Sexy Beast: The *Barberini Faun* as an Object of Desire

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THE *BARBERINI FAUN* (FIG. 1) is simply a sexy beast. In contrast to most Greek male nudes, the Hellenistic *Barberini Faun* shows the satyr as an overtly sexual object.[1] With his heavily muscled torso reclined in sleep, the satyr's animalistic characteristics are downplayed, encouraging the viewer to see him as human. The position of his body, notably his splayed legs, draws attention to his genitalia, while his closed eyes cast the viewer as voyeur. It is a radically different depiction of satyrs from earlier archaic and classical images depicting them as ithyphallic hypersexual aggressors, indifferent to gender or even species when pursuing objects of their desire.

The question of how the satyr switched roles from sexual aggressor to object of desire can be elucidated by a discussion of sexual roles in Greek society and the changes in those roles between the Classical (ca. 480–323 BCE) and Hellenistic (ca. 323–31 BCE) periods. In the Classical period, especially in Athens, discussions of sexual liaisons focused on how they could benefit not only the individuals but also the polis. Social norms outlined what types of long-term relationships were acceptable, with carefully defined roles for the participants. In both heterosexual and homosexual unions, adult men pursued younger males or females, who were socially acceptable loci of desire. The Hellenistic period, by contrast, saw an increased focus on the personal aspects of relationships and a broadening of how sex was discussed. Discourse surrounding sexual relationships focused less on their social impact and more on how these relationships benefited the participants. Both partners were expected to feel desire and to play active roles in the relation-

[1] In this article I have chosen to follow common scholarly usage by employing the word *satyr* rather than *silenos* or *faun* to describe mythological human-animal hybrids. The use of the Latin term *faun* will be reserved for the *Barberini Faun* as a shorthand of the statue's title. I will not be investigating the debate about the differences between *silenoi* and satyrs in Greek art and culture, which has been explored in some detail in Thomas H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art: Its Development in Black-Figure Vase Painting* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 13–29; and Guy Hedreen, "Silens, Nymphs, and Maenads," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 114 (1994): 47–69.

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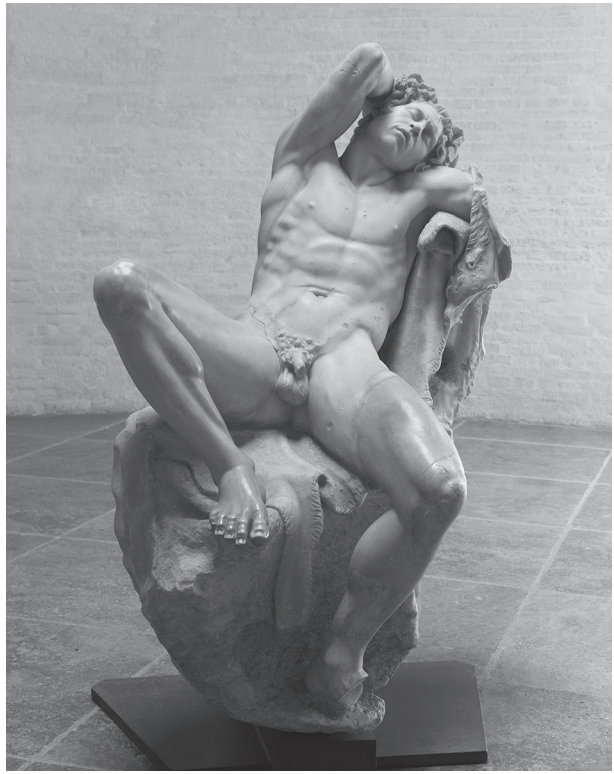

Figure 1. Unknown artist, *Barberini Faun*, found in Rome, third or second century BCE, marble, height 216 cm. Glyptothek, Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich, Germany. Photo: © Vanni Archive / Art Resource, New York.

ship, leading to reevaluations of sexual roles.[2] The *Barberini Faun* illustrates this change. A mature man could now, in the Hellenistic period, be seen as an object of desire. This article unpacks the meaning and appearance of the *Barberini Faun* and analyzes how the *Faun*'s vulnerability reflects the sexual mores and practices of the Hellenistic period.

The *Barberini Faun*

The *Barberini Faun* was found in Rome in the 1620s during restorations to the fortifications of the Castel Sant'Angelo, the ancient Mausoleum of

[2] For a discussion of the changes in how sexual relationships were viewed in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see Marilyn B. Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 148–91.

Hadrian, under the direction of Pope Urban VIII. By June 1628 the statue was in the collection of the pope's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[3] Cardinal Barberini placed the statue on display in his gardens and considered it one of the prizes in his collection of ancient art. The statue remained in the holdings of the Barberini family, giving us the statue's current name, until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1799 the family sold the statue to the sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti, who undertook extensive restoration to the sculpture and then put it up for sale. A number of French, German, and English patrons showed interest in the statue, and the Barberini family, fearing that the sculpture would leave Italy, attempted to legally block its export. They were successful, and in 1804 Pacetti was forced to return the statue to the Barberinis. Despite their earlier protestations, in 1814 the Barberini family sold the statue to Prince Ludwig of Bavaria. This time, Italian officials outside of the family attempted to block the statue from leaving Italy, and while they were able to delay the sale for five years, the *Barberini Faun* left Italy in 1819, and by 1820 it was installed in the Glyptothek in Munich, where it has remained.[4] While the modern history of the statue and its provenance are well understood, the circumstances surrounding the creation of the statue in the ancient period are murky.

The statue ended its antique life in Rome, but where it was created is debated by scholars. It is clearly Hellenistic in style, and comparisons with other Hellenistic sculptures, notably those in the Pergamene baroque style, have caused most scholars, including J. J. Pollitt and Hans Walter, to assign a date of the late third or second century BCE, with a proposed later export to Rome. However, academic opinion on the date is not unanimous, and other scholars such as Brunilde Ridgway have proposed that the statue is either a Roman copy of an earlier Hellenistic original or a Roman statue in a revival of the Hellenistic style in a manner similar to the sculptural groups from Sperlonga, which despite their high Hellenistic style can be securely placed

[3] The earliest recorded mention of the *Barberini Faun* is in a receipt from the Barberini collection ordering its restoration and dating to 6 June 1628. See Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Seventeenth Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 19, 132; and Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 202.

[4] For the history of the *Barberini Faun* from its discovery through to the modern period, see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 202–5; Hans Walter, "Der schlafende Satyr in der Glyptothek in München," in *Studien zur klassischen Archäologie*, ed. Karin Braun and Andreas E. Furtwängler (Saarbrücken: Archeological Institute of Saaland University, 1986), 91–120; Hans Walter, *Satyrs Traum: Ein Gang durch die griechische Satyrlandschaft* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1993), 7–31; Nancy H. Ramage, "Restorer and Collector: Notes on Eighteenth-Century Recreations of Roman Statues," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome: Supplementary Volumes* 1 (2002): 69–70; and Jean Sorabella, "A Satyr for Midas: The *Barberini Faun* and Hellenistic Royal Patronage," *Classical Antiquity* 26, no. 2 (2007): 221–22.

in a Roman context in the first century CE.[5] However, no other versions or copies of the *Faun* exist, and this, along with its stylistic characteristics and its unusual composition, strongly point to a Hellenistic date. Moreover, even though doubt over the exact date of the creation of the statue remains, I would argue that both the style of the sculpture and its sexualized subject matter reflect the ideals of the Hellenistic, rather than Roman, era and that the design, if not the statue itself, must date to this earlier period.

