphne, a couple with material

¹³ Cynisca's name reminds us of the princess Cynisca of Sparta, who was the first woman to win an Olympic victory and proudly celebrate it with the erection of commemorative monuments, one of which featured a statue of her, according to Pausanias (6.1.6).

¹⁴ On the embryonic phase of the figure of the soldier in Epicharmus and Archilochus see KONSTANTAKOS 2015, 77-78; on the changes and evolutionary stages in the reception of the figure of the soldier see indicatively BLUME 2001; on the reception of this archetypal figure in New Comedy see MacCARY 1972 and BROWN 2004; on the portrait of the *miles* in Plautus see SEGAL 1987, 93-98.

prosperity and uneducated excess (Act 1 Pyg.: “He is an ignorant buffoon, / but purses hold a higher rank than brains, / and he is rich”); Chrysos’ name, deriving from the Greek word for gold, alludes plausibly to his wealth: he buys statues, pretends to be a specialist on matters of art but he finally confuses painting with sculpture and evaluates an artistic creation by its size! This couple and its interaction with Pygmalion constitute a latent sharp comment on Britain’s transgression from an agricultural nation to a prosperous industrialized society, an astute commentary on the effects of industrialism, especially on the way people live and on the place of the art and the artist in a bourgeois society; mid-Victorian period witnessed rapid changes and revolutionized life to the extent that nouveau riche people believe that their money rules the world, art included, and artists depend on the formers’ wealth in order to secure a satisfactory level of life.

Other participants in the play are Mimos and Agesimos, Pygmalion’s and Chrysos’ slave respectively. Usually, slaves play an important role in classical drama and contribute in various ways to the comic effect.¹⁵ The two slaves who initiate the first scene, though maintain a lesser important role, from a communicative and scenical point of view, do contribute to the comic effect, as they present themselves as a reflection of their master’s character, especially Chrysos’ slave who adopts the arrogance, sense of superiority and other flaws of the former (Act 1 Pyg.: “Your master’s slave reflects his insolence!”). On the other hand, the name of Pygmalion’s slave, Mimos, seems purposeful, almost invoking a kindred comic form of theatre, the dramatic genre of Mime – a theatrical form in which Gilbert has been engaged on professional level –¹⁶ and alluding to its hilarity and comic spirit.

Galatea’s transformation constitutes the core of the play and entails a series of problems and misunderstandings among the referred couples, attributed to the innocence and naivety a person born yesterday inevitably maintains; this is the source of *vis comica* and a key factor in the evolution of the plot. Gilbert’s exploitation of the myth is playful and inventive, since comic genre’s desideratum is laughter, yet not arbitrary but purposeful and adequately attuned to the dramatist’s main aim: through Pygmalion’s story Gilbert observes keenly and comments on the cultural atmosphere, the social structure, the stereotypes and gender issues of the Victorian era.¹⁷ *Pygmalion and Galatea* relies firmly on antithetical schemes (reality vs. illusion, naivety vs. social conventions) and this conflicting crossing is the source of misunder-

¹⁵ See AKRIGG / TORDOFF 2013.

¹⁶ See STEDMAN 1996, 30.

¹⁷ On the Victorian society see STEINBACH 2012; on the position and social role of the Victorian woman see GORHAM 1982; POOVEY 1988; CROSBY 1991; PERKIN 1993; PETRIE 2000.

standings, reversals, and ironic satire. In this regard, Gilbert is considered to be the exact equivalent of Aristophanes,¹⁸ mainly in the way he portrays negative social aspects and the commingling of the real and the supernatural as a means of social comment and not merely as a spectacular theatrical element which entails scenic action and only serves dramaturgical purposes. Galatea's naivety to the stimulus of the real world enables criticism and favours the satirical reproduction of Victorian gender stereotypes, the mythology regarding femininity and masculinity, what is perceived as socially correct conduct, the lack of education of the rising middle class and the stress the artist feels with regard to his creativity, a stress that leads to arrogance and disrespectful behaviour.