Due to the circumstances of its discovery, it is also difficult to definitively reconstruct the original context of the *Faun*, including whether the statue was originally located in a sacred, domestic, or civic context. John Onians has hypothesized that it may have stood outside a gymnasium as a warning against sloth and an exhortation to exercise, while both Pollitt and Walter put forward the possibility that it was originally a votive statue in a temple to Dionysos.[6] The monumental scale of the statue certainly makes a public location seem the most logical. While Roman patrons frequently placed small-scale copies of sculptural groups featuring Dionysian subject matter in private gardens, the large Hellenistic originals were usually placed either in sanctuaries as votive dedications or in public parks or royal gardens.[7]

The exact subject matter of the sculpture is also debated. Some scholars have seen the statue as a generic satyr who offers commentary on the outcome of drunkenness or the inherent bestiality of the satyr or even the erotic nature of the beast.[8] Others have sought a specific identity or mythological context for the *Barberini Faun*. Natalia Majluf has argued that the statue represents the god Maron, who was the companion of Dionysos.[9] In the

[5] A Hellenistic date for the *Faun* is discussed in J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 134; Walter, "Der schlafende Satyr," 119–20; Andrew Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 207; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture: A Handbook* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 135; Walter, *Satyrs Traum*, 31–31; and John Onians, *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 135. A Roman date for the creation of the statue is proposed by Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Style of ca. 331–200 B.C.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 313–21. Sorabella examines the different theories for each proposed date in detail but offers no definitive opinion on the statue's date ("A Satyr for Midas," 223–24).

[6] Onians, *Classical Art*, 140; Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 134; and Walter, "Der schlafende Satyr," 119–20.

[7] The argument that the *Barberini Faun* and other Dionysian scenes were originally located in a public location is also supported by Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 139–40; Walter, "Der schlafende Satyr," 119–20; and Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 134.

[8] Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 135; Emma J. Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep in Hellenistic Sculpture," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 38, no. 1 (1993): 108; and Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 313–19.

[9] Majluf presented this theory at the Archaeological Institute of America's annual meeting in 1992. An abstract of the paper is available in print, and this is the only description of Majluf's theory that I have seen. See Natalia Majluf, "Satyr and God: On the Identification of the *Barberini Faun*," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97, no. 2 (1993): 300. The theory is problematic since, as Majluf points out in her abstract, there are no known extant images of Maron.

most extensive and thorough recent analysis of the *Faun*, Jean Sorabella has proposed that the statue represents the satyr from the story of Midas and that it was made for a Hellenistic dynast. According to the myth, Midas captured a satyr who frequented a spring in Midas's kingdom by mixing the water of the spring with wine. When the satyr fell into a drunken stupor, Midas entrapped the sleeping creature. Sorabella points to the over-life-sized physique of the *Faun* and argues that the scale indicates that the statue must have represented a specific mythological character rather than a generic satyr. The sleeping pose of the satyr, she argues, is the key to the statue's meaning, indicating that it is the specific satyr from the myth of Midas.[10]

While I agree that the sleeping pose of the satyr is a key element in any analysis of the *Barberini Faun*, I am not convinced that the *Faun* represents the satyr of Midas, as it differs in composition from other representations of the myth. There is also little evidence that the *Faun* is intended to represent a specific satyr.[11] Instead, this article proposes that the *Faun* depicts a generic satyr. Generic satyrs were a common subject in Greek art. They appeared on pottery as early as the Archaic period, and they were a common subject of large-scale statuary beginning in the fourth century BCE. While in the Archaic and Classical periods the satyrs were fairly consistently represented as pleasure-seeking, ithyphallic, donkey-human hybrids, in the Hellenistic period their depictions became more varied, and sculptors had begun exploring other aspects of the creatures' personalities. In these artworks, satyrs not only dance joyfully or chase nymphs but are also shown in quiet contemplation or as conflicted, rustic creatures caught between the world of men and nature. By the Hellenistic period, satyrs had become more human than animal.[12] The *Barberini Faun* is one variation upon this theme. The *Faun* does stand out from other Hellenistic satyrs because of his very human appearance and the sexuality inherent in his vulnerable, open pose. I would argue that the *Barberini Faun* was intended to represent a generic satyr that specifically spoke to the sexual ethos of the Hellenistic period. His sleeping pose is not a plot point from a specific myth but rather a crucial element in creating its message of sexual vulnerability.

Key to this impression of overt sexuality is the pose of the *Barberini Faun*. The *Faun* has not been exhibited in a consistent pose in the modern period.

[10] Sorabella, "A Satyr for Midas," 235–44.

[11] For representations of the myth of Midas, see Lynn E. Roller, "The Legend of Midas," *Classical Antiquity* 2, no. 2 (1983): 299–313; Karl Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic Art*, trans. Alan Griffiths (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 76–77; and Sorabella, "A Satyr for Midas," 236.

[12] Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 53, 131–34; and Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 313–24. For examinations of specific satyr statues from the Hellenistic period, see Christine Alexander, "A Hellenistic Bronze Satyr," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (1942): 102–3; and Margarete Bieber, "A Satyr in Pergamene Style in Kansas City," *American Journal of Archaeology* 67, no. 3 (1963): 275–78.

At the time of its discovery, the over-life-sized statue was missing most of its right leg, sections of the left leg, the lower part of its left arm, and pieces of the base. The statue was restored multiple times during its history, notably by Giuseppe Giorgetti and Lorenzo Ottoni, two sculptors in the workshop of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, at the end of the seventeenth century, and then again by Vincenzo Pacetti at the end of the eighteenth century. Originally, it appears that the statue was displayed in a seated position, but a print from 1642 indicates that at some point it was reoriented and placed in a reclining position.[13] In 1679 Giorgetti and Ottoni reattached the ancient left leg, filled in missing sections of the base, and provided a right leg and left arm made of stucco. The statue was then displayed in a seated position once again. In 1799 Pacetti created a new right leg and left arm for the *Faun* and modified the base. These interventions caused the position of the *Faun* to shift again, but he remained in a seated position. He maintained this pose until the 1960s, when the Glyptothek removed Pacetti's restorations in order to return the statue to its appearance at the time of the discovery. However, the museum's later analyses determined that Pacetti's restoration and choice of seated position had been mostly correct.[14] The restored right leg was returned to the statue, while the hanging left arm was left unattached. It is in this state that the *Faun* is currently displayed.

The *Barberini Faun*'s seated position, which we now know follows the artist's original intention, is what communicates so much of its erotic message. The figure reclines against the rough surface of a rock. His body, with its exaggerated musculature and fully developed genitalia and pubic hair, establishes his age as an adult male in his late twenties—an impression cemented by the satyr's face. The harsh planes of his face and sharp lines of the bones under his cheeks have lost all trace of adolescent softness, and even in sleep, soft lines bracket his mouth and wrinkle both his forehead and the space between his eyes. He is clean-shaven, and while this was a clear iconographic indication of youth in earlier Greek artworks, images in the Hellenistic period no longer followed this convention. A survey of Hellenistic statuary, notably portraits, reveals numerous images of adult men, some as old as middle age, without beards.[15]

[13] For a reproduction of the print depicting the *Barberini Faun* in a reclining position, see Walter, *Satyrs Traum*, 15.

[14] For a history of the restorations of the *Barberini Faun*, see Heiner Knell and Hanno-Walter Kruft, "Re-opening of the Munich Glyptothek," *Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 831 (1972): 435; Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 202–5; Walter, "Der Schlafende Satyr," 91–119; Walter, *Satyrs Traum*, 7–31; and Ramage, "Restorer and Collector," 69–70.

[15] For a discussion of facial hair in Hellenistic portraiture, see Stefan Schmidt, "Fashion and Meaning: Beardless Portraits of Artists and Literati in the Early Hellenistic Period," in *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, ed. Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 99–112; Sheila Dillon, *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture: Contexts, Subjects, and Styles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Paul Edmund Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); and Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 114.

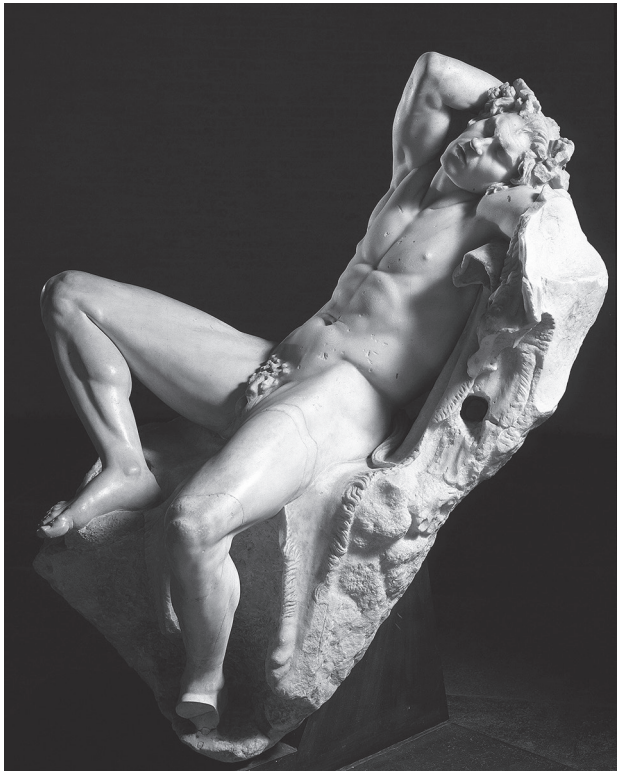

Figure 2. Unknown artist, *Barberini Faun*, side view, found in Rome, third or second century BCE, marble, height 216 cm. Glyptothek, Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich, Germany. Photo: Alfredo Dagli Orti / The Art Archive at Art Resource, New York.

With clear indications of maturity in his face and body, the *Faun* fits into this category.

The *Faun* sits on top of a panther or lion skin, pointing to his animalistic nature, but his physical animal characteristics are downplayed. His tail is visible only on the left side of the statue, emerging from the rear of the figure to curl gently on the rock (fig. 2). His ears are slightly pointed but mostly hidden under his long, waving locks of hair and the garland that indicates his association with Dionysos. His nose is slightly wide and snubbed.[16] His eyes are closed, and his lips are slightly parted, giving him the look of deep sleep. His heavily muscled body, on the other hand,

[16] Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 317. Ridgway points out that the end of the *Barberini Faun*'s nose is a restoration. She states, however, that the restoration is most likely correct.

is contorted into an uncomfortable position, with his left arm hanging down over the side of the rock and his right arm bent and folded under his head. His right leg is lifted onto the top of the animal skin, while his left leg hangs over the other side of the rock. His genitalia are prominently displayed, and both his size and his splayed legs lead many viewers to focus first on this section of anatomy before tearing their eyes up his torso and eventually to his face. It is the pose that oozes sex and has caused problems of interpretation for modern scholars. Smith, Pollitt, Sorabella, and other scholars have all noted the *Faun*'s sexuality without analyzing it in depth.[17] Others have entirely downplayed the sexual allure of the statue.[18] The *Faun*, with the heavily muscled body of an adult man, is not a typical object of desire in Greek art, nor does he embody the canonical version of the satyr.

The Archaic and Classical Satyr

The *Barberini Faun*'s image of the satyr as sexually vulnerable contrasts with representations of the creatures in earlier Greek art as aggressive figures with oversized sexual appetites. In the Archaic and Classical periods, satyrs, who were a popular subject matter on Attic pots, participated in activities that, while pleasurable, were not considered socially acceptable behavior for civilized men.[19] As members of the retinue of Dionysos, they were explicitly associated with the god and his purview and were depicted participating in his transformative rites and frolicking with the god's female followers. Satyrs were represented as hybrids of mature, bearded men and either donkeys or horses. They were depicted in a mostly human form, yet their long tails, pointed ears, snubbed faces, and in some cases equine legs clearly indicate their not-quite-human natures.[20] The satyrs were defined not only by their animalistic attributes and their connection to Dionysos but also by their gender and sexuality. Satyrs were

[17] Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 135; Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 134; Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep," 108; and Sorabella, "A Satyr for Midas," 232–33. Sorabella notes the erotic nature of the satyr but does not take it into further account in her interpretation, arguing that the sleep of the *Faun* should be treated as a separate issue.

[18] Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 316; and Stewart, *Greek Sculpture*, 207.

[19] In contrast, satyrs were not popular in the period in other media such as sculpture. See Cornelia Isler-Kerényi, *Civilizing Violence: Satyrs on 6th-Century Greek Vases* (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2004), 4–5; Thomas H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 28; and Guy Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting: Myth and Performance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 2.

[20] In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, satyrs were frequently represented with the physical attributes of goats rather than donkeys or horses. See J. Michael Padgett, "The Stable Hands of Dionysos: Satyrs and Donkeys as Symbols of Social Marginalization in Attic Vase Painting," in *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. Beth Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 206.

Figure 3. Unknown artist, *Amphora with Dionysos, Satyr, and Maenad*, made in Athens, ca. 510 BCE, terracotta, 40.3 x 26.2 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

almost always male, and their masculinity became their greatest defining characteristic.[21]

Satyrs were regularly portrayed as ithyphallic in archaic and classical vase painting (fig. 3). Their enlarged phalloi contrast with the smaller, more modest penises of ideal Greek nudes. While the idealized statues of youths from the periods emphasize the virtue of self-control over body, mind, emotions,

[21] François Lissarrague, "Satyrs in the Women's Quarters," in *Sex and Difference in Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Mark Golden and Peter Toohey (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 301–2. Lissarrague states that he knows of only two images of female satyrs in Greek art. In both cases, male genitalia (it is unclear if they are fake or real) are visible, and so the female satyrs are not completely feminine. Female satyrs appear more frequently in Roman art.

and desire, the satyrs consistently overindulge, notably in the realms of sex and drinking.[22] The vases give the impression not only that the satyrs are unable to control their oversized desires but also that they feel absolutely no need to, since they operate outside the bounds of civilized society. As Eric Csapo has pointed out, while the satyrs are always aggressive in their pursuit of desire, they are simultaneously slaves to this sexual desire and cannot move beyond this defining characteristic.[23]

In a series of pots from sixth-century BCE Athens, satyrs act as sexual aggressors whose attentions are frequently, but not always, welcomed by nymphs and maenads, the female followers of Dionysos. This changed at the end of the sixth century. While the satyrs continued to be portrayed as perpetually randy and as constantly pursuing any available female, their desires were now more often unfulfilled than not.[24] While the satyrs in the art of this period chase after maenads, they rarely catch them and are even forcibly rebuffed. They are instead left to engage in sexual activities with either animals or inanimate objects or to engage in masturbation.[25] The satyrs thus became objects of humor and ridicule. This image of the disappointed, incompetent satyr can be seen not only in vase painting but also in contemporaneous Athenian satyr plays.[26] Denying them sexual satisfaction made them metaphorically impotent and objects of ridicule.

It appears, therefore, that the depictions of satyrs performed an almost cathartic role for their audiences. Satyrs engaged in acts that were considered to be outside the boundaries of acceptable behavior within Greek society, and they expressed desires that most men were not able to act upon. Their behavior reflected their place in the natural order. They were neither god nor man, and they occupied a space between the human and divine worlds. Satyrs operated outside of the bounds of society, yet in becoming objects of ridicule, they and their threat were neutralized. This seems to be the driving

[22] François Lissarrague, "On the Wildness of Satyrs," in *Masks of Dionysus*, ed. Thomas H. Carpenter and Christopher A. Faraone (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 220.

[23] Eric Csapo, "Riding the Phallus for Dionysos: Iconology, Ritual, and Gender-Role De/Construction," *Phoenix* 51, no. 3/4 (1997): 264.