In the first Act Cynisca is ready to leave Athens and prompts Pygmalion to confess to her simulacrum any erotic thought that may arise during her absence, and to be accompanied by it; she also requests that he be loyal. She leaves the statue as a substitute of herself, yet, though a lifeless object, she feels inferior to it and insecure. Cynisca's low self-esteem and inquietude stems firstly from the fact that the creature is a physically idealized version of herself, made in imitation of her a decade ago. But most importantly, she blatantly refers to the statue's characterological superiority with regard to herself, since it is not talkative and has no emotional outbursts and sentimental vacillations (Act 1 Cyn.: "And hath no temper, sir, and hath no tongue!"). Gilbert sensitively brings forth on the one hand women's vanity and fear of time, and on the other the characteristics assigned to the ideal woman, and the conduct expected from her according to the patriarchal demands. From Cynisca's self-criticism emerges the ideal Victorian image of femininity which equates passivity and submission with perfection and on the other hand underlies what was supposed to be the inherent qualities of a woman: emotion, irrational impulse and verbosity.

Cynisca's last words before her departure (Act 1 Cyn.: "The thing is but a statue after all!") lay the ground for a consideration of Pygmalion himself as an artist. He repeats with considerable bitterness what Cynisca says to console herself, since her realization condenses his main deficiency regarding his work: he is a magician artist, out of comparison, who achieves the ideal beauty, yet he lacks the divine charisma, the ability to infuse life (Act 1 Pyg.: "The gods make life; I can make only death!").

He then exhibits arrogance, equates himself with the superior divine forces and recurses to direct accusations; the egotistical behaviour engenders the rage of the Gods who, as a punishment, grant him his wish and inanimate

¹⁸ See HAMILTON 1970; SICHEL 1970; on the reception of Aristophanes in the English theatre from the mid-seventeenth to the twentieth century see HALL 2007.

the statue. At this point Gilbert's treatment of Pygmalion seems to masterfully reflect a latent, yet ubiquitous, ambiguity in Ovid's telling of the story; on the one hand the Ovidian sculptor's reverence and piety towards Venus led him to state his desire in an artful and wholly acceptable, by the goddess, manner (*met.* 10.274-276), who fulfilled his wish. *Prima facie* the sculptor was rewarded and the story has a happy ending. On the other hand, the extent to which the animation of the statue is a true blessing – given that the narrator of the story is Orpheus who rejects *femineam Venerem* (*met.* 10.80) with utmost clarity – remains conditional and speculative. Gilbert seems to reflect the ambiguity of the Ovidian treatment and highlight what in the latter remains unsettled: Pygmalion's accomplishment equates to an apparent *exemplum of ira deorum*.

Once Galatea comes to life, Pygmalion faces her as the incarnation, the epitome of perfection, exactly as the Ovidian sculptor did (*met.* 10.250-252). Nevertheless, there is a crucial difference that almost predetermines the evolution and is strictly connected to the source of the sentiment: Ovid's Pygmalion *miratur et haurit pectore ... ignes* (*met.* 10.252-253). As is known, in Greek and Latin literature, especially in Latin elegy, fire is a frequent metaphor to describe a man or woman in love.¹⁹ Pygmalion's attitude towards the simulacrum and everything he does emanate from a deeply tender feeling, since he automatically disowned his celibacy and was infatuated by the statue's feminine beauty. In eighteen lines (*met.* 10.252-269) Ovid underlines emphatically the loving manner in which Pygmalion treats the statue. In sharp contrast, Gilbert's sculptor seems to be absolutely amazed by his talent and in love with himself for managing to inanimate a piece of art; no line attributed to him expresses genuine sentiment of admiration or tenderness for the animated woman *per se*.

Gilbert's Galatea is credited with the virtues of innocence and moral purity, aligned to the Victorian model of the ideal woman and mainly the code of the Victorian morals in a deeply patriarchal society. Galatea was born yesterday (Act 2 Chry.: "She was born yesterday..."), she is chaste and innocuous, unaware of her sex and of her substantial thoughts, of the meaning of even the very trivial and common words. Consequently, it falls on Pygmalion to explain to her what a man is and proceeds to a definition indicative of the roles assigned to men, conventionally prescribed social roles, causally linked to the rise of the urban class and the changes brought about by the industrial revolution (Act 1 Pyg.):

¹⁹ See GIANGRANDE 1974, 3.

A being strongly framed,
 To wait on woman, and protect her from
 All ills that strength and courage can avert;
 To work and toil for her, that she may rest;
 To weep and mourn for her, that she may laugh;
 To fight and die for her, that she may live!