[24] Sheila McNally, "The Maenad in Early Greek Art," *Arethusa* 11, no. 1 (1978): 101–35; and Eva C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 357–71.

[25] Guy Hedreen, "'I Let Go My Force Just Touching Her Hair': Male Sexuality in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens and Iambic Poetry," *Classical Antiquity* 25, no. 2 (2006): 279–85; Hedreen, "Silens, Nymphs, and Maenads," 59–63; and François Lissarrague, "The Sexual Life of Satyrs," in *Before Sexuality: the Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 57–64. Masturbation is associated with slaves in Greece, since they did not have easy access to human partners.

[26] Mark Griffith, "Slaves of Dionysos: Satyrs, Audiences, and the Ends of the *Oresteia*," *Classical Antiquity* 21, no. 2 (2002): 216; Hedreen, "'I Let Go My Force,'" 279–81; and Padgett, "The Sable Hands," 55.

Figure 4. Makron (painter), *Attic Kylix (Drinking Cup) with Satyrs and Sleeping Maenads*, made in Athens, ca. 490 BCE, terracotta, 8.9 x 21.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8072. Photograph © 2015 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

force behind the characterization of the satyrs as humorous rather than serious figures. Satyrs cannot be threatening if everyone is laughing at them.[27]

The Greek Gesture of Sleep

At the end of the Archaic period, a new Dionysian subject matter featuring satyrs approaching sleeping maenads began to appear in vase painting.[28] In these pots, including a wine cup by Makron, the maenads lie on the ground with their eyes closed and their right arms bent above their heads (fig. 4). The action is clearly intended to take place in the wilderness, as indicated by the rocks and trees included in the scene. Landscape features are rare in vase painting in the period, and the inclusion of these natural features indicates that the painter wished to emphasize that the maenads were sleeping in the open air rather than in their homes like respectable women. The nude, ithyphallic satyrs, their sexual desire clearly communicated, sneak up on the maenads and begin to touch them intimately. One maenad on the cup by Makron has awoken while the satyrs are in the middle of their attack and begins to fight them off with her thyrsus, a staff that serves as a

[27] For discussions regarding the popularity of satyr imagery and the meaning of the satyr in Greek art, see Lissarrague, "On the Wildness," 213–14; Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting*, 2–5; and Hedreen, "'I Let Go My Force,'" 286–91.

[28] McNally, "The Maenad," 121–24.

Figure 5. Makron (attributed painter), *Attic Red-Figure Kylix (Drinking Cup) with Maenad and Satyr*, made in Athens, ca. 490–480 BCE, terracotta, 12.7 cm high by 28.6 cm deep. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906, New York, New York. Photo: http://www.metmuseum.org.

symbol of her connection with Dionysos. A second maenad on the cup continues to slumber while one satyr reaches for her hair and another parts her legs and lifts her skirt.

These images imply that the only time a satyr can get close enough to a maenad is when she is completely defenseless and vulnerable in sleep. This idea is reinforced by vase paintings from the period that depict awake maenads actively rebuffing the advances of satyrs.[29] As Sheila McNally has pointed out, maenads are the only women in Greek art who defend themselves vigorously against unwanted sexual advances. These women, who exist outside of the regular boundaries of society, do not wait for men to rescue them but instead physically repel the satyrs.[30] On the interior of another cup by Makron, a maenad jabs with her thyrsus at the genitals of a satyr who grabs at her (fig. 5). Such representations give the maenads a level of power over their bodies not normally attributed to women. These images contrast starkly with the *Barberini Faun*, an artwork in which the

[29] Ibid., 106; Lissarrague, "The Sexual Life," 62–64; and Hedreen, "Silens, Nymphs, and Maenads," 59–61.

[30] McNally, "The Maenad," 101–2.

satyr is no longer the aggressor but rather the sexual object: his very vulnerability increases his desirability. It makes one wonder if the awoken *Faun* would fight with the same vigor as the maenads or if he would welcome sexual advances.

The gesture shared by both the sleeping maenads and the *Barberini Faun*, with one arm bent and thrown behind the head, was a common iconographical trope used in Greek art to identify sleepers. In archaic and classical art, a number of figures are shown in this sleeping position, including Ariadne, Polyphemos, Endymion, and the giant Alkyoneos. In the Greek mind, sleep was a transformative and liminal state; it could be either positive or negative. It could provide a respite from physical or mental trauma or refresh the sorrowful, but it could also signal physical vulnerability or overindulgence in food, alcohol, or other vices.[31] Yet, in the majority of cases from these periods, sleep is not only allegorical but also an integral part of the depicted character's mythological story. It is while they are asleep that a key point in the plot takes place.

One popular type of sleeper in Greek art beginning in the Archaic period was the female figure whose vulnerability increases her desirability. Images such as those of the sleeping maenads previously discussed or the numerous images of Ariadne, who sleeps innocently unaware that she has stirred the desires of Dionysos, commonly equate sleep with female sexual availability. The passive nature of the female sleeper was part of her allure. For male sleepers, however, the sleeping gesture had different connotations. While the sleep of these characters, such as Polyphemos and Alkyoneos, does indicate vulnerability, it is not a sexual vulnerability but rather a sign of physical weakness against a martial attack.[32]

The mythological character Endymion, however, provides an exception to this rule. According to most versions of the myth, the moon goddess, Selene, fell in love with the young and beautiful shepherd Endymion. In order to prolong her affair with him, Selene asked Zeus to place Endymion into an eternal, ageless sleep. Each night, Selene visited Endymion, who remained forever young and beautiful.[33] The myth reverses the common Greek story of the male god chasing a beautiful mortal, casting the female in the position of active lover and the male in the role of beloved.

Endymion was a popular subject in Roman art, especially on second- and third-century CE sarcophagi (fig. 6). He is frequently depicted reclining,

[31] Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep"; and Sheila McNally, "Ariadne and Others: Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art," *Classical Antiquity* 4, no. 2 (1985): 152–92. McNally points out that images of sleepers, while popular in archaic and early classical art, dwindle in the High Classical period before reappearing in the Hellenistic period.

[32] Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep"; and McNally, "Ariadne and Others."

[33] The Greek literary references to the myth of Endymion include Sappho, fragment 199; Licymnius of Chios, fragment 771; Plato, *Phaedo* 72c; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.8; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Library* 1.7.5; Theocritus, *Idylls* 3.44 and 20.3–29; and Apollonios Rhodios, *Argonautika* 4.55–65.

Figure 6. Unknown artist, *Front of a Roman Sarcophagus with Myth of Endymion*, ca. 210 CE, marble, 54.3 x 214 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

with one arm above his head in the sleeping gesture as Selene approaches him with amorous intent.[34] His exposed nude body and youthful face highlight his desirability—a vulnerability and desirability that parallel those of the *Barberini Faun*.[35] However, there are some important differences between the two figures. The first is that while numerous representations of Endymion have survived from the Roman period, only a handful of Greek depictions of the hero are known.[36] While the myth of Endymion was well known in the Greek world, and his story appears in a number of literary sources, he was not a popular subject in Greek art. The artist of the *Barberini Faun* may have been inspired by the myth of Endymion, but it is unlikely that the visual iconography of the sexualized sleeping male was previously established by Endymion. In addition, the depiction of Endymion with a youthful physique in later Roman art more closely conforms to the traditional idea of the adolescent boy as an acceptable sexual object compared to the mature *Faun*.

In the Hellenistic period, sleeping figures became popular artistic subjects, even when not associated with a specific myth. As Emma Stafford has argued, the new emphasis on the theme of sleep was in line with the goals of many Hellenistic artists because it "suggests an interest in realism and the individual which is characteristic of Hellenistic art, no longer concerned with pure beauty in the idealized forms of the Classical period, but rather with exploring the complexities of human nature."[37] Images of

[34] For a discussion of Endymion on Roman sarcophagi, see Michael Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning, and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 63–99; and Paul Zanker and Björn C. Ewald, *Living with Myths: The Imagery of Roman Sarcophagi*, trans. Julia Slater (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 96–102, 334–43.

[35] Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep," 111.

[36] Ibid., 118.

[37] Ibid., 105–6.

Figure 7. Nearkhos (potter), *Aryballos with Masturbating Satyrs*, ca. 570 BCE, terracotta, height 7.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Cesnola Collection, by exchange, 1926 (26.49), New York, New York. Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

sleeping Eros, hermaphrodites, and even satyrs like the *Barberini Faun* became popular in the Hellenistic period. The bronze statue of the sleeping Eros in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is not just the cute image of a chubby toddler tuckered out after a long day but a representation of one of the most powerful and feared gods in a rare moment of defenselessness.[38] It is only in sleep that such powerful and liminal creatures can be approached by mere humans. It is a different variation on the similar theme illustrated in archaic images of satyrs approaching sleeping maenads. In all cases, sleep is a liminal state that leaves the sleeper vulnerable and allows interactions between figures that would not be possible otherwise. It is to this group of Hellenistic sleeping figures that the *Barberini Faun* belongs. When awake, the *Faun*, with his heavy musculature and hybrid nature, would have been a physically powerful and frightening figure. Yet in sleep he is transformed from a figure to be feared into a figure to be desired.

[38] For discussions of representations of these figures in sleep, see McNally, "Ariande and Others"; and Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep."

Figure 8. Unknown artist, *Tetradrachm with a Ithyphallic Satyr on the Reverse*, from Naxos, Sicily, silver, ca. 461–30 BCE, 2.9 x 2.8 cm. Jean Vinchon, Numismatist, Paris. Photo: Gianni Dagli Orti / The Art Archive at Art Resource, New York.

Sleeping Satyrs

The *Barberini Faun* is one of a group of sculpted sleeping satyrs that survive from the Hellenistic period, and several are posed in a similar wide-legged stance. Echoes of the position can be seen in earlier images, indicating that Hellenistic images like the *Faun* were influenced by established satyric iconography. On a sixth-century *aryballos*, a small oil jar, signed by Nearkhos, three satyrs are shown masturbating (fig. 7). The central figure crouches in a wide-kneed pose that showcases his actions and seems to be frequently associated with masturbation. Even more iconographically similar is the reverse of a tetradrachm, a common type of silver coin in the Greek world, that was minted in Sicilian Naxos (fig. 8).[39] A head of Dionysos appears on the obverse of the coin, with his attendant, the satyr, occupying the reverse. The satyr sits, holding a wine cup, in a splayed-leg position, highlighting his well-defined musculature and erect penis. The position of his legs mirrors that of the *Barberini Faun,* with one leg tucked up and bent toward his chest. However, despite the similarities in

[39] For the images of masturbating satyrs, see Lissarrague, "The Sexual Life," 57. For the coinage of Naxos featuring a satyr on the reverse, see R. Ross Holloway, *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily* (London: Routledge, 2000), 129–30.

Figure 9. Unknown artist, *Derveni Krater*, side B, from Derveni, fourth century BCE, bronze, Krater height 90.5 cm. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, Greece. Photo: Gianni Dagli Orti / The Art Archive at Art Resource, New York.

pose, none of the satyrs in this position in archaic and classical art are depicted asleep.

It is not until the Hellenistic period that representations of sleeping satyrs in this pose appear in Greek art. Two well-known examples, one from Derveni and the other from Herculaneum, are posed in splayed positions similar to the *Barberini Faun* and provide important comparisons. Yet, despite iconographic similarities, neither artwork communicates the same sexualized message as the *Faun*. The first example is a small bronze statuette of a satyr attached to the shoulder of the *Derveni Krater*, which was found in Tomb B in Derveni in Macedonia (fig. 9). The tomb itself has been dated to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE, with proposed dates for the *Krater* varying from this period to the early fourth century BCE. The bronze *Krater*, at just under a meter tall, functioned as a cinerary urn and was the centerpiece of the tomb. It is heavily decorated with Dionysian

imagery, notably the large frieze that occupies the body of the vessel.[40] Four separately cast bronze figurines are attached to the shoulder of the vase. The statuettes represent Dionysos and Ariadne on one side of the vessel and a satyr and maenad on the other. Two of the statuettes, Ariadne and the satyr, are shown asleep, Ariadne in the innocent slumber of a young female and the satyr in a drunken stupor. Ariadne is decorously clothed and placed in a closed body position. Despite her upright seated position, her shut eyes and drooping head indicate clearly that she is asleep. The satyr in contrast is shown without any hint of shame. His head is thrown back, held up by a bent arm, and, in a position very similar to the *Barberini Faun*, his legs are positioned in a triangular shape, with one leg bent and another sticking out. However, while the satyr's torso is muscular, he does not look attractive or even human. His face is animal-like and almost ugly, with a snubbed nose and floppy ears. The wineskin that he clutches cements the impression of drunkenness and emphasizes that this is not the pure, cleansing sleeping of Ariadne on the other side of the vase.[41] The Derveni satyr is not attractive but rather reminiscent of a drunken frat boy passed out on a couch. His sleep does not serve to make him more desirable. This is a common trope in a number of Hellenistic artworks, where old, drunken satyrs who have indulged in too much wine are depicted as passed out after their excesses.[42] These satyrs, including the Derveni example, contrast strongly to the *Barberini Faun*, whose sleep increases his desirability and incites feelings of lust, rather than disgust, in the viewer. While both satyrs are shown in sleep, the state communicates a different meaning in each composition.

The sleeping satyr figure found in Herculaneum and dating to the second century BCE provides the second example of a sleeping satyr from the Hellenistic period. The satyr is depicted in a similar position to both the *Barberini Faun* and the satyr from the *Derveni Krater* (fig. 10). The life-sized bronze statue was found in the garden of the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum and was one of a number of satyrs who were found among the large sculptural collection in the villa.[43] The satyr is depicted in a sitting position with his right arm thrown above his head in the typical Greek gesture of sleep. He can be identified as a satyr by the prominent horns on his forehead, the goat-like protrusions on his neck, and his small tail. He does not hold a wineskin and so can be disassociated from

[40] Beryl Barr-Sharrar, *The Derveni Krater: Masterpiece of Classical Greek Metalwork* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2008).

[41] Ibid., 173. Barr-Sharrar argues that since the satyr's wineskin appears to be full, he is not drunk. Instead, she believes that he is experiencing an altered state of consciousness possible through Dionysian worship.

[42] Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep," 107–9.

[43] For a discussion of the satyr from Herculaneum, see Carol C. Mattusch, *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 318–20; Stafford, "Aspects of Sleep," 108; McNally, "Ariadne and Others," 173; and Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 317.

Figure 10. Unknown artist, *Statue of Sleeping Satyr*, from the Villa dei Papyri, Herculaneum, bronze, life-sized. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy. Photo: © Vanni Archive / Art Resource, New York.

drunkenness, like the *Barberini Faun*, but he differs from the *Faun* in both the emphasis on his animal characteristics and his soft, adolescent body. In addition, technical analysis of the statue has shown that the upright seated position of the Herculaneum satyr is the product of eighteenth-century restorations. He was probably originally displayed in an entirely reclined position, matching that of another statue found at the villa that represents an awake but drunken middle-aged satyr collapsed against a rock.[44] This reclining position, in addition to the narrower gap between the Herculaneum satyr's legs, does not draw the eye to his genitalia, as is the case with the *Barberini Faun*, nor does he have the well-developed musculature of the *Faun*. Despite the iconographical similarities between both the Derveni and Herculaneum satyrs and the *Barberini Faun*, neither of the former embodies the same sexuality nor desirability as the *Faun*. Like the

[44] Mattusch, *The Villa dei Papiri*, 319–20. Mattusch provides a photo of a replica of the Herculaneum satyr installed at the Getty Villa in a fully reclined position.