In this very definition, on the other hand, a definition is cunningly embedded of the female sex and what is expected from a woman. The roles are absolutely discrete – polarized by virtue of the different functions assigned to men and women, mainly the flourishing ideology of the separate spheres and the clear distinction it imposed between the sexes –²⁰ and the boundaries between the public sphere and the domestic realm are not blurred; men are daring and not averse to risk, assume demanding and challenging tasks, are active and responsible human beings, capable of aggression and independence. Women are so overly identified by weakness and incapacity that they become wives,²¹ fragile housekeepers, under the inescapable masculine dominance and control, acting exclusively at the centre of the domestic sphere. Galatea corresponds to these criteria and, expressing her feelings for her creator, focuses on these standards, by providing a cunningly transparent and strong image of the repressed and unfulfilled lives of women: she is under his protection, does not act by her own volition and loves him endlessly (Act 1 Gal.):

A sense that I am made by the for thee;
 That I've no will that is not wholly thine:
 That I've no thought, no hope, no enterprise
 That does not own thee as sovereign.

Galatea's portrayal, resided in innocence and chastity, is attuned to the Victorian model of the perfect woman, yet it undermines and undercuts it ironically and leads to a comic reversal of the moral and social code, to a departure from the norm of Victorian morals. Galatea's sincerity and unconstrained spontaneity, her unawareness of the demands linked to her feminine identity, her lack of social education and, subsequently, concern of convention result in a bewildering and uncommon conduct that is dissonant with the ethos required from a woman, since she rejects the prudish moral tone and

²⁰ On the gender history of nineteenth-century Britain and the various approaches on the philosophy of separate spheres see CORDEA 2013; see also above n. 17.

²¹ On marriage as a means for women to survive relying on the income of men see KENT 1990, 86.

behaves against the biases of society. This paradox is the source of comic misunderstandings, especially since she is unaware of the way women recourse to stratagems and innuendos to be ‘feminine’ in an acceptable way and hide their sexuality behind meretricious and simulated modesty so as not to contradict the accepted notions of purity (Act 1 Pyg.: “Hush! Galatea – in thine innocence / Thou sayest words that others would rebuke”). In sharp and striking contrast, Galatea expresses freely the love she feels for the married Pygmalion, ignores the commitments and tasks a wedding entails, praises herself blatantly and violates a fundamental Victorian requirement, that of the abstinence of any thought of sexuality and love.

In three cases Galatea’s lack of social knowledge and the confusion of the meaning of the words engender a deep crisis in the relationships of the three couples by the second Act that ends up with menaces of divorce and culminates in Pygmalion’s blindness by Cynisca. Galatea is considered to be responsible for the inconvenience and attempts to restore the relationship of Pygmalion and Cynisca in a way that ends in a painful realization and to the establishment of a new paradox. The dramaturgist credits the just one-day-old Galatea with empathy and sensibility that would be expected from the human by birth Cynisca, who in contrast proves herself to be vengeful and motivated by egotistical thoughts, without compassion and particularly intractable and obstinate (Act 3 Cyn.):

Oh, never fear that I shall starve the flame!
When jealousy takes shelter in my heart,
It does not die for lack of sustenance.

In this regard, the simulacrum seems to be more sensitive, authentic and with genuine sentiments, willing to support and help the couple efficiently. Once Galatea realizes painfully that what the sculptor felt for her stemmed from his love for Cynisca, she decides to return to her previous situation as she perceives the human condition and the principles that rule the world as incompatible with her sincere and pure response. Ingenuous Galatea is ushered into a grim world of jealousy and vulgarity and forlornly prefers her pedestal. In this case, the comedy does not come to an exultant and rejoicing close, in a pure festive atmosphere, and leaves an almost bitter aftertaste reminding us of the final scenes of several comic plays – exodoi of certain Aristophanic comedies included²² – their “sour triumphs”²³ and pessimistic perspective.

²² See PIRROTTA 2016.

²³ SILK 2000, 58-59.

The end of the play excludes any idea of cheerful celebration, even the slightest nuance of joy or sense of cathartic relief; Gilbert's portrayal of Galatea and the high qualities he bestows on her, plus her decision to return to her pedestal and her *status quo ante*, constitute a latent yet highly recurrent, strong comment that seals the play and reaffirms Galatea's superiority against the jealous, malicious human nature, captured and trapped by socially constructed roles and artificial norms. Social criticism is not merely confined to the treatment of the mythical statue but is extended to the sculptor and the other dramatic persons as well. It is noteworthy that Pygmalion is not the idealist, romantic artist who struggles exclusively to achieve the perfect beauty nor creates art for the sake of art, in striking contrast to the Ovidian Pygmalion who limits his praises and offers to the woman *per se* (*met.* 10.259-265). Although he is aware of his talent and praises his dexterity, he does not hesitate to admit that wealth is as divine as art (Act 1 Pyg.: "Well, wealth is heaven-born too. / I walk for wealth") and thus he chisels in order to become rich and equates audaciously his statues with great amounts of money. Within the framework of the economic changes linked to industrialization and urbanization, a rich man seeks artistic products, so as to gain social superiority, and an artist seeks wealth as a means to ameliorate his material level of life.