Figure 11. Praxiteles (original: attributed), *Statue of a Resting Satyr*, mid-second century CE (Roman copy of a fourth-century BCE original), height 170.5 cm. Galleria delle Statue, Museo Pio Clementino, Vatican Museums, Rome, Italy. Photo: © Vanni Archive / Art Resource, New York.

Faun, these two images are of odd hybrid creatures, neither human nor animal, who are less dangerous when in the liminal state of sleep, similarly to other Hellenistic sleeping figures, but the role of the *Faun* as a sexual object sets him apart from these other satyrs. While the artist of the *Barberini Faun* drew upon established iconography and explored similar themes as contemporary Hellenistic artists, notably that of the powerful satyr made vulnerable by sleep, his composition communicated a different message speaking to Hellenistic ideas of masculine sexuality.

The Praxitelean Satyrs

While the *Barberini Faun*'s depiction of a mature man in the guise of the sexual object is distinctly Hellenistic in its composition and message, two fourth-century statues of satyrs do provide important predecessors for the

Figure 12. Praxiteles (original: attributed), *Statue of a Pouring Satyr*, ca. 81–96 CE (Roman copy of a fourth-century BCE original), 163 x 53 x 58.4 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

theme of the sexualized satyr. While the originals are no longer extant, numerous Roman copies exist of two sculpted satyrs, commonly known today as the *Resting Satyr* and the *Pouring Satyr* (figs. 11 and 12).[45] The originals of these two statues are commonly attributed to the sculptor Praxiteles and dated to the fourth century BCE.[46]

[45] There are 113 known complete and partial copies of the *Resting Satyr* and 31 complete and partial copies of the *Pouring Satyr*. See Jean-Luc Martinez, "Les Satyres de Praxitèle," in *Praxitèle*, ed. Alain Pasquier and Jean-Luc Martinez (Paris: Musée du Louvre éditions, 2007), 258–59; and Elizabeth Bartman, *Ancient Sculptural Copies in Miniature* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 51–101.

[46] The attribution of these statues to Praxiteles is not universally accepted. It is based largely on two ancient texts that describe statues of satyrs by Praxiteles: Pliny, *Natural History* 34.70; and Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.20.1–2, 1.43.5. For the debate regarding the attribution and dating of these statues, see Aileen Ajootian, "Praxiteles," in *Personal*

The satyrs are represented as adolescents, with the slim and elegant proportions that modern scholars have viewed as the hallmarks of Praxitelean style. The figures are mostly human, with only small indications of their animal natures. Their bodies are soft, with slight musculature and remnants of baby fat. The *Pouring Satyr* stands with one hand over his head holding a jug, most likely of wine, which he pours into a small container held in his other, outstretched hand. In most copies, he is somewhat older in appearance than the *Resting Satyr*, with more fully defined musculature. The *Resting Satyr* maintains childish, chubby proportions as he leans in an exaggerated contrapposto pose against a tree trunk. It is only on close examination of their ears that the figures can be seen as something other than human adolescent boys.

It is their youthful bodies and their overwhelmingly human appearances that set the Praxitelean satyrs apart from previous representations of the creatures. It appears that these are among the earliest images to represent satyrs as anything other than the mature, ithyphallic figures so prevalent on archaic and classical pottery. Andrew Stewart has argued that the satyrs are intended to represent *eromenoi*, the younger partners in male homosexual relationships that were common in archaic and classical Greece.[47] He points to their downturned eyes, almost shy expressions, and young, innocent bodies and states that they fulfill the fourth-century vision of the ideal, beautiful *eromenos*. It is indeed difficult to see these statues as anything other than erotic expressions of male desire.[48] In Stewart's analysis, this representation is eminently appropriate, as he states that the oversexed and aggressive mature satyr would have been a perfect sexual object in his youth.

If Stewart's analysis is correct, we have satyrs as sexual objects in the fourth century, approximately 150 to 200 years earlier than the *Barberini Faun*. However, the *Barberini Faun*, with his well-developed musculature, could never be categorized as the ideal eromenos. His muscled physique makes it clear that he is far more mature than the adolescent boy held up as the ideal of masculine beauty in the Archaic and Classical periods. The reasons why both the Praxitelean satyrs and the *Barberini Faun*, despite the differences in their appearances, could act as loci of physical desire can be elucidated through an analysis of the changes in Greek approaches to sexual practices and social mores that took place in the Hellenistic period.

Styles in Greek Sculpture, ed. Olga Palagia and J. J. Pollitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 110–13, 116; and Martinez, "Les Satyres," 236–41.

[47] Andrew Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 199–202.

[48] In her analysis of Roman statues of youths who lean in the same position as the *Resting Satyr*, Elizabeth Bartman examines the "latent eroticism" of such images. See Elizabeth Bartman, "Eros' Flames: Images of Sexy Boys in Roman Ideal Sculpture," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome: Supplementary Volumes* 1 (2002): 253.

Hellenistic Sexuality

The mature and sexually alluring *Barberini Faun* clearly reflects the ideals of the Hellenistic rather than the Classical period and highlights the distinct shifts in how Greeks viewed sex and sexuality that took place between the periods. Over the past few decades, scholars such as Kenneth Dover, Michel Foucault, David Halperin, James Davidson, Thomas K. Hubbard, Marilyn Skinner, and others have provided rich insight into the complicated written laws and unwritten rules that governed ancient Greek sex. While these authors passionately debate a number of aspects of Greek sexuality and the relationships between partners of both the same and different genders, most of them concur that in the Archaic and Classical periods, one of the main concerns regarding long-term sexual relationships was the value of these liaisons to society and to the polis.[49] While brief sexual affairs with slaves or prostitutes could be undertaken for simple sexual release or affection, relationships between citizens were considered to have significance beyond personal pleasure. Marriages were contracted in order to promote the procreation of legitimate, citizen offspring and to provide a domestic environment that both protected and monitored women.[50]

Even sexual relationships between men were framed in terms of their social utility. The most common and most socially acceptable homosexual relationships in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE (at least among the upper classes) were between an older man, usually in his twenties or thirties, the *erastes*, and a younger man, probably in his teens, the eromenos. These relationships were not exclusively sexual; they played an important role in the civic life of the polis. The older partner helped to mentor the younger in how to fulfill the duties of a Greek citizen, and, in contrast with the entirely private relationship between a husband and wife, the relationship be-

[49] Most of the scholarship on Greek sexuality focuses on archaic and classical Athens, since it is from Athens that we have the most textual and artistic evidence. Since these periods are not my focus here, my summary of the practices of these periods is necessarily brief and cannot do justice to a hotly debated topic. Useful overviews can be found in K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 2, *The Use of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1985); Félix Buffière, *Eros adolescent: La pédérastie dans la Grèce antique* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1980); David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1990); John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: the Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Thomas K. Hubbard, ed., *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Skinner, *Sexuality*; James Davidson, *The Greeks and Greek Love* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007); and Giulia Sissa, *Sex and Sensuality in the Ancient World*, trans. George Staunton (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

[50] For Greek marriage, see Allison Glazebrook and Kelly Olson, "Greek and Roman Marriage," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 69–82; Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); and Cynthia B. Patterson, *The Family in Greek History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

Figure 13. Carpenter Painter (attributed), *Interior of Attic Red-Figure Kylix with Pederastic Scene*, made in Athens, ca. 510–500 BCE, 11 x 38.1 x 33.5 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

tween an eromenos and erastes was subject to greater public scrutiny in terms of appropriate behavior and practices.[51]

A number of artistic and textual sources from the sixth and fifth centuries BCE reflect the Greek interest in and public nature of pederastic relationships. Philosophical texts debated how love and desire were felt by the participants in these unions, while courtroom orations revealed how sexual practices were viewed by society and the law. Poems commonly described romantic scenes featuring the erastes pursuing and courting the eromenos—the desirable boy whose young body reflected Greek ideals of beauty. Images painted on Athenian vases illustrate the ideal relationship between an eromenos and an erastes.[52] On the interior of a cup attributed

[51] For a look at some of the scholarly debates on pederasty, see Andrew Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized? A Diachronic View," in *Sex in Antiquity: Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World*, ed. Mark Masterson, Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, and James Robson (London: Routledge, 2014), 115–36; William Armstrong Percy III, "Reconsiderations about Greek Homosexualities," in *Same-Sex Desire and Love in Greco-Roman Antiquity and in the Classical Tradition of the West*, ed. Beert C. Verstraete and Vernon Provencal (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2005), 13–62; and T. K. Hubbard, "Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens," *Arion* 6, no. 1 (1998): 48–78.

[52] Hubbard's sourcebook, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome*, collects together the most important textual primary sources on homosexuality and pederasty that survive from ancient

to the Carpenter Painter and dated to ca. 510–500 BCE, an eromenos and erastes are shown embracing (fig. 13). The eromenos sits on a block and reaches up to the erastes, who bends down to kiss the eromenos. Iconographically, both are active participants, but the difference in age between the two figures is clearly indicated. The erastes is larger, more muscular, and bearded, while the eromenos is beardless, with a softer, smaller physique.

Scholars debate how closely real relationships followed the models depicted in art and text. Despite variations in practice, however, we do have strong evidence that there was a social expectation that homosexual relationships involving citizens should be pederastic and that they followed certain guidelines, notably, that there would be a significant age difference between the partners and that the erastes would be the pursuer and the eromenos would be the object of desire. Hubbard's analysis of relationships that fell outside of the pederastic model shows that classical society did acknowledge other types of homosexual unions. He argues that relationships between youths were more common than previously assumed and that they were accepted as natural sexual experimentation. Relationships between two adult men, however, were much rarer, and the majority of evidence seems to indicate that these relationships were considered unusual and outside of social norms in the Classical period. It was particularly unacceptable for an adult man to be pursued by and act as an object of desire for other men.[53] In all cases, however, the relationships were discussed publicly and valued in terms of how individuals' participation in these unions provided a benefit to society.

In contrast to the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, sex in the Hellenistic period was not as tightly tied to the polis, nor was it viewed primarily in terms of its value to society. This change can be understood as a consequence of larger political transformations in the period and the influence that new ideals of citizenship had upon individual behavior. The social changes that followed the conquests of Alexander led to dramatic shifts in how Greeks viewed the world, notably in their relationships to the state, their city, and their neighbors. People were no longer citizens of small city-states but of multicultural, multiethnic empires, and their *tyche* (fortune) was increasingly determined by distant imperial rulers.[54] While Hellenistic Greeks were exposed to larger sections of the world through extensive

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Greece. On vase painting, see also Andrew Lear and Eva Cantarella, *Images of Ancient Greek Pederasty* (London: Routledge, 2008).

[53] Thomas K. Hubbard, "Peer Homosexuality," in Hubbard, *A Companion*, 128–49.

[54] For discussions of Hellenistic cities, see notably Richard Billows, "Cities," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. Andrew Erskine (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 196–215; Adalberto Giovannini, "Greek Cities and the Greek Commonwealth," in *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, ed. A. W. Bulloch et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 265–86; and Glenn Bugh, "Democracy in the Hellenistic World," in *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World*, ed. Sheila L. Ager and Riemer A. Faber (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 111–28.

trade, social networks, and rapidly growing cities, they were less likely to feel a sense of shared purpose and identity with their closest neighbors, leading to new senses of isolation and individualism.[55] Lacking communal interests, cultural touchstones, and/or ethnic identities, many Hellenistic Greeks turned inward, and the period saw a shift from an emphasis on civic life and a person's place within the collective whole to an emphasis on private life. Individual happiness was now predominantly determined by family and personal relationships, and cultural explorations of love and sexuality grew in importance. To paraphrase Skinner, romantic love "could overcome [the] isolation" of impersonal urban cities and could fill the void of a now-dormant civic life.[56]

Reflecting this change, marriage had a larger social role than ever before, and heterosexual love and sex were regularly romanticized in art and literature. Texts, poems, and plays, such as those of Menander, presented positive public images of love between men and women and placed greater emphasis on heterosexual relationships than classical literature. In art, depictions of heterosexual couples, both of whom are shown actively seeking sexual gratification in bedrooms or other private spaces, replaced symposium scenes featuring prostitutes as the most common type of erotic art.[57] Marriage was now seen as the most important arena in which to pursue a romantic, heterosexual relationship.[58] While the family and the *oikos* (household) created through marriage had always been seen as an important building block of society, it was emphasized more than ever before, and the relationship between husband and wife was seen as a key part of this. Both men and women came to view marriage as something more than a civic contract for the production of children, and it became much more common to see affection as critical to married life and the domestic sphere as the locus of personal happiness for both genders.[59] While in the Classical period there had been a distinct division between the domestic and civic arenas, with women defined by their role in the home and men by

[55] The themes of isolation and individualism and how citizens of different cities responded to the changing Hellenistic world have been important topics in recent scholarship. See notably Ager and Faber, *Belonging and Isolation*.

[56] Skinner, *Sexuality,* 171.

[57] John R. Clarke, "Sexuality and Visual Representation," in Hubbard, *A Companion*, 511.

[58] In contrast to the romantic visions of marriage presented by Menander and other writers, men regularly pursued sexual liaisons with their household slaves. The period saw substantial growth in the number of slaves, and a larger percentage of Greek households, not just those in the higher echelons of society, now included slaves. Slaves, both male and female, were considered sexually available to the men of the house, and it appears that many slave owners regularly took advantage of this legal and cultural expectation. For Hellenistic slavery, see Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 382–95; and Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 125–47.

[59] Pomeroy, *Women*, 151–91; Glazebrook and Olson, "Greek and Roman Marriage," 74–75; Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 388.

their role in the public sphere, the lines between public and private became blurred in the Hellenistic period. This appears to be due in large part to the changing role of women in society. Women began to take on more prominent roles in public life, gaining more civic and economic rights.[60] In conjunction with this rise in public exposure, women's relationships with men also became more public, and women were given more agency within these relationships. While the eromenos/erastes relationship in classical Athens was put on public display, it was now the husband/wife relationship that was seen as the most important in both the domestic and the civic arenas.

Homosexual love was not entirely eclipsed by heterosexual love in the period. It was still a topic of numerous epigrams and texts, and the relationships were still widely practiced and socially accepted. The epigrams of Callimachus and Theocritus are notable for their emphasis on pederastic love,[61] while other poets created stories that placed familiar mythological characters in homoerotic relationships, such as that of Herakles and Hylas.[62] However, attitudes toward homosexuality were not consistent in the period, and the pederastic ideal of the Classical period, while still the most common type of homosexual relationship, was joined by less rigid relationship models. A survey of surviving works by poets, philosophers, and other writers in the period show remarkable variety in how homosexuality and pederasty were viewed in the Hellenistic world.[63] Mirroring the trend in the depiction of heterosexual relationships and private life as the locus for happiness, homosexual relationships were also regularly romanticized in art and literature. Erotic images of homosexual pairs include iconographic details that locate them in bedrooms, indicating the private, intimate nature of the activity, in contrast to the earlier vase paintings that placed pederastic pairs in public venues.[64] In conjunction, the poems of Callimachus and Theocritus are deeply emotional and communicate ideals of personal connections and shared physical longing.[65] The civic aspect of homosexual relationships—its role in educating young male citizens—was increasingly downplayed, and the focus shifted to the personal side of the relationship and the affection between the two parties.[66] Since the mentor-

[60] For Hellenistic women, see Pomeroy, *Women*; Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995); Riet van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1996); and Skinner, *Sexuality*, 171–91.