Gilbert's inventive and ingeniously playful exploitation of the Ovidian myth, apart from elevating the status of Comedy, inspired a parodic treatment within the confines of a genre that flourished and reached its acme during the 19th century, the Victorian burlesque.²⁴ This amusing theatrical genre presents flexibility with regard to the adaptation of the theatrical tradition and provides subsequently a wide range of tones, thematic and style. Classical mythology, the high genres (ancient Greek tragedy, Shakespearean drama) and the *opera seria* become the source of inspiration and the comic energy stems from the recognition of the distortion of the literary models and relies on the incompatibility between theme and style. A brief reference to H. P. Stephens's and W. Webster's burlesque treatment of the Pygmalion legend, and especially Gilbert's play, would be informative of the way the myth, in the framework of a different comic genre, abides by its aims and standards, destined mainly for the entertainment of the spectators without pretensions of deep thoughts and further considerations. The reversal of the myth is apparent from the beginning;²⁵ the title of the play, *Galatea, or Pygmalion Reversed*, is indicative of the alteration of the story and the subversive treatment,

²⁴ On Victorian classical burlesque see MONRÓS-GASPAR 2015; on classical mythology and its reception in classical burlesque see HALL 1999.

²⁵ The libretto was written by H. P. Stephens and W. Webster and the music was composed by W. M. Lutz in 1883.

the parodic adaptation of the comic material of the literary model in order to create a hilarious atmosphere and entertain the public. *In nuce*, Galatea, married with Cyniscos, is the sculptor and Pygmalion her precious creature. The other dramatic persons remain as they are presented in Gilbert's comedy: Chrysis is the husband of Daphne, and Leucippus the husband of Myrhine. Although Pygmalion is not the epitome of a handsome man – the opposite is the case, since he is portrayed as a caricature – he seems submerged in vanity and priggishness, praising himself in ecstasy and singing his bold and beauty. Stephen's and Webster's Pygmalion is the exact opposite of Gilbert's Galatea, who, although sincere and spontaneous, is never arrogant and boastful. In this regard, Pygmalion proves himself to be disrespectful and insolent, sexually approaches the women of his social circle and provokes a crisis between the couples since the ladies neglect their husbands, paradoxically attracted by his unfamiliar and totally weird charm. The revenge is apparent: Cyniscos, Chrysis and Leucippus rush to avoid the infidelity and decide to shatter him using the chisel. Pygmalion, crushed, returns to his previous status and becomes a statue made of marble. The restoration of order is achieved, a cheerful celebration follows and the couples live happily ever after.

Within the context of the reading of Pygmalion and Galatea it is ascertained that the Ovidian myth of transformation reveals again itself to be functional at further transformations and an able to serve and satisfy the function of different genres. In this regard, Gilbert's mythological comedy, by contrasting idealism with reality, is propitious to social and gender-based considerations providing a synoptical image of the mid-Victorian era, causally connected to the industrial revolution along with the improvement of life and the extreme polarization of roles imposed by the ideology of the separate spheres. Thus, the Ovidian Pygmalion's myth becomes the channel, *mutatis mutandis*, for relevant shrewd and pointed, barbed comments that are disseminated throughout the play and testify to the acute reception and satirical criticism of the social structure, displayed in miniature through the relationship of the three couples, the various conventions and restrictions, and the normative values of the era.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANS = American Numismatic Society.

BMC Greek (Cyprus) = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 24: G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*, London 1904.

BMCRE = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London 1923-1976.

CNNM = J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955-1958.

DK = H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin ⁶1952.

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- RIC² = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London ²1984.
RPC = *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London / Paris 1992-.
RSC = H. A. Seaby, D. R. Sear, R. Loosley, *Roman Silver Coins*, London 1978-1987.
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Lugduni Batavorum 1923-.
SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, London 1931-.
ThL = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Lipsiae (then also Stutgardiae, Monachii, Berolini, Novi Eboraci, Bostoniae) 1900-.
VLQ = *Codices Vossiani Latini in Quarto*.

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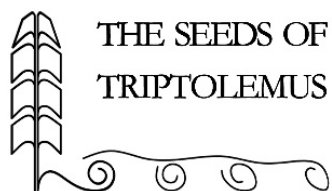
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