[61] Kathryn J. Gurtzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigram in Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 213–24; and Hubbard, *Homosexuality*, 268–307.

[62] Hubbard, *Homosexuality*, 269–71.

[63] Skinner, *Sexuality*, 178; Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 181–83; Buffière, *Eros adolescent*, 279–324; Gurtzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*, 213–24; and Hubbard, *Homosexuality*, 268–307.

[64] Clarke, "Sexuality and Visual Representation," 512.

[65] Gurtzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*, 213–24.

[66] Skinner, *Sexuality*, 151; and Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 345.

ing aspect of pederasty was no longer as important, it was no longer critical to maintain the age difference. While pederastic relationships seem to have remained the most common, men were able to seek out partners they found desirable with less thought toward age.[67] Multiple poems by Strato speak to the desire for long-term love affairs that continued even after the eromenos had become an adult, paralleling ideas put forward by Aristotle a few hundred years earlier in his fourth-century text *The Nicomachean Ethics*.[68] Zeno, the Stoic philosopher, also posed a revisionist twist on the ideal pederastic relationship and proposed that eromenoi could be as old as twenty-eight.[69] In the visual arts, erotic scenes featuring two men of the same age are also known from the Hellenistic period.[70] This expansion of sexual ideals translates into the idea that not only boys but also men could be objects of desire.

The literature of the Hellenistic period began to place more emphasis on male sexuality. For instance, in Apollonios's *Argonautika*, the third-century BCE reinvention of the epic that narrated the journey of Jason and the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece, Jason is not only handsome, a common characteristic of heroes since the Homeric epics, but also sexually alluring.[71] Charles Beye has argued that this is the defining aspect of his character. Jason's sexual allure attracts women, particularly Medea, whom Jason recruits to his cause and convinces to betray her family. It can be argued that it is the magic and cleverness of Medea, rather than the heroism of Jason (who is not portrayed by Apollonios as the smartest of men), that allows the Argonauts to succeed and propels the action of the story. Jason's contribution to the success of the endeavor is therefore his ability to make women, Medea particularly, fall in love with him and follow him despite the consequences. This makes Jason a distinctly Hellenistic hero, since in contrast to traditional epic heroes, like Achilles and Odysseus (who were certainly also attractive and who had numerous sexual relationships), Jason's dominant characteristic is his power of sexual attraction. As Beye states, "His sexuality is simply the essence of his being."[72] The literary example of Jason demonstrates that men were now viewed not only as sexual aggressors but also as objects of sexual desire for both women and other men.

[67] Hubbard, *Homosexuality*, 269–71, 300–301, 305; and Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 345, 388.

[68] Hubbard, *Homosexuality*, 300–301, 305; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 8.4.

[69] Skinner, *Sexuality*, 161.

[70] John R. Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 38–42.

[71] For the most complete discussion of Jason's sexuality, see Charles Rowan Beye, "Jason as Love-Hero in Apollonios' *Argonautika*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 10, no. 1 (1969): 31–55. Shorter discussions can be found in Green, *Alexander to Actium*, 181–83; Skinner, *Sexuality*, 183–85.

[72] Beye, "Jason as Love-Hero," 45.

THE *BARBERINI FAUN*, AGAIN

It is in this environment that the *Barberini Faun* was created, and the shift in sexual practices in the Hellenistic period is clearly reflected in the statue. The well-developed physique of a man in his twenties oozes sexuality. The period's emphasis on the personal aspects of sexual relationships, rather than on their civic implications, produced more tolerance for a wider range of sexual behavior, meaning that the *Barberini Faun* could become an object of fantasy for both male and female audiences.

While the male nude had long been a subject of monumental Greek statuary, the Hellenistic *Faun* differs from its predecessors in the overt emphasis on the figure's sexuality. While classical sculptures like Polykleitos's *Doryphoros* were praised by the Greeks for their idealized beauty and perfect proportions, they were not explicitly erotic. Classical and archaic sculptures and their living counterparts—the athletes who exercised in the nude—were intended to highlight beauty, which could incite sexual desire.[73] However, the primary emphasis was on beauty and not on lust, as is the case for the *Faun*. It is difficult to view the *Faun* as anything other than overtly erotic, while his passive nature encourages the viewer to engage with the statue voyeuristically.

The public nature of the *Faun*, which was most likely placed on display in a sanctuary or park, ensured that it had a diverse audience in terms of social class and gender. While the intended audience for the *Faun* was most likely upper-class men, who were the most common patrons of art, the Hellenistic period saw a growth in women acting as both patron and audience for artworks, and women may have made up some percentage of the *Faun*'s audience.[74] The statue's erotic message would have appealed across genders. Changes to the understanding of the role of relationships in the Hellenistic period were intertwined with an appreciation of the universality of desire. Because in both heterosexual and homosexual pairings both partners were expected to actively participate in the physical relationship, men could now act as objects of desire for both men and women.

In many ways, the *Faun* is the sculptural equivalent of Apollonios's Jason, a sexualized adult male. Yet, the *Faun* pushes the envelope even further. His sleeping pose and inherent vulnerability make him a more passive figure than Jason. Despite the very human appearance of the *Barberini Faun*,

[73] For a discussion of erotic display and athletics, see Thomas F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[74] For an examination of the evidence of women as patrons and viewers of Greek art, see Theocritus, *Idyll* 15; Brunilde S. Ridgway, "Ancient Greek Women and Art: The Material Evidence," *American Journal of Archaeology* 91 (1987): 399–409; Robin Osbourne, "Looking on—Greek Style: Does the Sculpted Girl Speak to Women Too?," in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, ed. Ian Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 81–96; Matthew Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London: Routledge, 2002), 9–36; and Joan Breton Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 117–64.

the sculptor makes it clear that he is not a man. It is the very fact that the statue represents a satyr that makes the extreme passivity and sexual allure of the *Faun* appropriate. While the Hellenistic period saw expanding views of masculine sexuality, the *Faun* is an extreme example that pushes at social ideals. By making the *Faun* a satyr, the artist was able to create an overtly sexual man that would have been acceptable in the eyes of his viewers. The *Barberini Faun* maintains a distinct kinship with his archaic and classical ancestors through both his pose and the way that he inhabits a role that pushes society's boundaries. This highlights that the fundamental nature of the satyr, notably his connection to sexuality, has not changed. The *Faun* has simply reimagined the satyr in a distinctly Hellenistic manner.

Not all Hellenistic satyrs were like the *Barberini Faun*, and in fact, most more closely resembled their archaic and classical predecessors than the *Faun*. Satyrs continued to be represented as drunkenly humorous subjects of ridicule and as ravagers of women and maenads.[75] But even the coexistence of a variety of depictions of satyrs in art reflects the new variety of attitudes toward sex in the period. A representation of the sexy *Barberini Faun* could exist side by side with satyrs fulfilling their traditional role as aggressive outsiders ruled by their lust because of the relaxing of rules regulating homosexual and heterosexual relationships. Since romance and sex were pursued primarily for personal happiness rather than for the good of the state, a variety of types of relationships and liaisons could fulfill this need. It is not that the *Barberini Faun* subverts the idea of satyr, it is simply that he represents another incarnation of the creature, one that was the invention of a new, Hellenistic age.

About the Author

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[75] Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 131–34; Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture I*, 313–24; and Alexandra Retzleff, "The Dresden Type Satyr-Hermaphrodite Group in Roman Theaters," *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 3 (2007): 459–72.